

DELAWARE COUNTY

Chapter

IV

Roads

In 1925 Delaware County had 2,358 miles of highways, the third greatest county highway mileage in the State. This mileage was largely created and developed in local road districts by the work of those living on and adjacent to the roads. Until recently very little money raised by taxation was expended in the construction of roads in Delaware County.

The earliest known road west of the Hudson River south of Albany was the Minisink Road, otherwise the Old Mine Road, leading from Kingston to Port Jervis, said to have been constructed by the Dutch to reach mines in Warren County, New Jersey. By 1769 a road had been opened from Newburgh to connect with the Minisink Road, and in that year a wagon road was opened from Cohecton to connect with the Minisink Road at Mamakating. Prior to 1769 a good wagon road was constructed by John Dyer, at an expense of 400 pounds, from Catskill to Middleburgh in Schoharie County; thence westerly, however, there was only a path in 1769, when the famed Dutchess of Gordon* traversed this route by wagon to Middleburgh, and on horseback by one of the Indian paths mentioned in Sir William Johnson's Indian deed for his Susquehanna and Charlotte river lands, to the house of Joachim VanVolkenburgh at the mouth of Schenevus Creek. By 1778 a wagon road ran up Schoharie Creek to the mill of Hendrick Mattice at North Blenheim; but the only traveled routes to the south and west were paths when William Gray made his map in October, 1778.

Will Cockburn's map of 1765 shows a road from Marbletown up Esopus Creek, over Pine Hill and down the Tweed to Pakatakan, and this was the first road leading into what is now Delaware County. Sauthier's Map of the Province of New York, published January 1,

* She helped recruit the Gordon Highlanders by standing at the cross of Aberdeen with the King's shilling between her lips as a prize to recruits bold enough to take it with a kiss, and she was the chief figure in Edinburgh society toward the end of the 18th century, when she entertained Robert Burns. She journeyed to the Susquehanna River in 1769, with her then husband Staats Long Morris, to inspect lands in the Morris Patent.

1779, shows a road laid out from Saugerties to "Pakataghkan," another from Kingston by way of Marbletown to the same place, and one down the East Branch of Delaware to "Papacunc," and no other roads in or leading to the Delaware County area.

Prior to 1785 Hanse Ousterhout and others cut out a road and marked and numbered Mile Trees, 1 to 35, along the same from the widow Cole's house at Lackawack to John Shaver's house at or near Pepacton. George Metcalfe, who went over the road in September, 1785, called it "the common road, on which were sundry Mile Trees numbered, from Lackawack to Pawpacton." The streams crossed by the road were the Beaverkill, Shin creek, the Willowemoc and the Neversink. James Chambers, who had been over that region with parties in the Revolution, acted as guide for the party with which Metcalfe traveled. He tells us that the road was "formerly measured and cut out by Hanse Ousterhout and others," and that the Mile Trees were "marked from one to thirty-five beginning at the widow Coles house in Lackawack and ending near John Shavers house at Pawpacton." The existing road over Beech Hill is doubtless part of the same road. Probably the road was the route followed by the Indians and Tories in the attack on Lackawack in July, 1778, and by the militia in the pursuit of Ben Shanks and his Indians after the death of Colonel Graham in the ambush near Grahamsville in September, 1778.

By an act of 1787 it was made the duty of Commissioners of Highways to open and extend all public roads "to the breadth of two rods at least." No compensation was to be made to the owners of lands included in such roads, the land patents having granted an extra allowance for highways. Between June 16, 1788, and October, 1788, Commissioners of Highways of the town of Harpersfield, Montgomery County, (John Harper, Alexander Leal, Levi Gaylord, Jr., and Sluman Wattles), laid out a road "along the Dellaway River to the Dellaway Head," beginning at a small brook a little south of Joshua Pine's Sr., in Walton, — the "Canauscutje," the southerly line of Harpersfield. The road ran along the west side of the West Branch of Delaware River "to the Dellaware Bridge," and from thence, "as the road now goes," by Mr. Ferris' to the "County Line" at Stamford.

The description of the road mentions the following persons and places along its route from Walton northerly: Dr. Townsend, Mr. North, Pine Hill, Capt. Haley (Hawley), Mr. McCales (McCall),* Col. Farrington, Fall Brook, "where it spreads into two sprouts," Mr. Frisbey, Abell Kidder, the line between "Bynars and Franklins Pattens," Mr. Will's upland, Mr. Conwell, Jesse Franch or Fench (Finch in

* See 7 Johns. 238.

fact), Mr. Warran, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Newman, Hemlock Hill, Mr. Headlok, "where the house of William Rose stood," Mr. McDonald, Bettys Brook, Mr. Chisholm, Esquire Paine, "the Mills," and Mr. Stephen Church (Churchill). All of these names, but that of Will and William Rose appear in the 1790 Census. William Rose was a loyalist and did not return to this area after the Revolution; "the Mills" were at Hobart.

In April and June, 1788, a public road from the Head of Delaware to the Susquehanna River was laid out, ending at "Mr. Nathaniel Wattles' at the Ferrying Place." Several roads through Harpersfield and Kortright were laid out at the same time. The description of these roads was recorded in a deed book in Montgomery County Clerk's office (L. 13, Deeds, pp. 45, *et seq.*).

By an act passed April 6, 1790, the Commissioners of the Land Office were authorized to contract to explore, lay out and open a road from the Susquehanna River at the mouth of the "Oulehoudt" to the Schoharie Kill, and thence to Hudson's River, "pursuing the present tract (*sic*,) of communication now used between the said rivers." In 1792 the public road from the Hudson to the Susquehanna crossed Schoharie Creek at Prattsville, and passed through what is now Grand Gorge and Stamford. It appears by an act of 1793 that Nathaniel Wattles and Medad Hunt had contracted for 680 pounds to open and make this road. In 1797 an act was passed for opening and improving certain Great Roads by means of lotteries. One of these was the Great Road leading from Catskill Landing to Catherinestown* in the County of Tioga. By an act of April 1, 1800, "The President, Directors and Company of the Susquehannah Turnpike Road" was incorporated to make and improve a road from Salisbury in Connecticut to Wattles' Ferry on the Susquehanna River. The route of this road was through Stamford, Harpersfield, Kortright, Meredith, Franklin and Sidney to Unadilla. East of Stamford in 1818 there were alternative routes, one by way of Blenheim, Gilboa and Durham, and one by way of Grand Gorge and Batavia (Windham). Prior to March 30, 1802, the Lottery Managers under the act of 1797 reported that they had paid \$4,510 for the improvement of the Great Road from Catskill to Catherinestown. The road is said to have been completed as a turnpike in 1802. In 1805 it was reported that the stock of the Susquehannah Turnpike Road Company was in the hands of two or three wealthy individuals, and that the road was wholly in operation and was paying five per cent on the stock.

* Catherine Montour's town. Otherwise "Queen Catherine," now Montour Falls, Schuyler County.

By act of March 28, 1805, David Bostwick, Stephen Benton, Lemuel Hotchkiss and Terrence Donnelly were granted the exclusive franchise for seven years of running a stage or stages over the turnpike between Catskill and Unadilla; stages to run at least once in every week, and the fare to be five cents per mile per passenger, and the same rate per 150 pounds of excess baggage. David Bostwick was the father of Ammon, Jabez and Abel Bostwick, and the grandfather of Jabez A. Bostwick, a millionaire associate of John D. Rockefeller in Standard Oil. David Bostwick and family came into Franklin from Connecticut in 1793. Ammon and Jabez Bostwick were contractors for many years prior to 1830 for carrying the mail from Catskill to Delhi and from Kingston to Bainbridge, and Abel Bostwick, father of Jabez A. Bostwick, was a post rider for his brothers. Jabez A. Bostwick was born in Franklin in 1830 and his family lived there until after 1836, when they moved to Ohio. About 1830 Godfrey Rockefeller, his wife and children, passed over the Susquehanna turnpike to Unadilla in a covered Conestoga wagon loaded with household goods drawn by oxen, on their way from Livingston in Columbia County to Richford in Tioga County. William Avery Rockefeller, John D. Rockefeller's scapegrace father, was along, and the family alternately rode and walked as the oxen wended their slow way past the taverns in Franklin, where doubtless Godfrey, who had a weakness that way, found plenty to relieve the tedium.

Taverns were first licensed in Franklin in 1797, and in 1798 eight licenses were issued, and after 1802 many more were added. After 1812 distilleries became numerous in Franklin, and an immense quantity of whiskey was annually distilled. Thousands of barrels of whiskey were sent from Franklin to Philadelphia on rafts; as many as one hundred barrels are said to have been carried on one raft. A great deal of rum was also drunk in the town. One Kirby, a minister, was reported as a famous drinker, consuming regularly a half gallon of rum a day.

The Susquehanna or Catskill Turnpike was much traveled in the early days and various accounts have been left by travelers of its accommodations. In September, 1804, Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, passed over the route. He left Catskill Monday, September 24, and rode to Bristol (later Broome) in Schoharie County that day. At Bristol they stayed at the inn of a friendly Dutchman named Rechtmeyer. The morning of September 25th they crossed Schoharie Creek eight miles from Rechtmeyer's by a ford, the bridge having been swept away by a late flood. The fording was effected without difficulty, "except for the steepness of the opposite bank." They passed through

Blenheim, part of Jefferson, a corner of Stamford, and through Harpersfield and Kortright to Meredith, 37 miles.

Blenheim was almost an absolute forest, as were Jefferson and Stamford. Dwight says: "I can scarcely conceive that an agreeable residence will ever be found in either of these places." Harpersfield was "a settlement of some standing," the houses were comfortable, the inhabitants had built themselves a decent church, added a steeple, in that region a singularity, and settled a clergyman.

At Kortright Dwight saw no church or school house. At Meredith the party put up at the house of Mr. Law, "a handsome mansion in the center of the town." The prospect was good; a fallen pine tree measured nearly 247 feet in length; the soil was rich; but water for domestic use was not good, and deep wells were required. Leaving Meredith the next day they passed through Franklin, and a corner of Sidney to Unadilla, 28 miles. The country lost its beauty on leaving Meredith. The hills were steep and rough, and down the Ouleout the "vallies narrow, rude and mean." The houses were thinly scattered, and many denoted great poverty. At the Susquehanna the only innkeeper on the east side of the river was unable to furnish them a dinner. The ferry boat was gone, and the bridge, in course of construction, was unfinished. They had to cross at a deep and rapid ford. Four miles from the ford they came to an inn kept by a Scotchman named Hanna. The Scotchman's fare was bad enough, but he added to it "the pleasure of his company," and this Dwight could not stomach.

Dwight refers to the taverns on the road, which he calls inns, "because each of them hung out signs challenging this title." But he says the signs were liars, as the places were mere dramshops, spreading "little circles of drunkenness throughout the State." The road from Catskill to Wattles' Ferry, he said, was well made, "but passes over ground too uneven to be pleasant." Dwight passed over the turnpike again in September, 1815, and says the road was very bad and had been long neglected. "Stamford," he says, "contains a thriving village named Waterville, lying south of the road at the distance of four or five miles." Harpersfield, he continues, is completely occupied, "and wears the appearance of an old settlement;" Kortright, "has increased its population, but has an unpleasant aspect and struck my eye as less pleasant than formerly." Whatever Dwight may have seen or failed to see, Kortright had a church and a school in and prior to 1805. The church at one time had over five hundred members and was "the most numerous church society in the State west of the Hudson river." The school was taught by Thomas McAuley, brother of the minister, and afterward a professor in Union College.

In April, 1842, the Commissioners of Highways of Harpersfield, Kortright, Meredith, Franklin and Sidney were directed to divide the Susquehanna Turnpike from Hotchkiss Mills to the Susquehanna river into road districts and maintain the same. This act was doubtless the end of the Susquehanna Turnpike road and company from Stamford to Wattles Ferry. In 1844 the route of the turnpike was altered to the Charlotte turnpike road, and in 1845 the turnpike road westerly of the bridge at Gilboa was declared a public highway, and the Turnpike Company was relieved of all duties in respect thereto.

The map and proceedings for improving a public road from Shandaken to the West Branch of Delaware near Walton of June, 1791, show a road from Shandaken up Esopus Creek, over Pine Hill, through Pakatakan, down the east side of the East Branch of Delaware to Pepacton, across the river at "Frederick Miller's Ford," thence to Downsville, and then over the mountain to Weed's Bridge near Walton. The contracts were let in August, 1791, and the road was completed and approved by November 30, 1791. The contractors were Jacob Tremper, Peter Hagar, William Morris Groen, and Thomas Heacock. The length of the road was 57 miles, and the cost of construction was 536 pounds, or \$1,340. The work done consisted in clearing the road of trees, logs and brush two rods wide, and making bridges, "so that loaded ox carts and waggons may with ease pass along the same."

In 1802 the legislature of New York incorporated the Ulster and Delaware Turnpike Road Company. Among those named in the act of incorporation are Frederick A. DeZeng and Joshua Pine, Jr. The road was to run from the town of Salisbury, Connecticut, through Pine Plains to the ferry of John Radcliff and Moses Cantine at Rhinecliff, through Kingston, and thence by the most practicable route through Walton to the Susquehanna river at Jericho, now Bainbridge. The capital stock was five thousand shares at \$25 each. The road was to be four rods wide, thirty-three feet between ditches, and twenty-eight feet to be bedded with stone and covered with gravel. Toll gates were allowed every ten miles, and a schedule of tolls was enacted, that for four-wheeled vehicles drawn by two horses, mules or oxen being 12½ cents for each ten miles, and five cents for every horse and rider. The road was reported as constructed 110 miles in length in 1807.

Frederick A. DeZeng was the chief promoter and active constructor of the road. Until 1789 he carried the title of Baron. He was born in Dresden, Saxony, in 1756, and died at Clyde, N. Y., in 1839. He was commissioned Lieutenant of the Guard in the service of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in 1774, was in campaigns in Moravia and Bohemia, and was made Gentleman of the Chamber of Fred-

erick II of Hesse-Cassel in May, 1776. He was a friend of Baron de Steuben. He was a captain in a regiment ordered to America by Frederick II, as part of the mercenary troops hired by George III to oppose the Americans in the Revolution, and arrived in America at the close of 1780. Stationed in New York, he never fought against the Americans. He resigned his military commission in November, 1783, married Mary Lawrence of Flushing, L. I., and was naturalized as an American citizen in 1789, when he renounced the title of Baron. He lived at Great Shandaken from 1788 to 1790, and was Major of the militia in Ulster County, "residing westerly of Woodstock, Hurley, Marbletown and Rochester." He made land surveys in western New York in 1790-92, and was a stockholder in the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, and supervised the construction of its canal at Little Falls from 1793 to 1795. In 1801, with Joshua Pine, Jr. and Christopher Tappen, he was commissioned to lay out, open and improve a road from Wattles' Ferry to Kingston, and \$2,000 from one of the State lotteries was appropriated to the work. The remaining visible result is the "State Road" leading from the Tremperskill road to the Cabin Hill road in Andes. He resided in Kingston from 1801 to 1806, and was attorney in fact for Edward Livingston and Victor DuPont de Nemours, a creditor of Livingston, to sell lands in Ulster County. He moved his family to Bainbridge in 1806, and constructed the bridge across the Susquehanna river at that place. He is described as a man of immense energy and activity, and of graceful manners, politeness and suavity.

The Ulster and Delaware Turnpike Road, as constructed, passed by way of "the Red Bridge" over the Esopus Creek at Kingston, to the house of Lazarus Sprague at Shandaken, and thence over Pine Hill to the Old Stone School House east of Dunraven on the existing roadbed, or substantially so. Near the Stone School House the road crossed the East Branch of Delaware and ran up the Plattekill, over Palmer Hill to Andes, then over Cabin Hill to Delancey, then to near the bridge at Hamden, and so to Walton and thence to Bainbridge. From Dunraven to Hamden the road was all new road to be built through the wilderness. Doubtless Morgan Lewis, who was Governor of New York from 1804 to 1807, and owned the north one-half of Great Lot No. 39, Hardenbergh Patent, had much to do with fixing the route through Andes.

The road between the two branches of Delaware River was actually built by James I. White, who lived a neighbor of DeZeng at Great Shandaken, and was sheriff of Delaware County, 1799-1801. In 1805 and 1806 White was at work on the road, but little was paid to him, and his men were forced to shelter themselves in rock caves, and it was

from such a rock cave or cabin so used that Cabin Hill got its name. In January, 1812, White verified a petition as an insolvent debtor in which he said: "Frederick A. DeZeng owes me a balance on a written contract under seal for making a portion of the Ulster and Delaware Turnpike Road,—\$4,068."

It is said that the construction of the road from Kingston to Jericho cost an average of \$1,000 per mile. The road was finished, but not paid for in 1806, and was reported as in operation in 1807. In 1808 it was a current report in Newburgh that the Ulster and Delaware Turnpike Road Company stock was worthless. By 1816 the company had ceased to maintain its toll gates and was insolvent, and April 17, 1816, the legislature directed local Commissioners of Highways to take over maintenance of the road. The Ulster and Delaware Turnpike Road Company ceased to function as a corporation in August, 1819. The road at the time of its construction and for long afterwards was known as the Esopus, or 'Sopus Turnpike. This was the common name applied to Kingston,—indeed, until after the Civil War, Kingston was scarcely known, except officially, by any other name. The name Esopus is derived from the Dutch, and was by them applied, first to the local Indians, sometimes also called River Indians, and then to the settlement that became Kingston. It seems to be a combination of Aesop, the name given to the writer of fables, and *Sipo* (*siposis*, a small river), the Delaware Indian word for river. In 1658 Thomas Chambers wrote "this Aesopus," referring to the land about Kingston.

Another Great Road west from the Hudson River, passing through Delaware County, was the Newburgh and Chenango Turnpike Road, which came down the Beaverkill and East Branch of Delaware to Hancock, thence to Deposit, and then to Bainbridge and Oxford. In 1801 a corporation was formed to improve a road from Newburgh to Cohecton, and in 1805 the Newburgh and Chenango Turnpike Road Company was created to construct a turnpike from Oxford through Jericho and Deposit to the East Branch of Delaware, and thence by the most direct route to the Newburgh and Cohecton Turnpike Road. In 1806 the combination of the Newburgh and Chenango with the Onondaga Salt Springs turnpike, called the Newburgh and Ontario Road, was described as "one of the most important roads in the State," though then but in part constructed. In 1807 it was said that the Newburgh and Chenango diverges from the Newburgh and Cohecton and crosses the Susquehanna at Jericho. On McCalpin's Map of turnpike roads of 1808 the Newburgh and Chenango is labeled "Appian Way," and the Newburgh and Cohecton, opened in 1808, runs through Pennsylvania to Binghamton and then to Owego. This map, however, is no

assurance that roads shown thereon were ever built, and the routes indicated are merely straight lines between terminals. Later maps show the principal road from Newburgh running west through Cohecton into Pennsylvania, and this was apparently the later route to Owego. In 1810 the Cookhouse Bridge Company was formed to erect a bridge across the Delaware River "opposite Silas Crandall's white store" in Cookhouse village. In 1811 Cookhouse village was incorporated as the village of Deposit.

In and within ten or twelve years after 1800 there were three Great Roads running west from the Hudson River below Albany: (1) the Susquehanna Turnpike Road, from Catskill to Wattles' Ferry; (2) the Ulster and Delaware Turnpike Road, or 'Sopus Turnpike, from Kingston to Bainbridge, and (3) the Newburgh and Cohecton Turnpike Road, from Newburgh to Cohecton, which by 1811 was extended through Deposit and Jericho to Oxford, and was called "The Appian Way." About the same time the Delaware Road from Stamford to Deposit was opened. The company to build, maintain and operate this road was incorporated in 1805, at about the same time that the Little Delaware Turnpike Road Company was chartered. One reason for the failure of the Ulster and Delaware Road was the competition of the Catskill and Newburgh roads, and the inability of the directors of the Ulster and Delaware road to overcome it. One effect may be seen in the following Census figures of population:

1800: Kingston, 4,615; Newburgh, 3,268; Catskill, 2,408.

1820: Kingston, 2,956; Newburgh, 5,812; Catskill, 3,510.

1835: Kingston, 4,057; Newburgh, 7,683; Catskill, 5,179.

In April, 1825, an act was passed for a survey to be made of a Great State Road from Lake Erie to the Hudson River to compensate the southern part of the State for the construction of the Erie Canal at state expense. This survey was made in 1825. Three principal routes were surveyed and considered in detail: (1) from Catskill through Stamford to Unadilla, and thence west, called the northern route; (2) from Kingston through Andes to the mouth of the Little Delaware, then to Platner Brook and so to Unadilla, called the middle route, and (3) from Newburgh through Monticello, Liberty and Deposit to Binghamton, and thence west, called the southern route. The Commissioners favored the northern route. They disposed of the middle route by saying: "A considerable portion of the country between Kingston and Delhi is entirely sterile and will never sustain much population." They estimated the cost of the entire road from Lake Erie to Hudson River at \$535,703. The road was never built.

In 1831 the Kingston and Middletown Turnpike Road Company was incorporated to construct a turnpike from the Esopus Bridge at

Kingston to the Delaware County line on Pine Hill. This road went into operation, had a serious litigation with the State in 1840, an act for its relief was passed in 1844, and in 1850 it was authorized to and did convey its road, franchise and property to the Ulster and Delaware Plank Road Company. This company completed a plank road from Pine Hill to Kingston, planking only the right hand side of the road going towards Kingston, 36 miles, in 1851, at a cost of \$67,107.75. Davis Winne leased the road in 1860 and maintained it until 1870, when the railroad came along and he gave up his lease. The road was abandoned by the Company west of West Hurley in 1874. The part from West Hurley to Kingston was paved with stone and was kept up until after the Ashokan Reservoir was built, when the city of New York paid the Company \$15,995 for the part submerged, and the County of Ulster paid \$1,000 for the balance, about 1912.

In 1840 the Middletown and Delhi Turnpike Company was incorporated to build and maintain a turnpike from the top of Pine Hill to Delhi. The road, 33 miles in length, was completed in 1849 at a cost of \$485 per mile. For the most part it was constructed in the old roadbed, but at and south of Margaretville a new road was built on the west side of the river, and it was brought into Delhi by a new road on the east side of the river there, and a new bridge was built across the river at Delhi in 1848. Before this the route of the Delhi-Kingston road was by way of Sherwood's Bridge. The Middletown and Delhi Turnpike Company abandoned its franchise from Pine Hill to the north line of the village of Andes in 1895; but the residue was operated as a toll road until 1906, when, after certain litigation, the franchise was conveyed to the County of Delaware for \$4,000.

State Highway Route No. 28, from Kingston to Delhi, following substantially the route of the prior turnpikes, has been constructed and reconstructed since 1900. The cost of the original construction (1900-1923) was \$976,490.56, and the cost of reconstruction (1917-1935) was \$971,945.58, or a total cost between 1900 and 1935 of \$1,948,436.14. More than one-fourth of this cost, or \$525,501.10, was paid to Rosoff Engineering Company in 1921-23 for the road from Margaretville to Andes. The road from Andes to Delhi was constructed in 1912-13 at a total cost of \$31,774.91, and was re-constructed in 1931-32 at a cost of \$57,467.87, except for a bridge and approaches, constructed in 1934 at a cost of \$12,534.61. In 1947 the State Department of Public Works let a contract for the reconstruction of the road from Andes to Delhi, 12 miles, except the Little Delaware bridge and approaches, for \$1,408,141.40, or within \$540,000 as much as construction and reconstruction of the entire road from Kingston to Delhi,

74 miles, cost between 1900 and 1935. When it is remembered that the County of Delaware for one hundred years built and maintained thousands of miles of roads adequate to its needs without any cost whatever to taxpayers, except for bridges, the 1947 cost of the road from Andes to Delhi suggests that roads have found a new place in State economy.

DELAWARE COUNTY

Chapter

V

Stage Coaches and Drivers

We have seen how the three principal roads to, through and from Delaware County were constructed. But the test of a road is in its use, and on this score our information is limited. It is probable that David Bostwick and associates exercised their stage franchise of 1805 on the Susquehanna or Catskill turnpike, but we have no information about this. It is said that in 1805 Ammon Bostwick secured the Catskill mail route. The only post offices in Delaware County in 1805 were Delhi, Franklin, Harpersfield, Kortright, Meredith, Middletown, Stamford or Bristol, and Walton. Schoharie County also had a post office, "Bristol or Blinham." There were no post offices in the towns of Colchester, Roxbury or Sidney in 1805. So far as our information goes, the first four-horse coaches on the Susquehanna-Catskill turnpike were put on in 1820, when Nathaniel Steele Jr., of Delhi, is said to have put such coaches on the route. It is also said that the first such coaches ever seen in Walton were those put on by David P. Mapes. Nathaniel Steele Jr. was the father of Osman N. Steele, under-sheriff, and also of the wife of Green Moore, sheriff of Delaware County, in 1845, and Osman N. Steele and Green Moore are both mentioned as having driven coaches for Nathaniel Steele Jr.

On January 18, 1821, a "New Stage Route" from Delhi to Catskill, already in operation, with stages leaving Delhi on Thursdays and returning on Wednesdays, was advertised. In May, 1823, a "New Line" of Post Coaches from Catskill through Delhi to Oxford was announced, leaving Catskill Sunday and Thursday mornings after 8 o'clock, arriving in Delhi Mondays and Fridays at 8 a. m., and at Oxford the same evenings. The fare was four cents per mile, and the proprietor was N. Steele Jr. & Co.

On June 2, 1824, Steele & Co. advertised the "United States Mail and Post Coach Line" from Catskill through Delhi, leaving Catskill Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, and returning Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. It was said of this line that it was supplied with good coaches and teams and traveled with expedition; "passengers leave

Catskill and arrive in Ithaca in about two and a half days." On April 13, 1825, Steele & Co. informed the public that they had extended their Mail and Post Coach Line to run twice a week, passing through Windham, Stamford, Kortright, Delhi, Franklin and Unadilla.

In July, 1824, H. Watkins & Company's line was advertised as leaving Catskill on Tuesdays and Fridays at 6 a. m., and passing through Cairo, New Durham, Broome, Blenheim, Stamford, Harpersfield, Meredith, Franklin, Sidney, Unadilla and Bainbridge to Ithaca, meeting the western stage at Harpersfield. In November, 1825, a New Western Line of Post Coaches was announced by N. Steele of Delhi, H. Watkins of Harpersfield, L. Lynch of Geneva, and F. Sayre of Catskill, from Catskill to Rochester, leaving Catskill Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays by way of Windham, Delhi, Franklin, Oxford and Greene to Ithaca, by boat to Cayuga Bridge, and thence by Geneva and Canandaigua to Rochester; and leaving Catskill Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays by way of Durham, Harpersfield, Franklin, Bainbridge and Greene to Ithaca. By this arrangement a coach left Catskill for the west every day but Monday. In June, 1837, mail contracts were let from Catskill to Stamford on both roads, in four-horse post coaches to A. Morgan & Co. and from Stamford to Ithaca by way of Delhi in four-horse post coaches to C. L. Grant & Co. At the same time the contract from Kingston to Delhi was let as a horse route, twice a week, to John H. Gould.

In May, 1832, the tri-weekly stage line out of Newburgh was changed to a daily line of four-horse post coaches from Newburgh to Owego, thence to Bath and then to Rochester, 300 miles. But the route of this line was by Cohecton through Binghamton.

In 1839 David P. Mapes, then a steamboat captain on the Hudson River, started the first line of coaches on the Old 'Sopus Turnpike. Mapes was born in 1798 at Cocksackie, and for twelve years, 1818-1830, had lived in Roxbury, Delaware County, where in 1826, 1827, and again in 1830 he was Supervisor. In or after 1844 Mapes went to Wisconsin, where in 1850 he became the founder of Ripon, where in turn the Republican Party was founded in 1854; it is now a place of 4,000 population. In 1873 Captain Mapes wrote a "*History of the city of Ripon and of its founder, David P. Mapes, with his Opinion of Men and Manners of the Day.*" Writing, as he says, "without gloves," he gives his version of the inception of coaches on the 'Sopus Turnpike. Captain Mapes appears to have thought very well of himself, and he says that his book is "the old Captain right over." He came to Roxbury in the spring of 1818, with a "tin trunk of essences," and a silver watch won at a raffle. He went to work for his brother-

in-law, a Mr. Barlow, in a store, where he slept under the counter, and got eight dollars a month and his board for his services. In 1820 he started a store for himself, and in 1826 was elected Supervisor of the town, in which capacity he made a speech at Delhi, when everyone came running to hear "young Mapes give it to the old Federalists." He says: "I was the great man of the town." He overlooks John Burroughs, whose name was not significant in 1873, but of Jay Gould he says, "many others have taken their business notions from me, and among them one J. Gould, who has made his mark in the world." In 1838, after certain business adventures at Carbondale, Pa., and in New York City selling lumber after a great fire, Mapes purchased the steamboat *General Jackson* from Cornelius Vanderbilt for \$12,000, paying \$6,000 in cash. He ran this boat between Rondout and New York, and as a captain made it his business to be friendly to everyone, so that people would say: "Take Captain Mapes' Boat." This paid and by 1839 he thought of other means of getting people to "take Captain Mapes' Boat." He says:

"After getting my boat into a successful business, and paying for her the first season, I proposed to turn my early acquaintances in Delaware County to my advantage, and have them go to New York by way of Kingston. They had heretofore traded by way of Catskill, where they had steamboats, and had a line of coaches from their place to Delhi. I proposed to my Kingston friends to establish a mail route and line of stages to Delhi. But No. The place had been a large town for over a hundred years, and nothing of the kind ever came in from the West, except once a week a boy on horseback with saddlebags. So I left the boat for a week and went to Washington and had a mail route established. After establishing the route I supposed I could get some one to put on a line of stages; but here again I was disappointed, and finally I bought three Troy coaches and thirty horses, and established the first line of stages west from Kingston.

Hiring stage drivers, bargaining with landlords to keep the same, together with steamboating, occupied my entire time. I will here relate how I selected one of my drivers. A great overgrown Dutch boy came and proffered his services. I asked him if he had ever driven any, and he answered: 'Yes, I have driven lots in my time; sometimes horses, and sometimes *oxen*, but *mostly oxen*.' This settled the point, and convinced me that he was an honest boy. If he acknowledged that he had driven oxen more than horses, he had not attempted to deceive me as to his experience. I hired him and he proved faithful and honest, and he and one other driver handed me at the end of the month all the money they had taken in for way passengers between stations, which was sufficient to pay their month's wages, while all the other drivers never handed over a dollar.

The inauguration of a line of Troy stages through a county the people of which had never before seen a four horse team, was a great event. The inhabitants along the line, and at the little villages and corners, came out and fired off their anvils, swung their hats, and shouted: 'Great is the Captain!' I went over the road on the first trip; now a railroad passes over the greater portion of the route."

William Chaplin, who in 1836 owned 3,000 coaches and 150,000 horses, employed 30,000 drivers, guards and hostlers, and ran 27 mail coaches every night out of London, was nicknamed "Billy-bite-emsly," because of his bitter tongue acquired in an effort to make the coach drivers account for the fares of way passengers collected by them on the road. The coach driving fraternity seem to have had a widespread difficulty in understanding that all fares collected belonged to the proprietor of the line. However, prosperity came fast to Captain Mapes after 1839. He secured a towing contract with the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company, purchased a new steamboat called *The Emerald*, and built and occupied a fine house in Rondout. The Captain was riding high on the policy of pleasing everybody, when on a Sunday morning in May, 1844, his \$75,000 steamboat broke her crank shaft above West Point, drifted upon a sharp rock called "The Brother," and sank in deep water. She had one hundred and twenty passengers on board, who were taken off by boats from the shore; but her freight and \$30,000 in money belonging to the Kingston bank went down with the ship. *The Emerald* was subsequently salvaged, but Captain Mapes had no insurance; he could not buy, beg or borrow another boat from the steamboat companies, the towing contract was lost, and almost overnight the Captain found himself on the way to Wisconsin with only the remnant of what had seemed the making of a great fortune in his possession.

We can supplement Captain Mapes' account of the first coaches on the 'Sopus Turnpike by a communication from the passengers on a later trip the same year, published in the *Delaware Gazette* for July 31, 1839. The Captain's policy of friendliness seems to have infected the passengers. They thus write to the Delhi weekly:

"The passengers who arrived in Delhi on Saturday evening last, in the Kingston stage, feel it due to the enterprising proprietor, Mr. Mapes, to express their entire approbation of their treatment during their journey. Every attention was extended to them that could tend to add comfort and pleasure to their ride, which they enjoyed to a much greater extent than could be reasonably expected upon a route so recently established. They take great pleasure in bearing testimony to the very respectful and gentlemanly deportment of all of the drivers upon that route. They were all skillful, careful, civil and industrious, and did everything in their power to oblige those under their care. At as good a dinner as travellers could wish for, which was in waiting at Col. Sands in Middletown, the passengers found a rich treat in a dish of delicious brook trout. They have all travelled sundry times from the Hudson River to Delhi before, and have no hesitation in saying that they have never found a route thither so wild and delightful, or on which they enjoyed a ride so much. They left Kingston about two hours after the arrival of the boat from New York, and arrived before eight o'clock the following evening. A very little labor by those people residing upon the

route (and who are undoubtedly very anxious for its success) in throwing out all of the loose stone from the road, would greatly improve the travelling."

The *Delaware Gazette* for June 19, 1839, says: "A new line of Post Coaches has recently been established by our estimable and enterprising fellow citizen, Maj. David P. Mapes, formerly of the town of Roxbury, in this county, which run from this village (Delhi) to Kingston three times per week." The *Gazette* might have told us exactly what day the first four-horse coach came through from Kingston with the Captain on board and the populace firing its anvils and swinging its hats, but the editor was superior to printing the news when it happened, and we can only guess that the first trip was made around the first of June, 1839. If the fat Dutch boy drove the coach the day referred to by the pleased passengers, he had something to show the Captain in token of his skill, care and good qualities as a driver of four horses. George E. Chase, born in Hamden in 1822, and but seventeen years old in 1839, is said to have driven the first coach when Captain Mapes was hailed with such acclaim. George was not the fat Dutch boy, and we must assume that he was the one other driver acquitted by Captain Mapes of retaining fares paid by way passengers. Chase ran the line as proprietor for eight years, probably immediately after 1844, and was associated with his son-in-law, Wheeler W. Clark, in its curtailed operation after the railroad came along in 1870. He lived in Andes for many years.

The line of Post Coaches established by Captain Mapes made three round trips per week between Kingston and Delhi. The trip one way was made in a day, and the coaches arrived in Rondout in time for the evening boat for New York. The distance between Kingston and Delhi, according to a later proposal for carrying the mail, was 74 miles, and the time allowed was 16 hours; the mail left Kingston and Delhi, respectively, at 5 a. m. and arrived at 9 p. m. The time of arrival and departure, however, varied in different years. For many years the coaches left Delhi for Kingston at 2 o'clock in the morning. In 1842 Captain Mapes' line advertised its Four Horse Post Coaches from Rondout every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, upon the arrival of the night boat from New York; the horses were said to be fine, the coaches new, and the drivers steady. After the disaster to Captain Mapes' boat in 1844, presumably young George Chase — who in 1880 said he ran the line for eight years — took over operation of the line from Rondout to Delhi. On February 29, 1849, it was announced that by order of the Post Office Department the Mail Stage was to leave Delhi every Monday, Wednesday and Friday, and return the alternate days, and it was said "this arrangement is much preferable to the old

one, as passengers can now leave home on Monday morning, remain four days in New York, and return on Saturday. The new turnpike between this place (Delhi) and Kingston, which is now completed, is one of the best roads leading to and from the Hudson river."

In April, 1852, Henry Edgerton advertised himself as the proprietor of a daily line of stages between Kingston and Delhi, to run during the season of navigation. The daily stage was a new departure, and Edgerton was anxious for passengers. He says his teams and carriages are excellent, and that he will spare no exertion to make this a pleasant and expeditious route.

The Troy coaches put on by Captain Mapes were worn out, and Edgerton was using Concord coaches, said to have been the finest vehicles ever built. The coach had an egg shaped body, panels of poplar, an ash frame scientifically designed to hold together, was well upholstered inside, with space for nine persons, and was suspended on thorough-braces of two lengths of manifold leather straps of thickest steer hide, allowing the body to rock fore and aft. There was a boot on the rear to carry express boxes and baggage, and the mail was carried under the seat occupied by the driver. The road was then in first class condition, with a newly constructed turnpike from Delhi to the top of Pine Hill, and a plank road thence to Kingston. In March, 1853, Edgerton was advertising "exclusive extras" to be had on application at the Stage House in Kingston.

In March, 1854, John Burroughs, then but seventeen years old, rode on Henry Edgerton's stage from Clovesville, below Fleischmanns, to Olive in Ulster County. He said the stage was one of those old-fashioned rocking Concord coaches, drawn by four horses. This was on Burroughs' trip when he hired as teacher of the country school at Tongore. Eight years later Burroughs paused in the study of anatomy, "in a little dingy back room of Dr. Hull's office" in Olive, and wrote the imperishable poem "Waiting," which has gone all over the world. The poem is of the days of the stage coach and suggests greater confidence in the ways of nature than in those of man. The second verse, as expressive as any of the spirit of the poem, reads:

"I stay my haste, I make delays,
For what avails this eager pace?
I stand amid the' eternal ways,
And what is mine shall know my face."

But Henry Edgerton did not stand "amid th' eternal ways," and ability to provide speed was even then the mark of "enterprising men." In May, 1854, the plank road from Pine Hill to Kingston was a good deal out of repair because of a recent storm, but had been made pass-

able, and by July was reported in excellent order. Henry Edgerton appears to have run the stage line for but three years, for April 9, 1855, the *Rondout Courier* published the following statement:

"The Delaware stage, by the revival of common sense in business matters, again makes Rondout the terminal point of departure. The line is now in the hands of Davis and Rider, experienced and enterprising men. The effect of the new regime is apparent already in the speed. The stage coach from Delhi reaches here a trifle after six p. m., and passengers can proceed direct to New York, or put themselves under the care of Hawver of the Mansion House or McElroy of the Exchange, which are the stage houses here."

If the stage left Delhi at two o'clock in the morning, as advertised in the period prior to 1870, the speed developed in arriving at Rondout a trifle after six p. m. could hardly be called an "eager pace." Sixteen hours was the allotted time in 1853. If we allow two hours for delays on the road incident to meals and changing horses, this was a rate of but little over five miles an hour. In England many years earlier, DeQuincey says: "From these joint evils of ponderous coaches and roads that were quagmires, it was impossible for even the picked breed of English-coach-horses, all bone and blood, to carry forward their high tonnage at a greater rate than six-and-a-half miles an hour." But with good roads the customary speed in England was ten miles per hour. Davis and Rider operated the line for less than three years, and in November, 1857, Major George F. VonBeck, as proprietor, announced a reduced rate of \$2.75 from Delhi to Kingston and Rondout, and \$3.50 to New York. Tickets by stage and steamboat were for sale at various points along the route, and drivers were instructed to run up to time. Major VonBeck was proprietor of the Mansion House in Rondout, and was a man worthy of remark. He was born in an army camp at Dauphine, France, in 1798, and died at Rondout in December, 1870. His father was Francis VonBeck, an officer in Napoleon's army, who with 570,000 of Napoleon's wooden soldiers, perished amid the snow and ice of Russia on the retreat from Moscow in 1812. George F. VonBeck was educated as a civil engineer, and came to New York in 1833. He was employed in various capacities by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company from 1833 to 1857, and after 1836 resided in Rondout, where he was active and prominent. He was a great friend of Henry Dowie of Andes, who at that time was engaged in business in New York and Andes. VonBeck was the father of fifteen children, thirteen of whom were daughters. He spoke eight languages, and has been described as "a scholar, instrumental musician, engineer, architect, mathematician, and philanthropist." His son, George F. Von Beck, Jr., who lived with Dowie in Andes for a time, was murdered in Rondout June 10, 1874.

The New York & Erie Railroad was opened to Port Jervis January 6, 1848, and through Hancock and Deposit to Binghamton on December 28, 1848. In June, 1865, stages were leaving the Edgerton House, Delhi, as follows:

(1) for Hancock daily at 5 a. m., and reach Hancock in time for the express train going east;

(2) for Kingston and Rondout daily at 2 a. m., and reach Rondout in time for the boats;

(3) for Catskill daily at 2 a. m., reaching Catskill in time for the boats and trains for New York;

(4) for Albany daily at 4 a. m., by way of Cobleskill, in time to take the train and reach Albany at 3:45 p. m.

(5) for Unadilla Tuesdays and Saturdays at 7 a. m., and reach Unadilla for dinner;

(6) for Hancock by way of Colchester, every Thursday morning, lodging at Downsville and reaching Hancock next day. At the same time A. J. Churchill of Prattsville was advertising the route, Delhi to Catskill, as the shortest and best, saying "the road is well stocked with good horses, the best Post Coaches in the country, and attentive and obliging drivers." In July, 1865, the rate of fare, Delhi and Bloomville to Catskill, was \$3.00, and Hobart and Stamford to Catskill, \$2.50.

Cornelius Winne, brother of Davis Winne, was proprietor of the stage line, Delhi to Kingston, from 1862 to 1870, at the same time that Davis Winne was lessee of the one-track plank road from Pine Hill to Kingston. Cornelius Winne had a hotel at Boiceville. He later ran the Eagle Hotel at Kingston, then owned by his brother, Henry Winne, until it burned down some eighty years ago, when the site was purchased by another brother, Benjamin Winne, and the hotel was rebuilt as it stands today.

Rev. James Bruce, father of former Lieutenant Governor M. Linn Bruce, and of David L. Bruce of Andes, who officiated as Presbyterian Minister at Andes for some forty years, came with his family to that village in one of Cornelius Winne's coaches on June 3, 1864. The family, consisting of father, mother and three children, stopped overnight at the Mansion House in Rondout, and left at six o'clock the next morning. They had dinner at Peter Crispell's hotel at Shandaken, at a total cost of \$1.35 for the family, and arrived in Andes at about six o'clock in the evening. The stage was a four-horse, Concord coach, and rocked and rolled so on the road that Mrs. Bruce was greatly fatigued by the all day journey.

The only stage robbery known to have occurred on the turnpike

took place on the Little Delaware the evening of July 12, 1864. At that time Duncan Ballantine was the rich man of Andes. Born in Bovina in 1821, he was said to have been a nephew of James and John Ballantyne, school fellows and business associates of Sir Walter Scott. His father, David Ballantine, who came to America in 1800, and to Bovina in 1804, was drowned in the West Branch of the Delaware at Sherwood's Bridge below Delhi in 1839, when he, the lumber wagon on which he was riding and the horses were swept from the easterly approach to the bridge by high water. In 1864 Duncan Ballantine had just organized the First National Bank of Andes, and all persons related to him were supposed to be wealthy. His sister, Lillian Ballantine, residing in Michigan, had been visiting her brother in Andes, and returning to Michigan, her trunk filled with silver and expensive clothing was placed on the stage for Delhi the evening of July 12th. The trunk was too large for the boot and was strapped on behind over the rear axle. In Mable's woods, just beyond The Hook, the straps were cut and the trunk was removed, all unknown to the driver and passengers, who first discovered the loss when the stage arrived in Delhi. This was obviously no stage robbery in the style of the Great North Road. There was no galloping highwayman. No sharp command by a masked man to "Stand and Deliver." No mail-guard weltering in his blood. According to his mother-in-law, the robber was a bounty-jumper, who had left his wife. Albert Coykendall, ignominiously called "Curtendale" in the indictment, a young man from Bovina, was indicted, pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to Auburn State Prison for two years. He was only about twenty-one years of age, and while he had been married several years, he was living apart from his wife, and the great array of feminine apparel recited in the indictment, totalling \$300, was an incumbrance rather than of use to him, unless there was another woman in the case.

In 1865 the stage for Kingston and Rondout was still leaving Delhi at two o'clock in the black morning, and the public of Delaware County were beginning to talk of a railroad from Kingston to Delhi. In March, 1868, the roads were so bad from the thawing snow that the passengers "had to work their passage by walking by the side to prevent the stage turning over."

Wheeler W. Clark and George E. Chase, under the name of Clark & Chase, began to operate the stage line in the spring of 1870. George E. Chase, as a boy of seventeen, more than thirty years before, drove the first stage on the route, and Wheeler W. Clark was "The" Clark of Clark's Factory (Dunraven), and was Chase's son-in-law. The new firm ran the stages through to Kingston for only a few months. The

last stage coach for Delhi left Kingston May 28, 1870. Its driver was Stewart Chase, son of George E. Chase, who drove the first coach in 1839. John Bretz, born in Germany in 1846, and who for sixty years followed the trade of wheelwright in Andes, came to America, and transferring to a Hudson River boat, landed in Rondout just in time to catch the last four-horse stage coach to leave Rondout for Delhi. The next day was Sunday, and Monday morning at 6:40 the first train of the Rondout & Oswego Railroad Company, with a "very handsome passenger coach and a combination passenger and baggage car," left Rondout for "The Corner," as Mt. Tremper was then called,—in other words, for The Great Shandaken, but that significant name had then degenerated in common speech into "The Corner." The *Kingston Argus* said: "For many years the 'Delhi Stage' has been a familiar object and its disappearance will serve to enable our ancient berghers to realize the revolution that is actually going on in this locality,—a revolution destined to be materially accelerated by the early completion of the Wallkill Valley Railroad."

A page of history had been turned, and John Bretz got to America just in time to enter his name on the waybill at the bottom of the last page recording the disappearance of the Delhi stage from the streets of Kingston. "On Monday" (May 30, 1870), says the *Delaware Gazette*, "the Stage between this place (Delhi) and Rondout commenced running in connection with the train on the Rondout & Oswego road. Passengers for the present will leave Rondout on the arrival of the boats in the morning, and arrive here before sunset; and will leave this place in the morning in time to take the evening boats at Rondout. Messrs. Clark & Chase, the present proprietors of this line, are entitled to much credit with the thanks of the public for the energy and promptness with which they made arrangements to best accommodate the public. Their teams are excellent and their coaches large and comfortable. It is expected that within a few days nine miles more of the railroad in this direction will be completed, when it is intended to leave here after breakfast and reach the boats in season without extra fatigue."

In June, 1870, the stage was leaving Delhi at 7 a. m. and connecting with the train at Phoenicia, and by September 4, 1871, the connection was made at Dean's Corners (Arkville), the stage left Delhi at 8 a. m., and the fare was \$4 from Delhi to New York by stage and railroad. Clark & Chase, or Wheeler W. Clark, continued to run the stage from Delhi to Arkville until July 1, 1877, and kept a four-horse Concord coach on the road up to that time. In 1874 "the handsome pair of roan leaders which they had used for two or three years," was much admired. Wheeler W. Clark ceased to run his four-horse Con-

cord coaches between Delhi and Dean's Corners July 1, 1877. John Cant, born in Scotland in 1848, got the contract for carrying the mail, and put on a two-horse, three-seated, spring wagon as a stage. George E. Chase, unwilling to concede that the days of the four-horse stage coach were over, put on an opposition line which ran for a short time, but Cant, with the advantage of the mail contract, soon overcame this opposition, and the days of the stage coach were finally over. John Cant had the route for four years and was succeeded by John Cowan, who ran the stage from Delhi to Arkville from 1881 until his death about 1900.

A four-horse coach traveled the 'Sopus Turnpike between Kingston and Delhi three times a week each way, from June, 1839, until 1852, and daily, except Sunday, from 1852 to May 30, 1870, when the railroad first came to The Great Shandaken. From the later date until some time after July 1, 1877, four-horse coaches plied daily between Delhi and Dean's Corners, as Arkville was then called; but in 1877 the four-horse coaches left the turnpike and have not since been seen upon the road. In the seventy years that have elapsed since the four horses disappeared, the drivers have disappeared also; none are now living, and it is even difficult to find people who rode in their coaches and who remember their names and behavior. A few elderly people, however, remain (or did remain ten years ago), who recall the four-horse coaches, and in whose memories still linger some facts about the drivers.

The drivers of the four-horse stage coaches were important individuals in the days before the railroads. In England, where the rules of the General Postoffice relating to the delivery of the mails added to their importance, William Hazlitt said that even "the brother-in-law of a mail coach driver is himself no mean man." George Borrow tells us that having clambered to the top of a mail coach out of London he was about to sit down on the box when the driver said to him: "No, no, keep behind,—the box a'n't for the like of you; the box is for lords, or gentlemen at least." When Borrow essayed a remark about the horses, the driver said: "Don't you think, because you ride on my mail, I'm going to talk to you about 'orses: I talk to nobody about 'orses except lords." While American stage drivers did not confine their company and conversation to lords, they had a very good opinion of themselves. Witness the Salem driver's angry retort to a passenger who asserted his rights as a citizen: "When I drive the coach I am the whole United States of America." There was also the Boston driver called "Black Ben" by his mates. To an English traveler who accosted him and asked "Are you Black Ben?" he replied:

"Blackguards call me Black Ben, but gentlemen call me Mr. Jarvis." We have seen, nevertheless, that in July, 1839, under the benign influence of Captain Mapes, the drivers on the old 'Sopus Turnpike were skillful, careful, civil, industrious and obliging. The reporter for the *New York Herald*, who came to Delhi in the Anti-Rent crisis of August, 1845, by way of Catskill and the Susquehanna turnpike, was not so well pleased with the ride or the drivers on that route. He wrote of the ride from Catskill:

"After waiting an hour, you start at half past two o'clock at night in a stage coach for Delhi. For seventeen mortal hours you are rolled over a mountain road, crooked, hilly, and just irregular enough in its surface to guarantee the traveler a shaking he will not forget in a month. I have heard of being rolled in a barrel, but I do not think it a more turbulent mode of locomotion than traveling by the Catskill stage. But for one thing I would not be bribed to repeat the journey, with its dust, the heat of the weather, the risk of the rapid and perilous down hill gallop, and the shaking as aforesaid noticed. And what is that one thing that would atone for so many inconveniences? The scenery, sir! The scenery! . . . I will also state that there is room for improvement in the manner of conducting this stage. The drivers do not seem to care a straw about passengers. Although they carry the mail, they stop for the most frivolous reasons, and are certain to make a grand halt at every tavern they come to,—and these concerns are by no means scarce along the way."

After considerable inquiry among old residents along the turnpikes and elsewhere, the following incomplete lists of drivers and post riders are set down:

DRIVERS, 'SOPUS TURNPIKE	POST RIDERS	DRIVERS, CATSKILL TURNPIKE
David E. Case,	Parrick Beardsley,	Isaac Bear,
George E. Chase,	Abel Bostwick,	Charles Butler,
Stewart Chase,	James Russell, Jr.	Daniel Decker,
Micaiah Corbin,	John Thompson,	Frank H. Hillyard,
Peter Crispell,		Cyrus Ives,
Chauncey Edison,		Daniel Jones,
Peter Fiero,		Phineas Mapes,
Green Moore,		William McMorris,
David Packard,		"Ren" Northrup,
William Scott,		Louis O'Brien,
Thomas Telford,		Obadiah Ruland,
Martin VanLeuvan,		Garwood Tuttle,
Cornelius (Case) VanValkenburg,		George Wilsey.

The following additional list of stage drivers, with their ages, is taken from the 1850 Census for Delhi:

James Churchill, 22;	Charles A. Madison, 35;
Livingston Churchill, 18;	John McDonald, 23;
James Deyo, 23;	George More, 30;
Sidney Dutcher, 24;	Abram Osterhout, 24;
Robert Edgerton, 24;	George Wood, 23.
Hobart Hermiston, 25;	

The following list of drivers, wages \$12 per month, is from Gurdon Edgerton's Drivers Book of July, 1852:

Harvey Buysinger,
Edward Carpenter,
Elijah H. Jackson,
Fr. Loos,
James McPherson,
William Miller,
Green Moore, 2nd.,
Erastus Pudney,
Adam Webb,

George Riddle,
Hugh Riddle,
Sol. Riddle,
Daniel Smith,
David Smith,
Henry Smith,
Chauncey Stevens,
Lewis Tracy,
John Wood.

There is some doubt as to whether Peter Fiero ever drove a four-horse coach on the turnpikes. He drove a two-horse stage wagon for John Cant and for John Cowan. He also drove a team for The Clark at Clark's Factory in hauling hides and leather to and from Rondout, and while Clark had the stage route Fiero may occasionally have driven the four-horse stage, but his name is associated with Cant's and Cowan's two-horse stage wagons rather than with the four-horse coaches. David Packard was also only an occasional driver of the four-horses. He filled in when the regular drivers were unable to take a place on the box, but he does not properly belong in the select company of the drivers of four-horses.

Peter Crispell, who kept taverns at Shandaken and later at Andes, drove the four-horse stage coach from Delhi to Kingston for several years, apparently prior to 1860. His tavern at Shandaken was a change station on the stage route, and his stage driving experience probably preceded his career as a tavern keeper.

Stewart Chase was a son of George E. Chase, and, as his father drove the first four-horse coach over the 'Sopus Turnpike in June, 1839, so the son drove the last such coach to leave Kingston May 28, 1870. Several persons mention him as a driver, including John Bretz who rode on the last coach, but no other facts relating to him are recalled. Chauncey Edison is mentioned as a driver for Cornelius Winne on the Kingston-Shandaken end of the route, but no circumstances are related. Thomas Telford was another driver for Cornelius Winne. His wife, Maggie Telford, was a cook in Winne's hotel at Boiceville. After the railroad displaced the stage coaches, Telford became a driver for William Fitch, the blue-stone baron of Kingston, and died about 1906. Green Moore was the sheriff of Delaware County in 1845, and William VanLeuvan of Delhi said that he was a four-horse stage driver on the route, Kingston to Delhi. His activities as sheriff in the troubled times of the Anti-Rent affair have caused his skill as a driver of four-horses to be forgotten.

Martin VanLeuvan died about 1896 at the age of seventy-one

years. He is remembered as a well known driver of four-horses on the 'Sopus turnpike. "Mort" Case of Bovina Center said in 1936 that "Mart" VanLeuvan was a great driver,—“a graceful driver,” proud of his horses, and one who “knew how to handle those four lines.” The customary technic of handling the four lines was this: the near or left wheel-horse rein came under the little finger of the left hand, and the left leader rein over the next finger. The off or right wheel-horse rein came over the third finger of the right hand, and the right leader rein over the first finger. With the fingers trained to this primary disposition of the reins, they could be passed from one hand to the other and the extra fingers could manipulate the reins as occasion required. William VanLeuvan of Delhi, son of Martin VanLeuvan, in 1936, said that as a boy of five years he rode with his father on the box of a four-horse coach and observed that his father carried a handful of small pebbles in his coat pocket, one of which he now and then tossed at one of the lead horses. He said that his father told him that once he had beaten off a mail robber with a wheel wrench, and this was the nearest he ever came to a stage robbery. He was inclined to indulge in practical jokes when not on the box, and one time he and another driver boiled a setting of hen's eggs and gave them to Professor Woods, the colored barber at the Edgerton House, Delhi, with words of high commendation for the prize breed of chickens he would get if they were hatched. The barber was duly impressed, but on the way to set the eggs dropped one by accident and discovered the deception. Saying nothing, he substituted a fresh setting of eggs, and when these were duly hatched called the coach drivers to see the result. VanLeuvan and his co-conspirator were nonplussed, and as the barber never told them of his discovery, they were never able to understand how those boiled eggs hatched such a fine brood of chickens.

Cornelius, called “Case,” VanValkenburg, forty years old in 1850, was probably the Dutch boy hired by Captain Mapes. He drove on the Rondout end of the route, and after the railroad superseded the four-horse coaches took to tending bar in Cornelius Winne's Boiceville hotel.

William Scott, called “Scotty” by all who knew him, a man of no home, drove for many years prior to 1877 on the 'Sopus Turnpike. A much admired team driven by him consisted of a pair of sorrels on the wheel, and a pair of roan leaders. These handsome roan leaders drew a comment of admiration from the editor of the *Delaware Gazette* in April, 1874. One night as “Scotty” was coming into Delhi with the mail but no passengers, and his mettlesome horses were rattling the empty coach down the hill in front of the Sheldon place at a swift

gallop, he feared that he could not turn left through the first covered bridge and decided to keep to the road to the right and cross the second bridge. With all the dexterity and strength he possessed he attempted to hold his leaders to this course, but when the roans came opposite the first bridge, where they were in the habit of crossing, and saw the lights of the village beckoning them through the bridge, all that "Scotty" could do with the reins could not keep them from swinging sharply to the left to cross as they were accustomed to do. The wheel horses followed the leaders, and the coach with "Scotty" on the box toppled into a depression to the right of the road leading to the bridge. "Scotty" was not badly hurt, but it was fortunate that there were no passengers in the coach. "Scotty" is described as a man of no home. He was probably the son of Robert Scott, driver of four-horses on the southern line of stages out of Delhi, who met his death in an accident on the road in June, 1833, when, thrown from the box, the wheels of the coach passed over his head.

David E. Case died in Deposit about 1911 at the age of eighty years. He was a soldier in the Civil War, a member of the company known as the "Delaware Rifles," organized in Delhi in September, 1861. He drove four-horse coaches on the 'Sopus Turnpike after the war for at least ten years, and may have driven before the war. He was called "Old Case," by the children in the vicinity of Shandaken after the war. A daughter of Peter Crispell, an old lady in 1937 but in 1866 a child of six or seven years old, said that her father used to send her and her sister, a year or two older, on the box of the coach in the care of "Old Case" from Shandaken to her grandmother's at Pine Hill. When Case was given this charge by the tavernkeeper, and the little girls came out ready for the journey, he would say: "Come on, get up here you damn little kecks," and up they clambered to the box of the coach, where Case fastened them in place with a surcingle. While somewhat profane, Case was not bad tempered, but on the contrary was kindly, and the little girls enjoyed riding on the box with him. As they drove along he talked to them, telling them the names of his four horses, and they observed that he talked to the horses exactly as if they were persons and understood all that he said.

Eden Mortimer Case, known as "Mort" Case, living at Bovina Center in 1936 at the age of over eighty years, and who died in 1939, was a son of David E. Case. "Mort" said that his father always carried a horn, which he blew as he approached a village or a post office, and had the reputation of being a great driver, although perhaps he sometimes drank more than was good for him. Illustrative of the darkness prevailing at two o'clock in the morning when the coaches set out

from Delhi, "Mort" said that one morning, after he had been on the road some time and it got light enough to see that far ahead, his father discovered that he had no leaders, the hostlers having neglected to hitch them. Except that one would suppose that the driver would miss the leader reins, the story is like that told by Charles Sumner in 1834, where he says: "We started from Boston at half past three o'clock Monday morning, with twelve passengers and their full compliment of baggage on board, and with *six* horses. The way was very dark; so that, though I rode with the driver, it was some time before I discovered that we had six horses."

Micaiah Corbin, despite the name of the prophet with which his ambitious parents had embellished his infancy, was known on the turnpike only as "Cage" Corbin. Deprived of the name of the singular son of Imlah, he was yet one of the most picturesque drivers of the four horses to appear on the road. "Cage" Corbin was the son of Timothy Corbin, one of Hathaway's four horsemen in the Anti-Rent insurrection, and in some of his testimony in 1845 Tim Corbin mentions that his son "Cage" was with him in an encounter with the "Indians." Tim Corbin, who also had acquired the title of "Squire," died in May, 1855, aged sixty years, leaving a farm on the easterly side of Dingle Hill to his son "Cage," and also leaving land in Roxbury, and a debt owing to one Hicks, a local merchant of that place. The debt to Hicks resulted in litigation in which it appeared that Corbin, having promised to give Hicks a mortgage to secure his debt, undertook to draw the mortgage and had arranged with Nelson K. Dart, justice of the peace, to come to his house to take his acknowledgment when he hung out a cloth in an upper window to signify he was ready. But the cloth never appeared in the window, the mortgage was never drawn or executed, and "Squire" Corbin died leaving a law suit as well as several farms to his children.

"Cage" Corbin is described as a short, thick-set heavy man with Atlantean shoulders, powerful arms and hands, and a constitution impervious to ordinary ailments. He was thought to be eighty or eighty-five years old when he died in Bovina about 1901. "Cage" was not by nature a tiller of the soil; he had no hereditary inclination to husbandry, and was not fond of life on the farm. He had a wife and several daughters, and while they took care of the farm on Dingle Hill, "Cage" mingled with the world in taverns along the turnpike, and on the box of a four-horse coach between Kingston and Delhi. His greatest satisfaction in life was on the box of a coach with the reins in his hands, four strong-necked, clean-limbed horses tossing their heads, the sound of well oiled coach leather creaking musically, the wheels

rolling true, and the open road before him. When night came on, give him a well kept tavern, plenty of toddy, and a drouthy companion who knew the business of the road, and Tam o'Shanter himself was not more heedless of his "ain wife Kate's advice."

The *Herald* reporter in 1845 complained of the risk of the rapid and perilous downhill gallop. With a scheduled rate of speed of less than six miles per hour, it is apparent that coaches on the 'Sopus Turnpike did not indulge in much galloping. However, toward the end of the route and with a good downhill road the horses did not object to a gallop. The road down Palmer Hill into Andes on the way to Delhi offered an opportunity to make up lost time, and competent drivers were accustomed it appears to make the distance from the top of Palmer Hill to the post office in Andes in less than no time. One afternoon idlers, bystanders and others waiting for the mail were struck with admiration at the dramatic horsemanship with which "Cage" Corbin came charging down the road and drew up at the post office with brakes screaming and every horse of the four on his haunches as the ponderous coach lurched to a standstill. What was their despair, however, when the near leader dropped dead in his tracks as "Cage" released the reins.

"Look 'Cage,' shouted a bystander, "that leader's neck was broken, you stopped so short."

"Nonsense," said "Cage," "that horse died on top of Palmer Hill, but we came down so fast he didn't have time to fall 'till we got to the post office."

"Ah, Micaiah!" sadly remarked the preacher, standing by, "The Lord hath not spoken by thee this day."

Of all the animal world since time began, the horse and the dog have perhaps shown most attachment to and most confidence in the ways of man. Doubtless ages of association has much to do with this, and an instinct seems to have been developed in these animals causing them to trust some men and to distrust others,—an aspect of nature which "judges like a god all men that come to her."

"But," as Emerson has said, "the craft with which the world is made, runs also into the mind and character of men." And so the man judges the horse and the horse judges the man by some elementary law of nature. "Cage" Corbin seems to have had an affinity for horses which produced an understanding between him and his teams, baffling and mysterious to those not gifted with horse sense. "Cage" was frequently drunk as a result of his patronage of the taverns along the road, but this was never known to interfere with his driving. When groups of raftsmen who had gone to Philadelphia returned to their

homes on the East Branch, they came back by way of New York, the Hudson River, and the Old 'Sopus Turnpike. Generally an extra four-horse stage was put on for these returning raftsmen, and survivors say that "Cage" Corbin often drove the coach when he was so drunk that he had to be helped to the box and tied in his seat, and yet he drove with seeming care and no accidents. The horses were as partial to "Cage," "drunk or sober," as were those guided by Wordsworth's *Waggoner* partial to Benjamin. They desired —

"That no one else may have business near them,
And, drunk or sober, he may steer them."

This was shown in a remarkable way when the coach with "Cage" on the box pulled into Clark's Factory one afternoon. Wheeler W. Clark, seeing that the coach was not loaded and the horses were not tired, decided not to change horses, but observing that "Cage" was drunk, ordered him from the box, and told another driver to take the stage to Delhi. "Cage" grumbled and got down.

"All right," said "Cage," "you can put on another driver, but he won't get to Delhi with those horses."

The new driver, not doubting his ability to get to Delhi, jumped to the box, took up the reins and started the reluctant horses. He had scarcely disappeared at the turn of the road, however, when the coach and four reappeared headed back to Clark's Factory. They drew up at the stable, and the driver declared that despite all he could do the leaders turned around in the road with him.

"Well, what did I tell you," said "Cage." "Maybe I'm drunk; but I was never so drunk that a team turned around in the road with me."

Possibly the horses acted in response to the habit of being stabled and fed at Clark's Factory, rather than to a concerted purpose to strike against the order to change drivers; but "Cage" was put back on the box, and drove the same horses to Delhi, and those familiar with the episode declare it a realistic example of the truth of Wordsworth's observation of the horses driven by the drunken waggoner.

"Bob" Brisbane, who at the age of twenty-one wore an "Indian" disguise and carried a gun in the Anti-Rent uprising of 1845, lived near "Cage" Corbin's farm on Dingle Hill. "Bob" had been hunted by Tim Corbin, and had saved Tim's life when one Delameter fired at him from an ambuscade on the hillside. Whether this act of thoughtfulness on Brisbane's part was the stimulus or not, when "Cage" visited his farm and his wife and daughters, there was much friendly companionship between "Bob" Brisbane and "Cage" Corbin; and as "Cage" was most at home in a tavern, they sometimes forgathered at

Peter Crispell's hostelry in Andes, a favorite resort of Corbin's. One night after a fraternal party of this sort at which much liquor was drunk, they set out for Dingle Hill. They had Brisbane's team, but since "Cage" was better able to drive in the condition in which they found themselves, the reins were surrendered to him, and "Bob" was merely a passenger in his own conveyance until they came to Brisbane's home,—in the darkest hour before the dawn. However, much the liquor may have incapacitated them for physical exertion, both were men that talked better when well liquored, and as they rode along they conversed on many strange and interesting matters,—

And many a Knot unravel'd by the Road;
But not the Master-knot of Human Fate."

The "Master-knot" awaited them at the barway leading to "Bob's" barn. When they reached that place the bars were up and the horses came to a stop. "Cage" was the driver, and exercising the prerogative of that office, which on the turnpike permitted him to order the passengers out to push when the coach got stuck, he told "Bob" to get out and take down the bars. Perhaps "Cage" momentarily forgot whose horses he was driving; at any rate, the peremptory manner in which he ordered him out did not escape "Bob's" attention, who, moreover, was by no means sure he could handle the bars at that hour in the morning. Looking at "Cage" out of the corner of his eye, he intoned:

"Beneath the sable palisade,
That closed the Castle barricade,
His bugle-horn he blew."

"And," he added, laughing, "I suppose you expect some flunkey to announce, 'Lord MARMION waits below!' too, don't you?"

Amazed at this display of rhetoric on Brisbane's part, "Cage" said: "Well, 'Bob' if my legs were as spry as your tongue, I'd open the bars, but the fact is I don't think I can walk that far."

"I can't either," said "Bob." "So I guess you'll have to drive through them."

"Cage" demurred to this on the ground that the bars would be broken and the horses might be hurt.

"The horses are mine and the bars are mine," said "Bob," "and I'll take the chances. Drive on, thou son of Imlah, drive on."

But "Cage" refused to drive on, and morning broke over the purple peaks of the distant Catskills to find these two sage philosophers helplessly entangled in the master-knot of human fate presented by two pairs of useless legs and a pair of bars, which, so far as they were concerned, might indeed have been the iron-studded gates of Norham Castle, "on Cheviot's mountains lone."

When the four-horse coaches disappeared from the turnpike in 1877, "Cage's" distinctive job disappeared also. The business of driving a two-horse stage wagon had no attraction for "Cage." However, a man must live; one did not accumulate money on the box of a stage coach with a tavern at every turn, and so Corbin continued to drive stage until within four or five years of his death. He drove for Cant and Cowan between Delhi and Arkville for ten or fifteen years, and his last route, before he retired from the road about 1896, was between Arkville and Downsville. While no skill was required to drive two horses, and about the only similarity of the stage wagon to the coach was the backless driver's seat, still, for a man who loved horses, the job had some compensations. The horses were yet responsive to his control, and he continued to meet old friends and was able to get a drink now and then.

George L. Decker, teaming freight between Arkville and Union Grove, had just finished his dinner at the Riverside Hotel in Margaretville and was sitting on the front porch talking to old Mr. Terpenning, whose son-in-law ran the hotel, when "Cage" Corbin drove up with the stage wagon on his way from Downsville to Arkville. The horses drew in to the curb and stopped of their own accord. "Cage" dropped the lines on the dashboard, and getting down walked straight to the barroom as automatically as his horses had turned into the curb and stopped. Coming out in a few minutes, he spoke to Decker, and addressing old Mr. Terpenning, said:

"Come on Grand-pop, and ride up to Arkville with me."

"Why, I don't care if I do," said Terpenning. And cane in hand and his hat pulled well down, he climbed over the wheel and sat down beside "Cage" ready for the ride and some pleasant conversation on the way to Arkville.

"Cage" leaned down, and taking up the reins, said "Nelly."

The word was scarcely spoken, when with a flash of white fetlocks, Nelly's hind feet appeared in Terpenning's startled face, and the old man went over backwards into the wagon, his well placed hat dropping into his lap and his cane rattling to the floor at his feet.

"Ho!" said "Cage." "Grand-pop, what's the matter? That mare wouldn't hurt anyone."

"No?" said Terpenning, straightening up in his seat and recovering his hat, "I thought she acted a little skittish."

"Nelly," said "Cage." And again the mare's hind feet came up over the dashboard, and Terpenning grabbed his hat, as he went over backwards the second time.

"Come, come," said Corbin, "Nelly, this is 'Cage', get along now." And, related Decker, who observed this impromptu exhibition of rough riding in a stage wagon from his seat on the porch, the team moved off as nicely and evenly as any team.

"Cage" was not adverse to a practical joke at the expense of an older man, but when the tables were turned and he became the object of misdirected derision, he could resent it as well as another. When "Cage" drove the Arkville-Downsville stage, he stopped over night at Conklin's Hotel in Arena, then called Lumberville. One night as "Cage" sat at his ease in the barroom listening to talk generic of the place, a young man from Roxbury, who obviously felt himself superior to his surroundings, began to make patronizing queries of "Cage" regarding his name.

"Why do they call you 'Cage' Mr. Corbin?" asked the young man. "I understand you were christened Micajah, through ignorance of the true name of the prophet, and that 'Cage' is a contraction of that misnomer."

"Well, young man," said "Cage", "you understand a lot of things that are none of your business, don't you?"

Getting no satisfaction from "Cage" as to the origin of his name, the young man impudently began to tease the old man,—called him "coachman," referred to the tar and feathers administered to his father by the Anti-Renters, and as a final insult sang snatches of the song composed by William Brisbane in commemoration of that event. This was a subject "Cage" could never bear to have mentioned. Getting up to leave the place, as he passed his tormentor he reached over, seized him by the collar, yanked him to his feet and spinning him around threw him like a yelping puppy headlong into a corner of the room.

"Excuse me, young man," said "Cage." "If my finger hadn't slipped, I'd have broken your damn'd neck."

The young man's neck was not broken, but his conceit of himself was considerably impaired. "Cage" Corbin was the last of the drivers of the four horses to leave the turnpike, and with this demonstration of his ability to take his own part their account ends.

APPENDIX

ABSTRACTS OF LOYALIST PAPERS

After the Revolution many loyalists who had lost their property in New York went to Canada, and the British Parliament voted money to reimburse them for their losses, and appointed Commissioners, who sat in Halifax and Montreal in 1783-1789, to hear such claims. The following information, relating to loyalists from the East and West Branches of Delaware River, is from these claims and the supporting testimony.

EAST BRANCH

1. *Austin, Joel*: Native of America; settled on Delaware river in Ulster County; lived at Papachonk; went up with Mr. Burch with cattle; joined Col. John Butler in 1778; lost everything; had two improvements of land, with two houses.
2. *Barnhart, George*: Native of America; formerly of Verplanksburgh in County of Ulster; left home in 1778; was in Indian country and served with Captain Brant; had been imprisoned for assisting Col. John Butler before that time; produced a petition of his in '78 to commissioners at "Pughkesne" (Poughkeepsie), praying to be released, on the back of which they returned an account of the crimes with which he was charged; sergeant in Sir John Johnson's regiment; had lease of 180 acres on Delaware in 1770 from William Cockburn as agent for Verplanck, for two lives, his own and his son's, at five pounds per annum; 25 or 30 acres cleared; houses and barns; another lease for 170 acres, two lives, bought improvements in 1773, gave a span of horses and 30 pounds of New York currency, 6 or 8 acres cleared; another lease for 80 acres, bought in 1775 for 30 pounds; ten acres cleared; nine horses; 18 horned cattle; 44 sheep; 50 or 60 hogs; flour, grain, wool, deer skins, leather, furniture, utensils; all seized and sold by Americans while claimant a prisoner; Jacob Kairn, witness, says claimant was "The richest man thereabouts, except Mr. Burch."
3. *Barnhart, John*: Native of America; 100 acres near Delaware; Ulster County; land leased of Verplanck; had lived there eleven years; 30 acres improved, 70 acres woodland; came to Canada, 1779; left 5 horses, 5 cows, 4 heifers, 12 hogs; frequently on scout with Brant; (was with Brant at battle of Minisink, July 22, 1779); Jacob Kairn, witness, says claimant "possessed his father's farm," and was wounded on scout with Brant.
4. *DeWitt, Garton*: Born in New York; on Delaware River, Ulster County; 10 acres cleared; 70 miles from Soapos; one log dwelling house; stack of wheat; 112 pounds of flax; 60 bushels Indian corn; plough, large log chain, ox yoke, 3 axes, 4 hoes, iron shovel, 2 large iron pots, pewter, bedding, furniture; came to Canada, 1779; gave assistance to British scouts; obliged to hide in woods, rebels burnt his property; stock driven to Col. Butler.
5. *Kairn (Cairnes), John*: Native of Germany; born, 1754; came to America, 1770; had 300 acres on Delaware, on Verplanck's land, Ulster County; rent 5 pounds per annum; 40 acres cleared; always opposed rebels; twice joined Captain Brant on parties against them; in 1779, after being taken prisoner and ill used on account of his loyalty, escaped with his family to Niagara; enlisted in Sir John Johnson's regiment and served to end of war.
6. *Middagh, John*: Native of America; lived in Ulster County; was to have had lease of Judge Livingston; 100 acres on Delaware; had been in possession some years before war; had cleared 10 acres; built house; had share in horse

mill; cattle, utensils, furniture, clothes, two canoes; seized by Americans; was driven from home in 1777; obliged to skulk in woods for almost whole winter; had brother who was executed for raising men for the King's service; came to Niagara, 1779; Stephen Middagh, witness, says claimant had two other brothers very active for government from the first; one brother executed.

7. *Middagh, Martin*: On behalf of Henry, Charles, Rachel and Mary Bush, orphan children of late Henry Bush and wife; Bush and wife both died in November, 1778, and left four helpless orphans in greatest distress, eldest not eight years old in November, 1778; Henry Bush was a weaver by trade; died at age of 30, and his wife at age of 32; had 60 acres of land under will of his father; a loom, tackling, furniture; he lived at Marbletown when Rebellion broke out; came from thence to Delaware river; married Middagh's sister, Nelly; joined Indians under Brant; was very near losing his life by a party of rebels who fired at him.

8. *Middagh, Stephen*: Native of America; lands on Delaware; 5 acres cleared; built house; had share in horse grist mill; horse, cow, utensils.

9. *Parke, Nathaniel*: Native of Connecticut; lived on Delaware in 1775; joined British army, 1779; frequently on scout with Captain Brant; 16 acres cleared; house, small barn, stock; left loom, furniture, utensils.

10. *Wood, Jonas*: Native of America; on Delaware, Ulster County; taken prisoner by rebels, 1777, and confined in three different prisons, Sussex in the Jerseys, Goshen and Esopus for two years and four months; was tried for his life at Esopus; with a number of other loyalists broke jail and escaped to Niagara in 1780; four weeks in woods in distress; had four sons with British forces; has wife and eight children; had house, barns, stables, 9 horses; 30 sheep, 2 calves, 12 hogs; 40 acres improved; 30 acres in crops; wheat, rye, oats, Indian corn nearly ripe when forced to quit; a weaving loom, tackling, furniture, farm utensils; drove his cattle to Col. Butler; rebels burned his buildings.

WEST BRANCH

1. *Alexander, Hugh*: (Not a claimant) John Chisholm (with Brant at Battle of Minisink, July 22, 1779) and Thomas McMeekin, witnesses for John Burch. say that Hugh Alexander was one of the persons employed to move Burch's effects from Albany; they were three in number, and all were taken and put in gaol; the things were taken by the Americans under the command of the American Colonel Butler; Hugh Alexander was prosecuted and his property confiscated; his cattle were taken by a party of Mohawk Indians.

2. *Calder, William*: Janet Calder, widow of William Calder, says her husband was native of Scotland; came to America, 1773; settled on Cortwright's Patent; joined British, 1779; served several years; died spring of 1782; left three young children; she takes care of them and lives on River Raisine; he had 150 acres; cleared about 12 acres; built house, barn and stables; claim. 103 pounds, 3 shillings; marginal note: "Good woman."

3. *Cameron, John*: Native of Scotland; came to America, 1773; settled on Cortwright's land; had 150 acres on lease forever; 6d. per acre after 8 years; cleared 5 acres; also had 200 acres from Mr. George Clark on Delaware, to pay 20 shillings per acre, nothing paid; cleared 3 acres; had good house on it; growing crops; 9 cows; a horse, a mare, a colt, farming utensils, furniture; came to Canada in 1777; joined Sir John Johnson's regiment and served to end of war; all property sold by rebels. William Rose, witness in support.

4. *Clarke, Hugh*: Native of Scotland; came to America, 1774; settled in Tryon County on 300 acres in Courtwright's Patent; leased forever, rent 6d. per acre after eight years; cleared 12 acres at cost of 5 pounds, N. Y. currency, to clear; left 200 pounds maple sugar, 6 gallons molasses, turnips, potatoes, corn;

joined Captain McDonell; when McDonell went to Canada, claimant went home; soon obliged to quit his home and shelter in woods; kept skulking in woods; sometimes got upon his own land; went to Canada and joined Sir John Johnson's regiment, 1780. Marginal note: "A very fine man."

5. *Dingwall, James*: Late of Ulster County; native of Scotland; came to America, 1775; settled on lands of Judge Livingston in New Stamford; had five acres cleared; 2 horses, 2 cows, 200 pounds of maple sugar, utensils, furniture; joined British at Fort Stanwix; served all of war; claim 140 pounds.

6. *Dingwall, John*: Brother of James; native of Scotland; came to America, 1775; settled in New Stamford; had 1 horse, 5 milch cows, yoke of oxen, house, barn, cellar, furniture, wheat, peas, rye, oats, sugar, butter, cheese, a gun; claim, 196 pounds.

7. *Fraser, Hugh*: Native of Scotland; came to America, 1773; settled in Courtright Township on a lease forever, 6d. per acre; 300 acres, granted 1774; cleared 40 acres; built good house, barn, stables; had a ton and a half of movables when he came into country; had six sugar kettles; brought 200 guineas with him from Scotland; 15 acres in grain; 1 horse; 10 head of cattle; farm utensils; was the first man that opposed the oath to Congress; imprisoned; on Burgoyne's coming got away; joined parties with Captain McDonell; had battle with American Light Horse; beat them off; went to join St. Leger at Fort Stanwix; was with Indians 13 weeks after Burgoyne was taken; returned home; seized by Americans; all his goods vendued by them; imprisoned in Albany jail five months; house and stable erected in Albany after enlargement; family driven away; got to New York six weeks before the evacuation; claim, 535 pounds. Hugh Clarke, witness, says "knew that claimant was rich man when he came from Scotland; he was capable of doing more than any of his neighbors."

8. *Livingston, Neil*: Son of Flora Livingston, widow of sergeant John Livingston, late of Tryon County; his mother old and sickly and not able to attend; lives at Coteau du Lac. John Livingston a native of Scotland; came to America before war; settled on Delaware river; had 150 acres in Cortright's Patent; took it in '74 or '75; cleared 8 acres; then went to Delaware; had 100 acres from V. B. Livingston; gave nothing for it; at same time hired other land five miles from first; kept both farms; stock on Delaware farm; 1 horse, 3 cows, 5 calves, 1 bull, 9 hogs; father joined Sir John Johnson's regiment at Oswego; was a sergeant; served all of war; drowned in summer of '83.

9. *McAlister, Terrence*: Native of Ireland; came to America in 1771; settled in Kortright Township as a farmer in 1774; signed Association in 1775, but conduct adverse to rebels, and in 1776 he was forced to live much in woods; in 1777 joined Captain McDonell with a body of loyalists; enlisted in Sir John Johnson's corps and served until 1781; discharged on account of his health; had 150 acres in Kortright Township; had it in 1774 from proprietor forever, paying 6d. per acre per annum; had built two houses by his own labour and that of his neighbours; built improvements on land on Charlotte river, house in 1776 or 1777; took no title to it; now lives near Sydney, Island of Cape Breton; his wife informed him that all his stock was sold at vendue in 1778; she was turned out of doors by the rebels. Supported by affidavit of John Cameron that claimant was in possession of 150 acres in Kortright in August, 1777.

10. *McDonell, Alexander*: Native of Scotland; came to America, 1773; had tenant farm, lot 15, north side, Charlotte River; 9 acres cleared; house, barn, stables, furniture; had sowed wheat, rye, oats, barley, pease, buckwheat; 4 cows, 1 bull, 2 oxen, heifer, mare, 2 sheep, cow bells, harrow teeth; claim 135 pounds.

11. *McDonell, Roderick*: Native of Scotland; came to America, 1773; settled on lot No. 17, south side, Charlotte River; 9 acres improved; dwelling house, barn, stable, household furniture, 4 cows, 1 ox, 2 heifers, 1 mare, 4 pigs, utensils; claim 137 pounds.

12. *McDonell, Captain John*: Native of Scotland; came to America, 1773; settled on 491 choice acres bought of Sir William Johnson on Charlotte River; 60 acres cleared and fenced; dwelling house, barn, barracks; 6 horses, 7 cows, 10 sheep, 8 hogs, poultry, furniture, clothing; 300 bushels of grain, 330 bushels of potatoes; pleasure sleigh, plough, harrow, work sleigh, log chain, saddle and bridle; a silver watch; 14 pounds cash taken from wife; all seized by Americans and wife turned off land. Claim, 1617 pounds.

13. *McKay, Hugh*: Native of Scotland; came to America, 1771; settled on Cortwright Patent; had lease.

14. *McKay, John*: Native of Scotland; came to America, 1773; late of Harpersfield, Tryon County; settled on Cortwright's land, 150 acres, lot No. 81, Kortright, on lease; 16 acres cleared, horse, cows, some grain; never joined rebels; three times imprisoned before 1780; obliged to flee for furnishing provisions to Sir John Johnson; joined his regiment, 1780; had large family. Duncan McKenzie, neighbour and witness, says, "His large family kept him back."

15. *McKay, Neil*: Native of Scotland; came to America, 1773; settled in Tryon County on 150 acres in Township of Courtwright; lease from Lawrence Courtwright, forever; paying 6d. per acre; cleared 12 acres; house, barn, stable, kiln; had made most of his buildings with his own hands assisted by his neighbours; obliged to leave his land for fear of his life; "The American Indians came down and destroyed two families and he was obliged to fly and went to Albany in 1780." "One Captain John McDonald had come into the country to persuade the Highlanders to join Burgoyne; many of them had been at claimant's house; a considerable party assembled to join Burgoyne and marched two days and had an engagement,—dispersed when Burgoyne was taken." Claimant was advertised in the News Papers and ordered to leave the country, or he would suffer for it. Hugh Clarke, witness, says, "he knew claimant; that he meant to join Burgoyne and marched with a party for that purpose and had an engagement with the American Light Horse. When Burgoyne was taken they all dispersed. Most went with Captain McDonald to Canada. Claimant staid but all his property was plundered."

16. *McKenzie, Duncan*: Native of Scotland; came to America, 1774; lived in Harpersfield on Cortwright's land, 150 acres; 15 acres cleared; lost 6 cows, 2 oxen, a bull, 5 calves; his father, John McKenzie, gave in claim and has since died; his mother lives with him and is satisfied he should claim; young and unable to bear arms in 1779; his father obliged to fly for safety; all property taken from him. John McKay, witness, says John McKenzie died last year, left only this one son; both father and son served as soldiers; had two servants which forwarded his improvements.

17. *McMeekin, Thomas*: Native of Scotland; came to America, July 1774; late of West Branch of Delaware river, Tryon County; had tenant farm from Goldsbury Bunyard (Banyar); joined British Army at Niagara in March, 1781; "was desired by Joseph Brant to remain in country for the purpose of getting intelligence and supplying the British scouts with provisions;" had a large family; his mother lived with him, and broke her leg; obliged to take arms once with rebel militia; in 1781 taken by Seneca Indians and brought into Niagara; claims for provisions furnished Indians; in Albany gaol when his plantation plundered by a party of Mohawk Indians; part of stock taken belonged to Thomas Carson, 24 pounds paid for it; three cattle belonged to Hugh Alexander, not paid for. Brant and various British officers made certificates in support of claimant.

18. *McVey, John*: Native of Scotland, came to America, 1773; came over as an indentured servant to Captain McDonell; useful in protecting British spies.

19. *Rose, James*: Native of Scotland; came to America, 1773; in 1775 was settled in 'Sopus County on Delaware; had 60 acres on lease forever from Mr.

DeBruse (Desbrosses); had cleared 5 acres; house, barn, 2 cows, heifer, lost; came to Canada in 1778; served in Sir John Johnson's regiment.

20. *Rose, William*: Native of Scotland; came to America, 1773; settled on land of Philip Livingston on River Delaware; 200 acres; 8 acres cleared and fenced at 4 pounds per acre; house, stable, barn, some cows, a mare, some furniture; all taken by rebels; never joined rebels; came to Canada with Indians in 1777; joined Sir John Johnson's regiment and served all of war. John Cameron, witness, knew claimant before war, and says he was a loyal man.

21. *Shearer, Thomas*: Native of Scotland; came to America in 1774; late of West Branch of Delaware in N. Y. Province; had promise of lease of 200 acres from Gooldsbury Banyar, Esq., gave 30 shs. York, for the improvements; had cleared 30 acres; built a house; crop, stock, clothing, furniture and utensils taken; settled in back country; never asked to join rebels; "a scout of Indians destroyed his property and carried him in prisoner;" he came from home in 1779; joined Jessup's corps, and served until end of war; lives at Carlisle Bay.

22. *Stoneburner, Jacob*: Native of Germany; came to America, very young; settled at Schoharie at the Head of Delaware; 36 acres improved, house, barn; had four sons who joined British; James Stewart, witness, knew claimant when he lived "at the Head of Delawar."

23. *Stewart, James*: Native of Scotland; came to America in July, 1774; settled in Ulster County on Delaware as farmer and practiced as a surgeon; had 100 acres on Delaware purchased in 1774; was to pay 20 pounds, sterling, for land; he paid 100 pounds at least; * 50 acres were improved by himself and those he left behind him; sent power of attorney to son-in-law, George Grant, to sell his lands; not done, property in dispute; in 1740 became surgeon's mate in 42nd Regiment of Royal Highlanders; in year 1745 served as first surgeon in Sir Lodovick Grant of Grant's Regiment of militia until the Rebellion in Scotland was suppressed; came to America with a numerous family of young boys; eldest son obliged to fly the country with his brother to New York, "where they served in the Waggon Master Gen'l Service until the reduction of the war;" came to Oswego in 1777 with 52 men; instrumental in bringing 24 Scotch and 26 Dutch loyalists to Sir John Johnson; in 1777 eldest son taken prisoner and stripped of a silver watch worth 5 pounds; had 4 horses, yoke of oxen, 2 heifers, 2 steers, 8 milch cows, 24 sheep and 36 lambs, farming utensils, books, surgical instruments; has five sons; came to Canada with Captain John McDonell. Claim, 290 pounds; allowed 30 pounds for improvements and 100 pounds for personalty lost. Jacob Stoneburner, witness, lived near Dr. Stewart in Ulster County.

24. *Thompson, Archibald*: Native of Scotland; came to America in 1773; he and James Parks settled together on John Harper's land in Tryon County; no lease or deed; cleared 12 acres; log house; 2 horses, 5 horned cattle; joined Captain McDonell first in August, 1777; joined Indians, 1778; was with Charles Smith when latter was shot and scalped by Capt. Long in August, 1778, on Schoharie Creek.

* Probably means, for improvements.