WASHINGTON HEIGHTS
MANHATTAN
ITS EVENTFUL PAST
THE OLDEST LIVING THING ON WASHINGTON HEIGHTS

The great Tulip tree at Shorakapkok, 240 years old; Abram Seeleys Cottage, and the glen filled with shells and debris of the Indians.
WASHINGTON HEIGHTS
MANHATTAN
ITS EVENTFUL PAST

By
Reginald Pelham Bolton
Honorary Life Member of the New York Historical Society, and of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Associate Member of the Westchester County Historical Society, A Vice-President of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, also of the City History Club.

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INDIAN PATHS IN THE GREAT METROPOLIS
RELIQUS OF THE REVOLUTION, ETC.

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BY THE PUBLICATION OF THIS VOLUME IT NOW ENTERS A NEW FIELD OF EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY

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PROLOGUE

No part of the City of New York is situated amid surroundings more picturesque or is provided with a topography more attractive than the northern part of the Island of Manhattan, which has been known for the past half century as Washington Heights. Situated on a line of abrupt hills, bounded by precipitous wooded and parked slopes, margined on both sides by tidal waters, and facing the splendid Palisades, it affords to its residents a charm of variety in outlook, and an enjoyment of abundant light with a ready access to beauties of nature unequalled in any other section of the metropolis.

To these natural advantages is added a crown of historical association, and a record of past events that renders its streets, its parks and some of its ancient buildings centers of unusual interest and attraction.

By its retarded development into a great residential district it retained to a late period many visible traces of great events connected with our City’s history, and within its rather restricted area even yet there may be seen actual dwelling places of the aborigines, homes of the Colonial period, and residences of prominent characters who participated in our country’s development in politics, art and letters. Nor is any part of the City associated more directly with the crucial events of the defense of the cause of liberty. During the entire period of that memorable struggle Washington Heights was a
center of military activity and became the theatre of one of the most extensive military operations of the war, culminating in the memorable assault on November sixteenth, 1776, of which visible traces yet remain.

These associations may be justly regarded as an asset to a locality which has become the place of residence of a great population, and they have a practical value in stimulating in its citizens an affectionate devotion to their home district, in widening their interest in the needs of the metropolis and increasing their pride in its citizenship.

It is somewhat strange that the history of the Heights has received little detailed attention at the hands of any of the historians of the City, and that the presentation of its interesting record has been left to this late date. But this delay has been of advantage, since the subject matter has been substantially enlarged by the explorations and the observations which have accompanied the physical development of the locality, conducted by a group of interested members of the New York Historical Society, of whom the author has been one.

Led by William L. Calver, this party has searched every part of the district, taking advantage of street gradings, house excavations, and the washing away of soil on steep grades, and with much laborious digging and sifting has explored the sites of Indian occupation, of ruined colonial dwellings, and of the fortifications and the camp sites of the armies of the Revolution.

By this fortunate combination, the history of the district, as here set forth, has gained a peculiar distinctiveness, many buried evidences have been brought to light, and confirmative material has been added to recorded history.
The materials for this story of the past have been gathered during a period of twenty-five years, the facts and sites have been compared with existing and newly uncovered remains, and a complete survey of all known sites, of the position of discovered relics, and of all ancient boundaries and shore lines has been systematically made and plotted on a series of maps which were commenced by the writer in 1902, and completed in 1920. The originals of these maps have been given to the American Geographical Society, and are available for study by interested readers, in the fine building of that Society at 156th Street on Broadway.

The area of Washington Heights is generally assumed to cover the hill region north of Manhattanville, reaching an elevation at 135th Street, and extending east and west between St. Nicholas Avenue and the Hudson River. Above 145th Street its eastern margin may be assumed to be Colonial Park as far north as the Polo Grounds and thence above 159th Street its east boundary is the Harlem River. Above 200th Street it includes the valley of Inwood, and extends above Marble Hill to the centre of old Spuyten Duyvil Creek or about 225th Street, although this upper portion has been physically separated from Manhattan by the United States Ship Canal.

The district consists in the main of a precipitous elevation rising abruptly from the floor of the Harlem plain and the shores of the Hudson and Harlem rivers, some four and a half miles in length to the now vanished Spuyten Duyvil Creek, and of a width at no part exceeding two-thirds of a mile.

The range of hills is composed of a mass of Manhattan schist overlying at an acute angle the Fordham
gneiss, from beneath which the Inwood limestone crops out at the northerly end of the island. The ridge at the
time of the glacial invasion formed a barrier to the flood
emerging from the icy mass, and evidences at numerous
points the direction of that flow by abrasions on promi-
nent surfaces. Those rock-filled icy waters sawed their
way through the hill at Manhattanville, at Dyckman
Street and at Spuyten Duyvil, where the flood formed a
swirling pool which filled the Inwood valley and found
a vent by the course of the Harlem River. At Isham
Park and Marble Hill the Inwood limestone was left
exposed, and on the easterly side of the heights the
Fordham gneiss was bared, showing bands of intruded
quartz along the Speedway. Over the whole area, as
slow time proceeded, the advance of vegetation spread a
thin layer of soil, covering the beds of glacially sifted
sand and the boulders and drift which had been brought
down from far removed districts. Abundant springs of
water broke from the crevices in the rocks, and a dense
growth of forest covered the upland. In the marshes and
tidal waters a teeming life developed, and wild animals
and birds for long ages roamed the woodlands.

Then man made his appearance. And here the
human drama begins.

Reginald Pelham Bolton.

638 West 158th Street.
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I

Washington Heights in
Indian possession before 1600.

Showing the Weckquaesgeek Path, and branch trails, connecting all known village sites and camping places.
I

THE HOME OF THE NATIVES

SOME of the most dramatic events in the early history of the City of New York took place at the northerly portion of the Island of Manhattan, now known as Washington Heights, and it is remarkable that at this late date, when the lower portion of the island has reached an extreme development by the construction of the vast buildings for which it is now renowned, representative of the most modern achievements of science, the retarded development of Washington Heights has preserved some of the actual evidences of aboriginal life, of which, in the lower and middle part of the island, all traces were long since swept away.

An instructive comparison can be drawn between the skyscrapers at the lower end of the Borough of Manhattan and the humble rock-dwelling of aboriginal man at Inwood, and thus the history of Indian occupation of the Heights possesses the advantage and interest which attach to visible remains of the past. Preserved in public possession within the area of Inwood Hill park, these relics will form an invaluable illustration of the remote forms of human existence in which the feeble beginnings of the Great City were founded.

It is also an appropriate circumstance that in a locality in which the first conflict took place between the white man and the red man within the metropolitan region, there should be established the splendid Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, on Broadway at 155th Street. This institution, which owes its foundation to the public spirit and devotion of Mr. George G. Heye, is designed to present, in a manner heretofore lacking, comparative materials which will throw needed light upon the methods and habits of the native occupants of all the Americas. Its rich store of objects covers aboriginal life and art in all regions from the Arctic to the Antarctic, affording abundant material for the stu-
dent, the historian, and the lover of nature. An appropriate collection consists of objects which have been found in the district which is now the home of the Museum, and thus in this fine institution, to vary an old adage, the study of aboriginal history may begin at home.

More than three hundred years have elapsed since that period when, prior to the advent of Henry Hudson, Manhattan was the undisturbed domain of the Red Man. The rugged heights of Penadnic (9) which extend from Manhattannville to Spuyten Duyvil, whose densely-wooded sides formed a refuge for innumerable wild beasts and birds, were traversed by the natives on the Weckquaesgeek trail, a well traveled path which, following the natural grades through the woodlands, extended from the lower end of the island, through Central Park and by way of Avenue Saint Nicholas as far as 145th Street, where it climbed to the Heights and following Broadway from 168th Street came down the hill to Dyckman Street.

At this point branch trails led in several directions to the various haunts of the natives in and around the Inwood valley, while the main pathway extended along the Harlem River bank to Spuyten Duyvil Creek, at a point available for crossing to the mainland. This was a shallow place long thereafter known as "The Wading Place," on the line of our present Broadway, at that narrow and tortuous part of the creek north of Marble Hill, which was known to the natives as Paparinemin (8), a name which by native custom was applied not only to the waterway, but to the abutting island of Kingsbridge, from which the mainland was reached by another crossing over the marshland on the line of our modern 231st Street. One branch trail doubtless led to the foot of Dyckman Street, and another must have led to the village lodges situated along the line of Seaman Avenue. Passing through the settlement it extended through the woods to that secluded and still undisturbed dell below the east side of Inwood Hill, which is now known locally as "Cold Spring Hollow," where, under overhanging cliffs, and below great masses of rock detached from the lofty bluffs, a secure refuge was afforded from winter's storms and from hostile observation. This village area was known to the Red Men as Shorakapkok (15), and that name was applied here as elsewhere to the nearby waters of Spuyten Duyvil Creek.

The occupants of this part of the island of Manhattan were
THE WILD WOODS OF THE HEIGHTS as they were when red men and wild animals shared this shelter. In the "Clove," Inwood hill Park. Page 2.

THE WASTE OF INDIAN LODGES in the woods of Shorakapkok, on the path to Cold spring hollow, Inwood.
members of a clan or group which at the time of the earliest written records was led by a sachem named Rechgawac or Rechewac. They were thus known as Rechgawawanc probably "Rechgawac's people" but they were part of the Weckquaesgeek, a larger chieftaincy which had its headquarters at Dobbs Ferry. The territory occupied by the Rechgawawanc extended over the modern Morrisania as far as the Bronx River and all of the upper part of the island of Manhattan. It is doubtful how far their ownership extended to the south, but it seems clear that the lower portion of the island, probably from about 59th Street southward, was owned if not occupied by the Canarsee of Kings County.

The Rechgawawanc, represented by their chieftain, sold to Bronck in 1639 the southern portion of the Borough of the Bronx, a tract known as Ranachqua (10), extending east to the Bronx River but we do not find that they made any sale of lands in Harlem or Washington Heights. They did not own the nearby islands of Tenkenas (16), the present Ward's Island, nor Minnahanonck (5), or Blackwell's Island which were sold to Van Twiller in 1637 by two sachems of the Canarsee chieftaincy of Brooklyn.

Their sachem or chieftain resided for upwards of forty years after the white men made their appearance as squatters on native lands, in a village described as Konaande Kongs (3) situated near 100th Street and Park Avenue on the high ground south of the promontory known as Rechewanis (11) alongside of which a brook which the Dutch called the "fonteyn" found its way into the East River at Hellgate Bay. Whether the point derived its name from its sandy character, or was so designated by reason of its proximity to the haunt of the great Sachem, is not clear.

The members of the chieftaincy occupied not only the Washington Heights district, but also the westerly part of the present Borough of the Bronx, the hilly tract extending along the east side of the Harlem River, also the Van Cortlandt Park and Riverdale districts as far north as Yonkers.

In the vicinity of their chieftain's home, the now crowded Harlem valley, it is hard today to imagine the broad Muscoota (6) a name generally applied to marshy areas, a level tract of land out of which rose the hill that the early settlers named Slang Berg or Snake Hill, our present Mount Morris, which was connected to the eminences still existing in Central Park by irregular ridges of
guess rock. The easterly portion of this area was known to the natives as Conykeekst (1) and by the Dutch as the Otterspoor, from the numerous trails of the otter which inhabited the sandy banks of the river in which the little animal doubtless found an abundant food supply.

Near our present 121st Street and Pleasant Avenue there was a fishing resort of the natives conveniently situated for access by canoe to neighboring haunts on the Morrisania side of the creek. It was connected by a branch trail across the flat land, with the main Weckquaesgeek Path, near 111th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue. West of this native station a long tract of cultivable land extended along the Harlem known as Schorrakin (14), back of which lay an extensive marsh area, and a narrow tidal inlet extended inland from 155th Street to 145th Street, along our present Colonial Park. The chieftaincy doubtless occupied other favorable places for their oystering and fishing at points along the shore line of Hellgate Bay and the Harlem River. On the Hudson side of the island of Manhattan there were scattered fishing stations, probably occupied only in summer. Their largest settlements appear to have been in the Dyckman tract, the marshy valley extending from Fort George to Inwood Hill and Marble Hill, a favored space which afforded every convenience of food and shelter required for aboriginal existence. Situated between the noble Mahikanittuk (4), the great estuary on the west, and the placid Muscoota or Harlem river on the east, and completely enclosed and protected by forested hills, no more ideal place could well have been found for native residence.

It is not therefore surprising that at a number of places in and around this valley indications of aboriginal occupancy have been found, some so numerous and so extensive as to appear to have been utilized by quite a considerable population, and probably for a great length of time.

As in later years of military strife, the commanding heights of Fort George hill overlooked the entire area and afforded a desirable site for observation in all directions. Native objects taken from the soil in the area between Amsterdam and St. Nicholas Avenues at 191st to 198th Streets, indicate that the hill-top was a place frequented by the Indians.

West of Broadway and south of 181st Street there was a clearing on which the natives raised maize, known to the early
settlers as the "Indian Field" or the "Great Maize Land." This cultivated tract probably covered more or less of the area between Haven Avenue and Broadway from 175th Street to 181st Street. In its vicinity, at Jeffrey's Hook, now Fort Washington Point, arrow-points and deposits of shells and charcoal, with fragments of native pottery, have been found, and evidence the long-time occupancy of the rocky headland as a fishing place.

Along the high banks overlooking the Hudson River as far south as Audubon Park, at favorable places where shelter was afforded by rocks and trees, deposits of shells and black carbonized debris have been found which indicate the sites of fishing camps. One of these was situated on a knoll on the south side of 158th Street and Audubon Lane, and others have doubtless been buried deep under modern changes of grade on the west side of the Heights.

A little brook, rising in the high ground west of Fort Washington Avenue at 180th Street, made its way in past times down the present line of Bennett Avenue to 194th Street. Crossing the Indian Path it wound through marshy land on its devious way to that deep indentation in the Harlem river bank, the Half Kill now Sherman's Creek, into which another brook also entered from the west, that found its source in springs within the area of the Indian village at Seaman Avenue.

Where the brook and trail crossed Broadway at 194th Street a favorable sloping bank, long used in truck-farming by Adolph Zerrenner and his family, was utilized probably as a planting ground by natives, as shown by sundry native tools and fragments turned up in its soil. Under the massive overhanging rocks on the east side of Fort Tryon hill, between 194th and 198th Streets, there have been found some pockets filled with discarded shells probably the debris of nearby shelters used in the inclemency of winter.

The greater part of the Penadnic range south of the Inwood Valley was wild forest, in which the natives found a certain supply of the woodland products on which they depended for their home life, such as timber and bark, nuts, grapes, plants and herbs.
II

THE INDIANS OF THE HEIGHTS

THOSE natives who occupied the upper part of Manhattan island at the time of Hudson's arrival were of Algonkian stock, members of the great race that were spread over the eastern portion of North America. They were of Delaware origin, part of the Unami branch of that great tribe, and with their neighbors who were settled along the east side of Hudson River, were known as Wappinger or "men-of-the-east-land," a term which came to be applied later to one particular chieftaincy resident in Dutchess county. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Rechawawanc, who dwelt on the upper end of the island were part of the chieftaincy of the warlike Weckquaesgeek, whose headquarters were at Wickquaesgeek (17) our present Dobbs Ferry. The territory of that tribal unit extended northwards along the Hudson as far as Ossining which was the home land of the Sintsinck their neighbors, and comprised about seven miles of the interior woodlands, as far as the possessions of the Siwanoy, a widespread and numerous tribe also of Delaware origin, occupying the east part of Westchester County and southwestern Connecticut eastward as far as Norwalk.

These and other related chieftaincies were controlled to some extent by the authority of a head sachem, who was apparently elected for his wisdom or prowess, and whose consent was necessary to matters such as war or peace and the occupancy of land.

Prior to the arrival of the white men the natives of the Metropolitan area had come under the control of the warlike Mohawk tribe, part of the Iroquois of Central New York, and they were compelled to pay an annual tribute to their conquerors, whom they regarded with such fear that whole communities would, upon observing the approach of Mohawk canoes, abandon their homes and take refuge in the wild forest.
THE MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN, Heye Foundation, completed in 1922, housing in its magnificent collections many native objects found on Washington Heights.

On Broadway at 155th Street. Page 1.

THE OLDEST DWELLING OF MANKIND ON MANHATTAN. The cave at Shorakapkok, or Cold spring hollow, discovered by the late Alexander Chenoweth. Page 11.
At some still more remote period it seems to be certain that the Delawares in their turn had invaded the entire region, displacing and probably absorbing into their own community a race of earlier occupants whose crude weapons and inferior intelligence had offered little resistance to the appropriation of their homelands. The only traces of such early existence in Manhattan Island have been found at the foot of Dyckman Street. The Raritan tribe, another warlike chieftaincy had a tradition that their ancestors had at one time occupied the land of the Weckquaesgeek, possibly having been displaced by that aggressive and self-assertive clan.

We have some knowledge of the appearance and of some of the habits of the primeval occupants of Upper Manhattan, for the Hollanders recorded a few impressions of their appearance and characteristics, though it is regrettable that they so despised the "wild men," as they described them, that they exhibited little interest in their customs, and made no attempt to preserve their language. We may assume that the natives of our locality possessed the usual stolid demeanor, the crafty methods, and the ingrained belief in revenge of the Amer-Indian, which were in fact exhibited in some of their dealings with the white intruders. Those surrounding the white settlers in this locality appear to have had some local characteristics. "Their heads were shaven, save a tuft and lock on one side." They painted their faces with red, blue, and yellow pigments to such a distortion of their features that, as one sententious Dominie expressed it, they "look like the devil himself." Captain David de Vries wrote: "The Indians about here are tolerably stout, have black hair, with a long lock which they let hang on one side of the head. The hair is shorn on the top of the head like a cock's comb. Their clothing is a coat of beaverskins over the body with fur inside in winter and outside in summer; they have also sometimes a bear's skin, or a coat made of the furs of wild cats or raccoons. They also wear coats of turkey feathers, which they know how to put together, but since our Netherlands have traded here, they barter their beavers for duffels-cloth, which they find more suitable than the beavers, and better for the rain." "Their pride is to paint their faces hideously with red or black lead so that they look like fiends. Then are they valiant; yea, they say they are Manetto—the devil himself."

Their dependence on supplies of game as well as of fish caused
them to move from one place to another at certain seasons, so we read of the summer “hunting-ground” of the Weckquaesgeek in Westchester County, whence they returned via the Harlem River to “Wickers Creek” in the winter for shelter. This indicates a friendly intercourse with their neighbors, the Siwanoy, whose territory extended east of the Bronx River. As for dress—“They go,” said Juet, “in deerskins loose, well-dressed—some in mantles of feathers, and some in skinnes of divers sorts of good furres. They have red copper tobacco pipes, and other things of copper they doe wear about their neckes.”

No copper objects have been found on Manhattan island, and possibly any metallic material which they had acquired they bartered away with the early colonists, for in 1625, De Laet described their use of “Stone pipes for smoking tobacco.” One of their soapstone pipes, crudely scratched with features of a human face, was found near the Ship Canal by W. L. Calver.

De Laet in his “New World” gave this description of them in 1625.

“The Indians are indolent, and some crafty and wicked, having slain several of our people. The Manhattans, a fierce nation, occupy the eastern bank of the river near its mouth. Though hostile to our people, they have sold them the island or point of land, which is separated from the Main by Hellgate, and where they have laid the foundation of a city called New Amsterdam.

The barbarians are divided into many nations and languages, but differ little in manners. They dress in the skins of animals. Their food is maize, crushed fine and baked in cakes; with fish, birds, and wild game. Their weapons are bows and arrows; their boats are made from the trunks of trees, hollowed out by fire.

Some lead a wandering life, others live in bark houses, their furniture mainly mats and wooden dishes, stone hatchets, and stone pipes for smoking tobacco.

They worship a being called Manetto, are governed by chiefs called Sagamos, are suspicious, timid, revengeful, and fickle; but hospitable, when well treated, ready to serve the white man for little compensation.”

As regards their food, the evident abundance and size of the local oysters provided a ready source of subsistence. As soon as Hudson’s ship reached the neighborhood of Greenwich, or the Indian
station Sappo Nahikan (12), the natives “brought great store of very good oysters aboard, which we bought for trifles.”

De Laet (1625) says, “their food is maize, crushed fine and baked in cakes, with fish, birds and wild game.”

Van der Donck, who knew the Indians of Kingsbridge personally, wrote of them in 1649:

“Their fare, or food, is poor and gross, for they drink water, having no other beverage; they eat the flesh of all sorts of game that the country supplies, even badgers, dogs, eagles and similar trash, which Christians in no way regard; these they cook and use uncleansed and undressed.”

“Moreover, all sorts of fish; likewise, snakes, frogs and such like, which they usually cook with the offals and entrails.”

“They know also, how to preserve fish and meat for the winter, in order then to cook them with Indian meal.”

“They make their bread, but of very indifferent quality, of maize, which they also cook whole, or broken in wooden mortars.”

“The women likewise perform this labor, and make a pap or porridge called by some, Sapsis, by other, Duundare, which is their daily food, they mix this also thoroughly with little beans, of different colors, raised by themselves; this is esteemed by them rather as a dainty than as a daily dish.”

In the shell pits of the Heights and around the rockshelters of Inwood, remains of their food have been found, indicating the correctness of the above descriptions.

“All sorts of game” are shown by the prongs and bones of deer and elk, and teeth of bears, the bones of the wild turkey and other birds, while the skulls and bones of small animals such as the beaver, the squirrel, the muskrat, and otter attest the use of the “trash which Christians in no way regard.” Scales of the sturgeon and other fish, and shells and claws of the lobster and the crab have been found, though curiously enough, the claws of the latter do not appear to be broken to get the meat out of that portion. That they ate, as well as sacrificed the dog is attested by the separated bones of such animals found in pits not far removed from others in which the complete skeleton was preserved.

Their weapons were of course the usual aboriginal bow and arrow, spear, stone club and tomahawk, though in a few years they had acquired from the settlers enough fire-arms to become exceed-
ingly and dangerously expert in their use. A contemporary writer said, “Now, those residing near, or trading considerably with the Christians, make use of fire-locks and hatchets, which they obtain in barter. They are excessively fond of guns; spare no expense on them, and are so expert with them that in this respect they excel many Christians.”

Many of their discarded weapons have been found, and these exhibit a wide variety of material and workmanship, indicating acquisitions obtained by trade from natives in other localities. They are composed of chert or flint, jasper or indurated shale, of quartz and argillite. Many of the stones were not of local character, and may have been brought from long distances. Their household utensils included “mats and wooden dishes,” and we learn also of the women bringing “hempe.” All physical remains of these perishable materials have long ago disappeared, but the texture of the grass-mat which the women wove is to be seen in imprints made with such material upon the outer surface of some of the local pottery. They also made baskets woven of coarse reeds, which are referred to in early records as “Napsas.”

The “pots of earth” were no doubt the large earthenware vessels made by the Amer-Indian women, on the decorations of the rims and upper portions of which these poor creatures expended all their ingenuity and their limited sense of artistic proportion and design. Of such objects, a number of very interesting examples have been discovered in upper Manhattan, the most complete one, and at the same time most artistic, being a fine vessel of sub-Iroquoian design discovered by W. L. Calver, on the south side of 214th Street, about 150 feet east of Tenth Avenue. This fine vessel lay on its side only a couple of feet below the surface. It owed its preservation from fracture by frost to the fact that it had been “killed” by a hole pierced through its body. This happened to be in the lowest part as it lay in the ground, and thus drained its interior of moisture.

Another vessel nearly as large and complete was found at 231st Street, still standing upright within a firepit upon a bed of ashes and shells. Its abandonment in this state suggests great haste or urgency, and it may well indicate the hurried flight of the squaws on some occasion when the war cries of the Mohawk were heard as
INDIAN LIFE ON WASHINGTON HEIGHTS

The fine model by William C. Orchard in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, which shows the methods of constructing their houses, making dug-out canoes, cooking, preparing and drying food in the bark huts, cave and rock shelters of Shorakapkok in Inwood Hill Park. Page 14.
their war parties fell upon the Weckquaesgeek, as was the case in February, 1643.

The large vessels which were found by the late Alexander Chenoweth in broken condition in the cave at Cold Spring are of cruder design and of Algonkian manufacture. At a later and probably very long period of time these early inhabitants acquired or learned the art of Iroquoian design and decoration of their pottery.

Such slow developments faintly indicate the length of the period during which the race occupied this locality. The extent, depth, and character of the shell-heaps at Dyckman Street, at Cold Spring and Seaman Avenue, also point to a settlement over a considerable space of time. Another indication is that the ceremonial pits at 212th Street, and certain remains of aboriginal feasting there, such as fish-bones and oyster-shells in firepits, were found at a level below the graves of the slaves of the early Colonial settlers, who were buried at that place. These may indicate that the period of occupancy of the district was at least as remote as the middle ages. The tools and weapons which have been discovered are all of the Neolithic order showing more or less degree of finish or polish, and only at Dyckman Street have objects of Paleolithic character been found, such as crudely chipped and unfinished stones. Thus we have as yet little to connect our Reckgawayanc with the remote ages of prehistoric mankind, although in that dim and distant age their predecessors shared with the wild beasts, the elk, the bear, the wolf and the wild cat the control of the woodlands.

The human interments that have been found in our locality at the Seaman Avenue village-site, are the only aboriginal burials discovered on the island of Manhattan, and some were evidently of a remote period, several skeletons being extremely dry, and of much greater age than those of early settlers or of their slaves buried nearby in similar sandy soil.

At Pelham Neck, at Clasons Point, in Van Cortland Park, and elsewhere in Westchester, Indian burials were numerous, and while it is probable that many other burials took place on Manhattan Island, there is some reason to suppose that some of the dead were carried off the island, and for reasons best known to an aboriginal mind, were buried on the mainland. Those discovered in our
neighborhood seem to have been located within the area of the village and were perhaps buried in winter-time beneath the bark huts where the soil was not frozen.

The rapidity with which building operations have overrun Washington Heights may perhaps have been the cause of the lack of discovery of relics of the Red Man's existence over the hilly part of the locality known as Penadnic, but it is more probable that such evidences were very scattered, and that the range of hills was covered with a dense forest, the habitat of wild animals, exposed to the winter winds and unsuited for all-year residence. The hillsides on the banks of both rivers are extremely steep, and afforded very limited space near the margin of the water, in which our local natives found their chief means of subsistence by fishing and oysterling.

Along the east side of Inwood hill, however, on Seaman Avenue from Academy Street to the Creek the numerous pits filled with oyster shells, burials, and the extensive deposits of carbonized debris indicate a long-continued occupation. There are many evidences of the work of native artificers in the manufacture and repair of knife, drill and arrow heads, chiefly of an indurated red shale or "jasper" brought from New Jersey. At Seaman and Isham Avenues, a planting-ground was evidently cultivated, the native tools therein found, and nearby spaces covered with shells and charcoal, as well as the rich black soil, and the favorable location, combining to indicate its use.

In the middle space of the valley, in full sight of the surrounding heights, tribal ceremonies were probably held, for at 211th to 213th Streets, just west of Tenth Avenue, pits containing oyster-shells, packed over and around the remains of an animal such as a turtle or a snake or dog, and accompanied by broken pottery, indicate the observance of some aboriginal ceremony. Pits containing whole skeletons of dogs have been found at Seaman Avenue, Cooper Street and at 208th and 209th Streets near Tenth Avenue, as well as near Broadway at 211th and 212th Streets. These may have been ceremonial interments, or the burial of some particular pet.

Along the bank of the Spuyten Duyvil creek, now largely merged in the U. S. Ship Canal, also on the south side of Marble Hill, there were, and in some places still are, deposits of shells
indicating fishing camps, and along the west bank of the Harlem, at 213th Street, at 212th Street, and at 211th Street, shells and objects of native character proclaim the long-time presence there of the Red Man. A specially favored spot for the native fisherman, as it was long after for his Colonial successors, was the “Little Sand Bay” at Tubby Hook, just south of Dyckman Street, on the east side of the Hudson River Railroad, where, though a ruinous fill of soil and stone has swamped the wild rocks that sheltered their rude huts, the interested visitor may stand today and view the same noble scene of flowing river and palisaded cliffs. At this place the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, opened in 1919 the most ancient and deep deposit of shells, and discovered deeply buried, very crude tools of probable great antiquity.

The crooked course of Spuyten Duyvil creek wound around the north side of Inwood hill, and bent sharply south round a marshy promontory which seems to have been known to the natives as Gowahasuasing (2). Through this point the ship canal has been cut leaving only its tip end as a small marshy islet, which serves to preserve the contour of part of the old creek.

On the summit of Spuyten Duyvil hill, near the Public School and back of the Berrian house on Berrian’s Neck there were native haunts, and somewhere in that vicinity a considerable station known as Nipnichsen (7). The creek is shallow and it would seem likely that Indians passing from this hill resort to Manhattan might have waded across from Gowahasuasing at low tide.

It is at this place, known as Shorakapkok (15), among the romantic tangle of wild wood and precipice of Inwood Hill, through which a woodland footpath winds from 207th Street towards the “Spouting Spring,” that the most extensive native deposits of discarded shells and blackened debris may be found, wide spaces now covered by trees and under-brush, out of which, hard by the spring, a magnificent tulip tree has reared its lofty form, the largest and the oldest tree on the Island of Manhattan. Here, too, the interested investigator will observe the overhanging rock-shelters in which were found layers of ashes that had formed the household fires, and from which were rescued aboriginal pottery, implements, and remains of food. The exploration of the little vale by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in 1918-1919, resulted in the discovery of a number of interesting objects including
a stone pipe, bone tools, horns and teeth of animals, stone implements, and an unique stone amulet carved with a human face.

Here, in the solitude of wild nature, it will take but little effort of the imagination to bring before the mind the scene, when the bustling horde of Reckgawawanc swarmed about the rocks, through the woods, and along the banks of the creek—the men bearing from their log canoes baskets filled with oysters, the squaws mending grass nets and hempen fishing lines, or filling the cooking-pots with red-hot stones from the wood fires, the smoke of which blackened and the heat of which split the sides of the rocks beneath which they were kindled; the girls carrying water in gourds from the gushing spring; the boys playing games with bones or stones or practicing their future prowess with bow and arrow; while the papooses with baby stolidity were perched near the crackling fires, sucking a bone of the latest toothsome addition to the larder, be it deer, dog, or bear.

Or amid the wintry snows, when the fires were kindled inside the rock-shelters, and within the bark huts erected on the shell-covered knolls, one can readily picture the same occupants wrapped in furry bear, downy beaver, or silky deer skins, huddled around the crackling logs, pounding corn, boiling “sapsis,” scraping hides, splitting pebbles and flints, and longing for the return of spring.
SHORAKAPKOK OR SPUYTEN DUYVIL. Almost as it was when the Half-Moon anchored at its mouth on 13 September, 1609. The foreground is now Isham Park.

A PRIMEVAL HOME AT SHORAKAPKOK. One of the rock-shelters under the bluff in Inwood Hill Park. Page 13.
III

THE ARRIVAL OF THE WHITE MAN

INTO this peaceful and simple existence, one bright autumnal afternoon, by our calendar the 13th of September, 1609, came the exciting advent, on the broad bosom of the Mahikanittuk, of the sailing vessel which had arrived ten days before in the lower bay, and of which no doubt stories had already reached the village—of pale-faced men dressed in strange clothing, and possessing the most desirable objects, such as metallic tools alluring to mankind, and cloth and buttons fascinating to squaws, some of which might be procured from them by exchange of food or furs. The "Re-monstrance" of 1649, recites that "even at the present day the natives of the country (who are so old as to remember the event) testify that on seeing the Dutch ships on their first coming here, they knew not what to make of them, and could not comprehend whether they came down from Heaven, or whether they were Devils. Some among them, on its first approach, even imagined it to be a fish, or some sea-monster, so that strange rumors concerning it flew throughout the whole country." It must however be observed that eighty-five years before Henry Hudson's arrival Verrazano's vessel had entered New York Bay, that the English had landed two years before in Virginia, and that the Spanish had established settlements in Florida and Carolina, while to the north the Iroquois had already met and had become accustomed to the appearance and were using the weapons of the French invaders of Canada. It would seem to be improbable that no word of occurrences of such novelty had reached the ears of the natives of this locality, who had already come in contact with the Iroquois and were in constant contact with their relatives the Delawares of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

But even so the new arrival was doubtless an object of great
novelty and interest, and therefore as the "Halve Maen" floated up with the tide along the island, the local community no doubt turned out in a body and swarmed to points of vantage on the heights of Fort Washington and Inwood where, under shelter of trees and rocks, they watched the strange vessel come to an anchor off the shore, probably at a point south of Fort Washington Park. Here she lay in view of the Palisades extending far up-stream, "which showed out to us," as the ship's log runs, "bearing north by east five leagues off us."

When the vessel lay in this locality she had on board two natives who had been seized and were being detained by the crew of the vessel as hostages. We do not know the particular tribe from which these men came, but as they were taken when the Halve Maen was in the lower or upper Bay, it is likely that they were Canarsee, with whom our Reckgawawanc were doubtless in friendly relations. These captives managed later on, to escape while the boat had passed above the Highlands, and in swimming ashore they shouted derision and scorn at their captors.

Making their way down the river they probably aroused all the river tribes by their story, and had evidently arrived in this vicinity just in time to meet Hudson's vessel on its return.

It was the second of October when the vessel re-appeared, coming down the river before a northwest wind, and meeting the flood tide off the mouth of the Shorakapkok (Spuyten Duyvil Creek) she came to an anchor there. The patient and revengeful Canarsee were still waiting among the Reckgawawanc of the Nipnichsen and Shorakapkok villages, and had enlisted their sympathy and assistance. Robert Juet, the mate of the Halve Maen, relates: "Then came one of the savages that swamme away from us at our going up the river, with many others, thinking to betray us, but we perceived their intent, and suffered none of them to enter our ship."

But the duty of revenge which formed part of the customs of the red man demanded compensation for the foolish and arbitrary detention of the hostages whom Hudson had seized, and as the ship lay with her head down-stream awaiting the turn of the tide, our natives made an attack in force upon the vessel. "Whereupon two canoes full of men with their bowes and arrowes shot at us after our sterne; in recompence whereof we discharged six muskets, and killed two or three of them."
Thus was started on our island the blood-feud between the red and white man. The whole local community was now aroused so that as the ship weighed and slowly floated down river on the ebb, "above an hundred of them came to a point of land to shoot at us." This was probably Fort Washington Point where the natives swarmed the woods at close range. "There I shot a falcon at them," the first cannon that ever woke the echoes of our hills, "and killed two of them, whereupon the rest fled into the woods," frightened no doubt by the thunderous explosion. Yet, he continues "they manned off another canoe with nine or ten men, which came to meet us," probably from some resort below the Point, whereupon the Dutch crew "shot at it also a falcon, and shot it through and killed one of them. Then our men with their muskets killed three or four more of them. So they went their way."

The excitement and rage of the natives at the vessel's escape may be readily imagined, as well as the extent to which their resentment and hate had been aroused by the slaughter of eight or ten of their number. News doubtless spread far and wide among the neighboring chieftaincies, and there was probably handed on to the younger members of the tribes the duty of revenge, perpetuating a distrust and enmity of the white man which bore fearful fruit a third of a century later.
IV

SETTLERS AND NATIVES

THE story of the relations of the European settlers with these early owners of Upper Manhattan which thus began in treachery and bloodshed reflects the same sad features as that of the conflict of diverse nationalities in other parts of the world. The white men, finding a foothold first by courtesy, or by some nominal and frequently one-sided bargain, eventually excite the native jealousy by their encroachments and aggressions, teach him their own evil habits and arm him with their own evil weapons and then pursue a course of expropriation and oppression, visiting with relentless and undiscriminating vengeance every attempt of the native to resist their imposition of so-called “civilization.” So, on Manhattan, the first white arrivals, by courtesy of the natives who were “ hospitable when well treated,” as De Laet says, “ready to serve the white man for little compensation,” became squatters for a number of years at the Battery. This tenure was in 1626 by means of the so-called “purchase” of the island by Minuit, exchanged for an ambiguous ownership, the extent of which, as well as the authority of those natives who entered into the bargain, was repudiated by the owners of upper Manhattan as soon as the white man advanced to their home locality and made his appearance at Harlem and the Heights. Their objections and the demands which they repeated from time to time are confirmed by the results of our later study of tribal boundaries, and it seems now to be clear that the Indians of lower Manhattan who made the sale were bartering away territory which was beyond their authority and was not in the area occupied by their own Chieftaincy.

Later events show that the Reckgawawanc were the occupants and owners of land extending from Yorkville to Manhattanville, that they controlled the marshes of Harlem plain, and their author-
AN ABORIGINAL FOOD PIT in which discarded oyster shells were deposited, many of which marked the Indian Village site on Seaman Avenue. Page 41.

A DOG-BURIAL OF THE RECHGAWAWANC on Cooper Street, Inwood, the remains neatly arranged and covered with oyster shells. Page 42.
ity extended over the northern part of the island as far as the Heights of Neperan and eastward to the Bronx River. This view was recognized by some of the Netherlanders possessing a sense of justice. The natives were befriended by Kuyter, Bronck and others, and de la Montagne entered, over forty years later, into a contract for the purchase of their Yorkville resort, recognizing the still-existing Indian ownership of that tract. As late as 1715 their title to the ownership of the upper end of the present borough was recognized in a final payment. Washington Heights was thus the last resort of the red man on the Island of Manhattan, and his occupation appears to have continued there long after all of the Indians had been expropriated from their homes within the metropolitan area, or had been decimated by drink, disease, and slaughter.

In the year 1636, Doctor de la Montagne, the first white “settler” or squatter on the lands of the Rechgawawanck arrived in a dugout canoe at Rechewas Point (105th Street on the East River), bringing with him his wife, two babies, and some farmhands. With his fellow immigrants the De Forests a clearing was made, and a farm house in Dutch style was erected near 7th Avenue and 115th Street. The authority for this settlement was a “grant” from Governor Kieft of about two hundred acres, extending from 109th Street to 124th Street, and from 5th Avenue to 9th Avenue, through which extended the Weckquaesgeek trail to the Heights. To this locality de la Montagne gave the name of Vredendal or “Quiet Dale,” and to it were soon attracted other hardy pioneers who pre-empted practically all of the large tract of lowland which is now covered by Harlem, settling thereon without further consideration of the natives, who were doubtless still resident around the Harlem valley and probably in larger numbers at Inwood.

Jonas Bronck arrived in 1639, and, crossing the Harlem River made a purchase of the tract then known as Ranachqua (10), now Morrisania, by deed in which Rechgawac and other sachems joined. One of the most important of these early settlers was Bronck’s friend and fellow-countryman, Captain Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, who secured in July, 1639, the Schorrakin tract (14) which extended along the bank of Harlem river from First to Fifth Avenue. This he renamed Zegendal, the “Vale of Blessing.” He also laid claim, though without apparent warrant to the ownership, to the
lower end of the Heights, which became known to later settlers as "Jochem Pieter's hills." The Conyckeckst tract (1) which covered about two hundred acres was awarded to Van Curler, who proceeded to erect a dwelling in full sight of the native village across the Rechawanis (11) creek. It was but natural, if the red men regarded these settlements as invasions of their property, and as interfering with their means of subsistence, that they would resent a continual enlargement of the settlement, and as each succeeding settler was followed by others, and they were barred from their favorite haunts, and ordered away from their fishing, and their oystering places were appropriated, their suspicious nature was aroused, and it only needed some overt act on the part of the white man to precipitate an outbreak.

Every inducement of advantage, as well as of security, lay in the direction of conciliating the natives, who surrounded the pioneers on every side. And at first the advantage of each to the other was mutually recognized. The settler even needed the red man's labor, his oysters, fish, venison and furs, and at times, even his maize, for all of which he paid in objects of small value or in drink, or bartered with duffel cloth and small tools. On the other hand to the native, the settler represented a market for these materials, and a source whence could be obtained much desired metal tools to reduce his labor, greatly coveted firearms to strengthen his defence against the Mohawks and to facilitate hunting, superior utensils for cooking, delectable beads for his squaw, clay pipes and fire-water for his own enjoyment. Thus the settlers came to regard the Reckgawawanc and the Weckquaesgeek as no novelties, and their visits to the bouweries, their appearances on the trail, or their passage on the broad waters, as matters of no special importance.

Kuyter wrote that the settlers "pursue their outdoor labor without interruption, in the woods as well as in the field, and dwell safely with their wives and children in their houses, free from any fear of the Indians." How different might have been the history of this locality had this mutual confidence been maintained. The breach was precipitated by Director Kieft's ill-judged course of action. Attempting in 1639 to collect a tax from the Red men, he followed this futile policy by an attack with very slim excuse on the Raritan Indians, in July, 1640, which act excited all the related branches of the Delaware tribe.

20
A tragic event soon disturbed the relations between the two races in our locality. A Weckquaesgeek, who from boyhood had been trained to await his opportunity to avenge the murder of his uncle and the robbery of his beaver-skins by three of Minuit's men many years before, took his long-awaited revenge one midsummer day, by murdering old Claes Swits, one of the Manhattan settlers, in his house at Turtle Bay, which stood alongside the Indian path from Weckquaesgeek to New Amsterdam. It was a brutal act, though justifiable from a native point of view, and the murderer was known for he had worked for Swits's son. The savage idea of recompense included stealing "all the goods," for some of which he was bargaining with the old man when the deed was done. A vessel was sent to Dobbs Ferry to demand satisfaction, and to insist upon the surrender of the murderer. But the natives, regarding the act as an entirely warranted act of retribution, refused, and their head sachem expressed their general feeling of resentment by saying that he "wished twenty Swannekins (Dutchmen) had been murdered instead of one". Although no satisfaction could thus be obtained from the tribe the more peaceful spirits among the Hollanders postponed any further coercion urging that at any rate an attack on the Indians should not be made, "till the maize trade be over," or that it should be made "in the harvest when the Indians were hunting." When November of 1641 had arrived, a conference took place as to the advisability of using force against the savages. Jochem Kuyter, whose bouwerie was the most advanced and therefore the most exposed to retaliation, advised patience, and recommended that the natives who were then alert, should at least be lulled into security before any attack should be made upon them. Scouts reported early in 1642 that the natives "lay in their village suspecting nothing," and the deplorable decision was reached to seize this opportunity to impress them with the superiority of the white men, by an armed assault upon their principal residence. Accordingly, a body of eighty men, commanded by Ensign Hendrick Van Dyck, marched through the Heights and the Bronx to the neighborhood of Yonkers, under the guidance of Tobias Teunissen, a farmer employed by Montagne, who knew the locality. The expedition failed to surprise the natives on the Nepperhan, and, losing its way in the darkness, returned, fortunately without any conflict. Their appearance, however, effected sufficient impression to lead the sachems of
the Weckquaesgeek to agree to a peace treaty, which was formally entered into at a meeting in Bronck's house in Morrisania, in 1642. Under this settlement it was agreed that the young culprit was to be handed over to the Dutch authorities, but as time passed on and other events occupied the attention of both nationalities, he was never surrendered.
THE INDIAN VILLAGE SITE ON SEAMAN AVENUE. The author exposing food-pits filled with shells which mark the position of the lodges. *Pages 12 and 46.*

THE INDIAN PLANTING GROUND across which Seaman Avenue now passes. Through the woods on the left is the Indian path to the Cave and Rock-shelters. *Page 12.*
V

CONFLICT AND TRAGEDY

The ties of mutual confidence had now been broken between the white and red men, and as the ill-luck of the latter would have it, their native oppressors, the imperialistic and militaristic Iroquois, chose the succeeding winter for an incursion for the purpose of punishment for their refusal to pay or inability to continue their enforced annual tribute. A horde of Mohawks equipped with firearms descended upon Westchester County, and overwhelmed the unfortunate Weckquaesgeek in Tarrytown, Dobbs Ferry, and Yonkers, and rolled over the Rechgawawanc at Nipnichsen and Inwood, capturing many of their women and children, and forcing a fugitive crowd of survivors to make their way in the deep snow of the bitter winter season to New Amsterdam, there to seek the protection of the white intruders who alone had the weapons necessary to resist their oppressors. To the lasting shame of Kieft, of Melyn, of Van Tienhoven, and other leaders of the Hollanders, the white men met this confidence by an act of treachery, of which the history of civilization has few equally barbarous examples.

On the night of February 25, 1643, the wretched Weckquaesgeek, doubtless including many of the Rechgawawanc then huddled in temporary shelters around a native settlement at Corlear’s Hook, and some in the lodges of their Hackensack friends at Pavonia on the Jersey side of the river, were surprised and massacred in cold blood by “civilized” soldiers and citizens, and so indiscriminate was the slaughter that not only the women but infants were killed and drowned, and even Indians of friendly tribes fell victims to the brutal soldiery. The ruthless and blundering act brought prompt retribution and bitter punishment. Joining hands, the enraged natives of all the neighboring chieftaincies around the city took united action against the common enemy. All around the new city,
and especially at Harlem, they attacked the outlying settlements, murdered the farmers, killed or captured their wives and children, slaughtered or drove off the live-stock, and burned their houses, their grain and hay.

The rest of the winter "passed in confusion and terror," and in bitter recrimination between Kieft and the survivors of the disaster. In the spring a mutual desire for a truce which would enable both parties to sow their fields, led to a dubious and indecisive peace, which was formally agreed to, 22 April, 1643. This peace, as soon as their crops were harvested, was broken by the red men, who again drove the returning settlers off their settlements and chased them within sight of the walls of the fort. Privation, if not starvation, now stared the Colonists in the face, so that even the more peacefully minded among them joined in expeditions by which during the winter of 1644 the territory of the Weckquaesgeek was harried, and the natives driven from their homes by sword and fire.

Amidst all the confusion, Zegendal, the home of Captain Kuyter in Harlem, had so far been preserved, protected in part by his reputation as a friend of the Indian, and partly by its strong palisade and the armed guard stationed within. But on 5 March, 1645, it was set on fire by a blazing arrow, and house, barn and crops were entirely destroyed. This action was no doubt directed against Kuyter on account of his taking part in the conflict as a Captain of troops. The ineffectiveness of the guard, and the failure of the defenses of palisades to protect this important property, created so widespread an impression that all further efforts to colonize our locality were, for the time being, abandoned. But a system of passive resistance to the savages, now greatly reduced in numbers and insecure in their haunts and possessions, eventually wearied them to such an extent that the tribes expressed their willingness to bury the hatchet. On August 30, 1645, at a grand council in Fort Amsterdam a peace was concluded, in which Seysey Kemu, chief sachem, took part, and "Little Ape," chief of the Mahican tribe, acted as the representative of the remnant of the Weckquaesgeek, and pledged them to the treaty obligations. That which most affected the local Indians was an undertaking that no Indian should "come with weapons on Manhattan Island, nor in the vicinity of Christian dwellings."

Adriaen Van der Donck, the first lawyer among the settlers,
and a man of some substance, purchased, in 1646, from the chief Taquemack, apparently resident at Fordham, the tract known as Neperhaen, covering the upper west Bronx and including the island known as Paparinemin, (8) the later Kingsbridge, intending there to build and till the ground, "since his inclination and judgment led him to that place." The similar features of marsh and meadow, so dear to a Hollander's heart, led others to look with interest upon the charming vales of Harlem and of the Dyckman tract. It thus came about that the settlers had barely summoned the necessary courage to start back to their abandoned holdings, and the aborigines had acquired enough sense of security to return to their lair under the Inwood hills, ere, undeterred by the failure of his previous course of action, and disregardful of the unextinguished right of the red man to a livelihood and a home, Governor Kieft entered upon a course of extended grants of land still occupied by the natives, to certain favored recipients.

To Matthys Jansen Van Keulen he gave, 18 August, 1646, a "ground-brief" for all Marble Hill, the Indian Saperewack (13), and to the same enterprising land-grabber and his friend Huyck Aertsen, a patent was issued for the entire two hundred acres of the choice marshes of the Muscoota (6) extending from 211th Street south to Dyckman Street, an area known later as the "Rondevly," or Round Meadow. Between these two grants, which the patentees did not attempt personally to occupy, a hardy pioneer now took up his abode. Tobias Teunissen, who thus became the first squatter at Inwood, had been employed by Dr. De la Montagne as a farmhand at Harlem, and he ventured into the very heart of the red man's home, establishing himself on the Harlem River, his "bouwerie" including our present Isham Park, to which he brought as his second wife, a widow with three children. There is some reason to suppose his dwelling may have been that of which the foundation, fireplace, and floor were found beneath the surface of the garden in front of the site of the old Nagel farmhouse at 213th Street. It was a little half-basement built of rough stone, the upper part of the building doubtless built of timbers, standing on the crest of the river bank around which were found a number of interesting Indian objects. Teunissen's situation was not without peril, for he had been the guide in the unsuccessful expedition to
Yonkers in 1642, and was thus a marked man among his savage neighbors, with whom an injury was nursed but never forgotten.

The appearance among them of this pioneer, and still more the arrival of land-surveyors, deliberately staking out other allotments in the immediate vicinity of their winter homes must, we may well imagine, have filled the natives with forebodings of the inefficacy of the peace they had so recently concluded, and of the white man’s disregard of their ownership of the land and waters which formed their home and provided their only means of subsistence, stirring again in their breasts a sense of resentment.

Kuyter, whose bouwery at Zegendal lay still in ruin, had been engaged in a controversy with Kieft, which eventually resulted in the departure of the latter and his replacement by Governor Peter Stuyvesant. The removal of Kieft, however, at first brought no improved policy toward the Indians’ rights, for his successor followed the same course by allotting to Isaac de Forest another large section of Harlem lands.

The squatter Teunissen, and his little family, continued to live within sight of the Indians’ winter home, and upon the very ground on which their crops were grown and their ceremonies were conducted, which must have kept alive a resentment that lost little by the passage of time.

Riker says: “The Indians were resolved upon expelling the whites from this end of the island, upon the ground that they had not been duly paid for their lands. It is certain that the Indians did not recognize the sale to Minuit, as a surrender of all their rights and privileges on this part of the island. Perhaps, grown wiser in a generation, they saw that the trivial price then paid them ($24) was no equivalent for their rich maize-land and hunting-grounds.”

“But they probably claimed to have reserved (as they often did in their sales) the right of hunting and planting, because in after years the Harlem people so far admitted their pretensions as to make them further compensation.”

“Well had it been for the Colonists had they earlier given heed to the dissatisfaction of the Indians, and done something to remove it.”

The white settlers continued to disregard the Indian rights not only by remaining on their home-lands at Inwood but by making a
THE GRAVE OF A RECHGAWAWANC. The skeleton covered with oyster shells, in the native village, near Cooper Street.

THE OLDEST FAMILY GROUP OF WASHINGTON HEIGHTS. A double burial of Indian and squaw on Seaman Avenue. The right arm of the man is beneath the female remains. Page 42.
practice of hunting within their wild woodlands. The natives naturally suffered also from the loss of their important fishing and oyster ing stations. Whatever were the immediate causes of provocation, the discontent of the red men so increased and their threats and hostility became so evident that general alarm and fear arose among the invaders. In the year 1654, the situation culminated in an outbreak of savage vengeance of a more concerted and determined character than any of its bloody predecessors. Among those who had returned to their abandoned holdings was Captain Kuyt er. Finding difficulty in securing help for the restoration of his farm, as many of the settlers still feared to settle again in the outlying bouweries "through dread of the Indians and their threats," he at last ventured to occupy his farm himself. Marked man as he was, it was little to be wondered at that in March 1654 he became one of the first victims of the growing hostility of the savages.

A few days after Governor Stuyvesant had left New Amsterdam, in September 1655, upon his expedition against the Swedish settlement on the Delaware River, another unwarrantable act of violence on the part of one of the settlers, awoke the red men to a sense of accumulating injustice and stimulated the members of all the chieftaincies in the surrounding region to a supreme effort once and for all to dispose of the white intruders.

A poor squaw visiting the town, saw some peaches ripened in the orchard of Van Dyck on the west side of Broadway, and helped herself to a supply. Instead of dealing moderately with this minor misdoing, the owner seized his gun and killed the helpless trespasser. This brutal act was just what was required to exasperate the natives not only of her own clan but of all the neighboring peoples. The news had already spread that the Governor and his armed force were absent, and so from every quarter the braves concentrated on Manhattan Island, upwards of nine hundred meeting at Inwood. This must have constituted a remarkable scene as their canoes gathered in the creek, and the horde of warriors swarmed the vicinity, and discussed their wrongs and future course. Embarking in upwards of sixty of their dug-out canoes, they descended the river during the night and at daybreak rushed into the sleeping city.

Seeking out Van Dyck they struck him down on the site of his misguided action, and for good measure of revenge wounded his next-
door neighbor. The guard and armed members of the population drove them away at dusk. But under the cover of darkness they took a dreadful revenge upon the helpless settlers in the outlying districts, by a terrible slaughter through all the farms of Manhattan, Harlem, and Westchester. “Miserably surprised by the cruel barbarous savages,” Tobias Teunissen, in his humble Inwood home, and full fifty others of the Heights and Harlem, were murdered, and more than a hundred terrified women and children were carried off into captivity, among them Teunissen’s wife and his child. The raid included some recent settlers in Kingsbridge, on the land which had been bought by Van der Donck, and spared none of those on Jonas Bronck’s lands across the river in Westchester County. The canoes of the red men prowled about Hellgate, waiting favorable opportunities of attack by their favorite method of surprise, and ere a few days had passed every settlement for miles around New Amsterdam was denuded by the death, captivity, or flight of its white occupants.

Glutted with revenge but dubious of accomplishing the destruction of the fortified city, the savages sent in two captives in October, offering to return others for ransom. In this offer the families of Teunissen and of Swits, the son of the unfortunate colonist whose murder had resulted from the old wrong done to the Indians, were not included, both significant of the particular resentment felt by the natives towards these settlers. A council was called, at which the weakness of the little colony in the face of the numbers of the natives was weighed against the desire for vengeance. The soldiers were sent out only to bury the dead and gather in the scattered herds. They were stricken to the heart by the scenes of slaughter, devastation and ruin which every bouwery presented. It was not until the end of November that the widows of Teunissen and Swits, with their children, were ransomed from their captors. What tales those poor women must have told of the wild life, habits, shelter and fare which they had been forced to endure for those weary weeks of captivity!

Thus perished Teunissen, the first settler of our Heights, a man of humble but sterling character, whose very determination and fearlessness brought about the sacrifice of his own life and perhaps of many others. So thorough was the effect of this dreadful massacre that by an ordinance of 18 January, 1656, all further
settlement upon outlying farms was forbidden, and all attempt to colonize the island by separate farms was abandoned for the time being and the red men were left to roam the Harlem flat-lands, and to enjoy undisputed possession of their haunts and hunting among the rocks of the Heights, and their whilom occupations of fishing and oystering along its picturesque shores.
VI

THE FOUNDING OF NEW HAERLEM

"The Director General and Council of New Netherland guarantee hereby, that for the further promotion of agriculture, for the security of this island, and the cattle pasturing thereon, as well as for the further relief and expansion of this City Amsterdam in New Netherland, they have resolved to form a New Village or Settlement at the end of the Island, and about the land of Jochem Pietersen, deceased, and those which are adjoining to it."

Thus was ordered the establishment of the Village of New Haerlem, and the inducements of allotments of ground, for a dwelling, for a garden, and for a farm, with an accompanying slice of salt meadow, soon attracted a little body of settlers, whose homes were laid out in August, 1658, along the line of that branch of the Indian trail which led from McGown's Pass, at Central Park near 110th Street, and afforded a beaten track to the Haerlem River at 125th Street and First Avenue. Confidence was expected to be established by the community life, and the mutual protection thus afforded against the treachery of the natives. But the new settlers were doomed to further alarm the next month when news arrived of the fierce outbreak of savage warfare at Esopus, so that many fled from their newly-established homes into the city, and a state of unrest existed all that winter. Farming operations were brought almost to a standstill, notwithstanding the precaution which the settlers employed, of farming in common. Their farms were laid out in parallel strips and contiguous fields were planted with similar crops so that the workers could always be near each other, and the farmhands worked with their weapons ready to hand.

In March 1660 a military company was formed in New Haerlem, under the command of Jan Pietersen Slot, as Sergeant, which was furnished with a supply of powder, and the inhabitants were
MOTHER AND CHILD IN ONE GRAVE

In the native village on Seaman Avenue, Inwood. Page 43. The blade of a war arrow was found between her ribs. The child's remains had been placed on her lap.
thus prepared for defence. At this time, however, the chiefs of Weckquaesgeek appeared in New Amsterdam and entered into an agreement for peace. The deputation was headed by Ack-hongh, head chieftain and counsellor, with Sauwenarack, who later on became the head sachem.

Another Indian attack and massacre at Esopus was reported January 7, 1663, and started a fresh alarm at New Haerlem. The village folk assembled in military companies, and proceeded to place palisades around their little village home, within which two seven-pound cannon were mounted, and a strict military watch was kept. The savages at Esopus were soon thereafter put to rout by an armed force under Stuyvesant, and part of the Haerlem corps having volunteered, took part in the campaign.

In July a body of Weckquaesgeek, comprising about eighty warriors, now professedly friendly, fearing an attack from the armed parties of Mohawks then upon the warpath, moved from their usual haunts for better security into the woods of our Heights, and thus raised another panic among the settlers. But their head sachem Sauwenarack, with his brother, came into New Haerlem and explained the reason for their proximity, stating that they feared an attack by the Esopus Indians, who were advancing fifty or sixty strong to attack them, with the intention also of wiping out the New Haerlem settlement. This threatened incursion, however, failed of accomplishment, but the sachem and his people, taking advantage of the community of feeling established by this danger, seized the opportunity to ask permission to fish near the village, which was conceded on condition that they should bear no weapons near the town. To identify the friendly from the hostile Indians, the former were given copies of the official seal of the West India Company, printed in wax on small billets, to be shown on necessary occasions.

On the sixteenth of May 1664, a new treaty with all the tribes of the Hudson was concluded, and the New Haerlem villagers were relieved by the fact that Sauwenarack renewed his pledge of friendship by joining in it.

In September of this eventful year the British fleet arrived, and the Dutch dominion was exchanged for the English, under the Governorship of Colonel Richard Nicolls, one of whose first orders,
addressed “to the Schout and present magistrates of Harlem,” was to the following excellent effect:

“To the Schout and present Magistrates of Harlem: 
A Warrant to the Magistrates of Harlem for the 
Prohibition of the sale of Strong Liquors to Indians. 
WHEREAS: I am informed of several abuses that are done and committed by the Indians, occasioned much through the liberty some persons take of selling Strong Liquors unto them. 
These are to require you, that you take special care that none of your Town presume to sell any Sort of Strong Liquors, or Strong Beer, unto any Indian, and if you shall find any person offending therein, that you seize upon such Liquor and bring such person before me, to make answer for the offence. 
Given under my hand, at Fort James in New York, this 18th of March, 1664, (1663. New Style). 
Richard Nicolls.”

Governor Nicolls, on 11 October 1667, issued to the growing township of New Haerlem a charter which, entirely ignoring any of the rights or claims of the aboriginal owners, granted to the new community the entire area of Upper Manhattan, northward from a line drawn across the island, between 74th Street at the East River, and 130th Street at the Hudson, with “all the soils, creeks, quarries, woods, meadows, pastures, marshes, waters, lakes, fishing, hawking, hunting, and fowling—and freedom of commonage for range and feed of cattle and horses further west into the woods, upon this Island as well without as within their bounds and limits.”

This charter further empowered the town to establish a ferry (which was operated across the Harlem River from the present extreme easterly end of 125th Street to the Bronx) and authority was later given, in order to divert the traffic to this ferry, that the road to Spuyten Duyvil should be stopped up. This course was pursued, and fences were built for the purpose, but the growing number of travelers to and from the Westchester side found the tolls of the ferry excessive, and continued to drive their cattle and horses on the old trail across the “wading place” at Kingsbridge. So persistent was the public in preferring the old Indian line of travel, that in 1668 a change of policy was decided upon, and preparations were made for re-establishing the ferry at Kingsbridge. In 1669, Johannes Verveelen the ferry-man was authorized to establish the ferry there, and was further given a grant to all or
great part of Paparinemin, on which he proceeded to erect a habi-
tation for himself and for the accommodation of travelers. Thus the
first tavern of our locality was established, probably on the site of
a later hostelry which occupied the site of the Macomb house till
recent years standing at 230th Street. In 1670 he commenced, as
part of the agreements required, the making of a causeway "over
the marsh between Paparinemin and Fordham," at the line of 231st
Street, by which the mainland was reached.

Although many of the Weckquaesgeek had been "beaten off by
the Maquas" from their homelands in Westchester County, and
were mostly at this time in hiding, the Rechgawawanc from time to
time reasserted their title to the lands occupied by the New Haer-
lem settlers. Their sachem, Rechewac, was still insistent on his
ownership of the old haunt of his particular clan at 100th Street,
and in order to quiet this claim, Jan la Montagne made a bargain
with him by which, for some consideration not stated, he secured
its sale of him as follows:

1669

"On this date, 20th August, old style, the underwritten
Wilden (or Wildmen) have sold to me, Jan la Montagne,
the Point named Rechwanis, bounded between two creeks
and hills, and behind, a stream which runs to Montagne's
Flat, with the meadows from the bend of the Hellgate to
Konaande Kongh."

This was signed by the following natives—Rechkewackan,
Achwaarooewes, Sacharoch, Passach keegine, Niepenchan, Kouham-
wen, Kottaren, whose strange names are thus preserved.

All of these Rechgawawanc were then refugees among the
Tappan, whose territory on the west side of the Hudson extended
into the forested mountains of the Ramapo. Achwaarooewes joined
his old chief three years later in the deed of sale of the West Farms
area, and found a home with the Weckquaesgeek at the Dobbs
Ferry village, in the sale of which in 1682 he took part.

But this by no means settled all of the Indian claim in our
locality. On 9 April, 1670, when several sachems were concluding
a deal with Governor Lovelace for the sale of Staten Island, "some
of the Indians present laid claim to the land by Harlem," and
repudiated, when it was exhibited to them, the deed of sale to
Minuit of 1626, or denied its effect upon the upper end of the
Island. Some of those who signed Montagne's deed, which was
recited above, were parties to another sale of "Mentipathe" or the Cromwell Creek in the south part of the Bronx, and also took part in the sale to John Archer of Fordham in 1669, by which their proprietorship in that district was recognized to have been still existent. Their last appearance was in 1684 when a confirmation was obtained by Morris from six Indians, of his manor lands in the lower Bronx. In this deed the name of Rechewac does not appear, so he may have passed away, as the chieftaincy appears to have been taken by his associate Achwaaroewes, one of the sachems who had joined in the early deed of 1639 to Bronck.
EXPLORING PARTY OPENING AN INDIAN SHELL PIT. The fine woods of the Clove, and the path to Cold Spring hollow are beyond this site of the lodges of the natives, their Planting ground is on the right. Page 46.

THE MOST ANCIENT HANDBIWORK OF MAN ON THE HEIGHTS. Found below the archaic debris at the Little Sand Bay, Dyckman Street. a, clumsy perforated pendent. b, rude grooved club. c, part of a crude gorget. All about two-thirds of natural size. Discovered by Alanson Skinner for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.
VII

THE LAST OF THE NATIVES

In 1673, the Dutch recaptured New York, a short-lived triumph, for the next year Sir Edmund Andros arrived with the news of the cession of the Colony to England, and the Harlem township was unwillingly compelled to submit to British rule, a condition that lasted for the next hundred years.

In 1675 the disquieting news arrived of the great outbreak of the Narragansett Indians under King Philip, and as a precaution some of our local sachems were invited to an interview for the purpose of securing the continuance of their friendship and neutrality. As a further precautionary measure, in the fall of that year orders were issued that the canoes of Indians along the Westchester shores of the Sound should be laid up where they could not be used, and the Weckquaesgeek, who at that period were in the habit of visiting in summer the vicinity of Pelham Neck, were directed "to remove within a fortnight to their usual winter quarters within Hellgate upon this island."

"This winter retreat," says Riker, "was either the woodlands between Harlem Plains and Kingsbridge, at that date still claimed by these Indians as hunting grounds, or Rechewanes on the Bay of Hellgate."

As they had already definitely parted with their haunt at the latter place, the winter retreat, of which we now know more by recent explorations, was no doubt the native settlement in the vale of Inwood, and among the rock shelters of Cold Spring Hollow. That this was the case seems also to follow from the action of the Indians referred to, who in obedience to this order and their usual custom attempted to pass up the Harlem River in their canoes. They were stopped by the suspicious townsmens' watchmen under
the direction of Town-constable Demarest, who, reporting his action to the Governor, received from him a reply as follows:

"Mr. Constable:

I have just now seen, by yours of this day sent express by Mr. Palmer, of your having stop't 10 or 12 Indian canoes, with women, children, corn, and baggage, coming as they say from Westchester, and going to Wickers-creek, but not any Pass mentioned; So that you have done very well in stopping the said Indians and giving notice thereof.

These are now to order all the said Indians to stay in your Town, and that you send some of the chiefest of them to me early tomorrow, and one of your overseers for further orders; and that it may be better effected, you are to order them to some convenient house or barn to be in, and draw up their canoes until the return of them you shall send; and that you double your watch.

Your loving Friend,

E. Andros.

N. York, October the 21, 1675."

The unwelcome guests were soon permitted to pass on, but the distrust of their actions continued, and a close watch appears to have been kept upon their movements.

Among the natives of the Heights about this period there was one to whom the Dutch had given the name of Claus, and who appears to have been an interpreter, for he signed various deeds of sale in which he is described as Claus the Wildman, or Claes De Wilt, a term that preceded the use of the very incorrect English name of "Indians." Claus's knowledge of the English tongue, and probably also of the Dutch, made him useful elsewhere, for in 1691 he witnessed the signatures to the deed of sale of lands in Putnam County to Dorland and Seabrandt, and his mark is set against the words, "The marks of Claus the Indian Interpreter and witness to these presents." Claus lived at least to 1701, in which year he, and a squaw named Kara-capac-comont, with her son, Nemeran, entered into the last deed confirming the title to the land of the Rechwawane which comprised the Van Cortlandt property above Kingsbridge.

On 7 January, 1676, some eighteen members of the tribe, headed by Claus, visited the Governor, assuring him of their friendship and asking for protection against their native oppressors. These assurances they confirmed by a present of venison and deerskins. The Governor promised them all the help in his power, and offered them
a present of "coates, but they desired drink, which is ordered for
them." The natives thereupon shrewdly seized the opportunity to
demand official permission to cultivate their old maize-lands on
Manhattan Island, which they would have to leave again the next
spring if they were compelled then to remove to their summer
haunts, and their request being brought formally before the Coun-
cil, it was—

"Resolved, That the Wickers-creek Indians, if they
desire it, be admitted with their wives and children, to
plant upon this Island, but nowhere else, if they remove,
and that it be upon the north point of the island near
Spuyten Duyvil."

This must have referred to the Dyckman tract, and specially to
the planting field, to which reference has already been made, at
Seaman Avenue near 207th Street.

The poor remnant of the tribe proved by their quiet behavior
the sincerity of their profession of friendship, and the defeat of
King Philip and his warriors in August of 1676, brought greater
sense of security to the colony, but it evidently resulted in a lessened
regard for the Indians and their claims, so that in 1677, the free-
holders of New Haerlem began to divide up between themselves
available common lands included in the wide terms of their charter,
but forming part of the Heights as well as the natives' home and
fields at Inwood. First they surveyed and divided up Marble Hill
and the remainder of the Matthys Jansen property down to the line
of 211th Street, staking the property off in five allotments, which
were "given out by lot." These fell to Vermilje, Boch, Nagel, and
Dyckman, the two latter of whom purchased the shares of the
others, and thus formed the tract which afterwards became the
Nagel farm. Of this property they made a lease to Hendrick
Kiersen and Michael Bastiaensen, conditioned upon their planting
sundry apple and pear trees yearly, and paying, for the first seven
years, as an acknowledgment of title, a quit rent of "each one hen
every year." The same two proprietors subsequently acquired the
Jansen and Aertsen tract, or Round Meadow, comprising all the
land between 211th Street and Dyckman Street, and west of the
present Broadway to the Harlem River, with the exception of some
patches of salt meadow already granted to other owners, such as
Myndert Jouriaen at 207th Street, and Pierre Cresson, near Sher-
man Avenue. In October 1677, the long-abandoned home of Tobias

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Tennissen was once more the scene of the white man's husbandry, and the natives again found their home locality invaded by the white settler. No attempt had been made, however, so far, to till or to allot lands lying around Inwood hill, nor in the wild woods and rocky hillsides of Washington Heights, which were still roamed by the wolves and other wild creatures.

By official command, August 1, 1685, Governor Dongan granted "liberty and licence to any of the inhabitants to hunt and destroy the said wolves," and a general foray resulted in wiping out the dangerous creatures, which had up to that time shared with the red man the actual possession of Washington Heights.

The desire to increase the town revenues and to extend the area of available cultivable lands, now led the township authorities to appropriate the Indian clearing known as the "Great Maize Land," south of 181st Street, lying probably west of the trail which is now the course of Broadway. It was doubtless lying fallow, for the natives had been allowed only to cultivate their field near Spuyten Duyvil.

Jan Kiersen undertook the task of the cultivation of the Indian Field, in partnership with his father-in-law, Captain Jan Gerritsen Van Dalsen, and so the town entered into a lease, on 30 March, 1686, of "The Great Maize Land, belonging under the jurisdiction of New Haerlem," for a period of twelve years. The rent for the first seven years was a fat capon yearly and for the last five years "two hundred guilders in good wheat, rye, peas, or barley, at the market price; from each parcel the just fourth to be given to God the Lord," a sop to the consciences of the despoilers of the poor owners of the land. The fact that this was a lease and not a sale of this Indian planting-ground was doubtless due to some recognition of the lack of actual warrant for its appropriation from its original owners, who had not released their ownership of the Heights, although their use of the locality was forcibly restricted to the Dyckman tract by the authorities. The Maize Land was later partitioned out to the Van Oblenis family.

James, Duke of York, and proprietor of Manhattan, became King James the Second, in 1685, and his representative, Governor Dongan, looking out for an increase in the emoluments of the Colony, now asserted his intention to appropriate all common lands not yet purchased of the Indians, which could be construed as be-
BLADES OF THE WEAPONS OF THE INDIANS OF THE HEIGHTS. a, b, c, and d were found in Isham Park. e, found by John Ward Dunsmore in the Green Hill Camp near Academy Street. In the Collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, with the axes shown below.

THE STONE AXES OF THE ABORIGINES. a, Grooved Axe. Woodlawn. b, grooved axe, Broadway at 189th Street. c, a re-sharpened axe from the Shorakapkok glen, Inwood hill park. d, a notched axe, Broadway at 189th Street.
longing to the King, who, under the queer old English system, was not bounden by his own acts or undertakings entered into as a Duke. A new Charter was therefore solicited by the Harlem settlers, and was issued on 7 March, 1686, but of course, upon payment of an additional sum of grant, under the guise of a "quit-rent." This confirmed over again to the free-holders of New Haerlem, to their heirs and assigns, all lands included in the original area, without any reference to, or regard for, the claims or unextinguished title of the aborigines.

The woodlands of Washington Heights were as yet unbroken from Manhattanville to the Creek, except by the road which wodd its way up the line of the trail, the Kingsway (old Kingsbridge Road, now St. Nicholas Avenue and Broadway), to the Inwood flatlands on which the Nagel and Dyckman meadows were then partly opened to cultivation. The time, however, had come when the townspeople realized that a final adjustment must be made with the Indians, or their charter rights would run some risk of being affected, so on the twenty-eighth of February, 1688, Colonel Stephen Van Cortlandt, acting on behalf of the town of New Haerlem, delivered to the few remaining representatives of the Weckquaesgeek "Sundry"  in exchange for their final surrender of tribal claims, leaving a cash or "Sundry" balance to be paid to them later. This final settlement was not effected, by reason partly of the negligence and partly of the poverty of the township, until March the first, 1715, when a special tax was levied for the purpose, and the amount thus raised, we must suppose was paid to the dwindling remnant of the tribe.

Thus passed away the native ownership of Washington Heights. A bare century had sufficed for the white man to crowd them out of the occupation of their primeval homes, their fields, and their fisheries, over the whole of the Island of Manhattan.
VIII

DISCOVERIES OF INDIAN REMAINS

This slender record of historical facts relating to our local natives, which largely ignored their language, their names, their ceremonies, their manners, and their habits, has been supplemented by discoveries of objects and materials of undoubted Indian character, which the fortunately tardy residential development of the Heights left undisturbed until recent years. These discoveries have thus a peculiar value, as constituting the only material relating to Indian existence on Manhattan Island, every trace of which on the rest of the Island was swept away without any attempt to collect or preserve traces of their occupation of its surface. It is also a fortunate circumstance that during the period of the development of the Heights there were those who, like William L. Calver, had an interest in and a devotion to historical research, which has resulted in the discovery and preservation of much invaluable material and information. It was his observation of surface objects at Inwood in the nineties which led to the discoveries of the homes and of many objects left upon their sites by the aborigines, part of which are now preserved in the American Museum of Natural History, and part form an exhibit of special local interest in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, in the same locality in which they were discovered.

Of the natives themselves all we find recorded is a few of their uncouth names, the description of their painted faces and shaven heads, their coats of skin, and their omnivorous appetites. But from their long buried remains, we are able to gather many other interesting details. We find that some of them lived at Inwood in caves and rock-shelters, cooking their food in fires kindled in the lee of the boulders and rocky cliffs of the Shorakapkok vale. In their village-sites at Harlem, at Seaman Avenue, and on the West-
chester mainland, they lived probably in bark huts, as did other tribes of the region where trees and saplings were plentiful, as on the Heights. Clearing out a space, they cut the young trees, planted and bent them together to form an arched covering, and with strips of the inner bark of slippery elm they lashed these into the framework of a dwelling. Covered with sheets of bark laced with cedar-roots and bark peelings, it made a fair shelter in summer weather, though in storm and wind it doubtless leaked like a sieve. In the center of the roof a hole was provided to let out the smoke of the fire, kindled on the bare floor, and kept smouldering day and night.

Such dwellings leave no traces of their existence, save the burnt and blackened earth that once composed the floor, the ashes of the fire, or the accumulation of refuse, composed of shells, stones, and bones which were dumped not too far from the opening that answered as a door. Usually the larder was maintained nearby the lodges in food-pits, of which a number have been found in the Inwood village-sites along Seaman Avenue, at Cooper Street, and 211th to 212th Streets. They were circular pits scooped out by hand, aided by a shell or a stone hoe, to a depth of three to four feet. In these were stored the beans and corn of the sparse crops from the planting-grounds where the maize grew in straggling rows and the beans climbed the corn stalks, and probably nuts and acorns gathered in the woods by the papooses helped to eke out the store. When the winter cut off other supplies the larder was emptied and the household had little to depend upon but oysters, or fish caught through holes in the ice, or speared from canoes when the sturgeon and shad ran in the Mahicanittuk. So we find the food-pits filled with abundant discarded shells of the bivalves, with here and there a fish-scale, a scrap of elk-bone, deer- or bear-bone, broken so as to extract the marrow, and sometimes a few grains of carbonized corn or nuts in the blackened wood ashes. The shells are of all varieties of oyster-kind, and of all shapes and sizes. The Indians grabbed for them under water and took them as they came, small and great, sometimes with little rocks to which they were adhering. The warm waters of the Spuyten Duyvil and Harlem River must have teemed with them, for some are of prodigious size. The Indian that could eat them whole must have had the throat of a pelican. In other places they are scattered over the blackened soil, as at Cold Spring, where the mixed soil and shell forms a confused heap an
acre or more in extent. Through the mass the trees have grown for centuries, covering the shells with woodland soil and leaves. Elsewhere, as at 207th Street, we found their fireplaces high on the rocky ridge that ran from 204th Street to Isham Street. Here in a little pocket in the soil the ashes of one long-dead fire contained the familiar shells, which were but rarely elsewhere cooked or roasted, with the bones of catfish, muskrat and other small deer, and fragments of the earthen pot that held the family soup.

You come across round stones, reddened by fire, that had been heated red-hot and dropped into the pot to heat the “Sapsis,” and now and then a snail-shell, and rather infrequently the shell of a mussel or a small scallop. The shells of clams are rarely found. Apparently they did not suit the native taste, or maybe they required too much exertion to dig them out of the muddy shallows. The Indian dog shared the meal, but sometimes he was the meal itself, though more often we find his remains carefully buried, and his skeleton quite intact at the bottom of a shallow pit covered over with closely packed oyster-shells. It seems that these dogs—we have found eleven such instances at Inwood—were the subject of a separate burial, perhaps a ceremony similar to that of the White Dog Feast of the Seneca, where two dogs were killed, one was cooked and eaten, and the other buried with a message to the Great Spirit in the Happy Hunting Ground. Nose to tail they lie in their shallow beds, in one case two small pups laid side by side, in another, a very little dog, all by his lonesome self, close to the south side of Seaman Avenue, where now a tall tenement covers the site of his and other graves. In other pits we found, as at Academy Street, buried below shells in the same purposeful manner, the scales of sturgeon, or the carapace of a turtle, and, at 212th Street, the bones of a snake, features in some form of tribal ceremony.

But a more sinister appearance was presented by a double human burial at the Seaman Avenue village-site. Here lay the remains of a man and a woman, both of about thirty-five years of age. The male had been a splendid specimen of manhood, long and strong of bone, large of head with perfect teeth worn flat by grinding on hard food. He lay on his right side, doubled up, facing the rising sun, his left arm between his thighs, and his right extended below the remains of the squaw. But her skull had been
W. L. CALVER DISCOVERING THE FAMOUS INDIAN JAR AT 214TH STREET. Note the little dry place on the side which showed above the sand, and its position with the neck downwards which thus drained it of moisture. Page 10.

THE INDIAN JAR

This remarkable specimen was quite complete. It is 13 inches in height, and nearly the same diameter. It had been "killed" by the small hole near its base. It is now in the collection of the American Museum of Natural History. Page 49.
broken in at the back, and the joints of her frame were charred to cinder. Her body had been cut apart and the separated bones were packed in a neat pile, laying on the man’s arm, her skull set on top. We got some unusual thrills, hardened grave-openers though we are, when we finally brushed and scraped the sand from the remains and saw the story unfolded before our eyes—the magnificent Chieftain, perchance some predecessor of Rechewac, stricken dead in conflict with the savage Maquas, his distracted squaw demanding to be sent with him to the hunting-grounds of the departed, the Shaman with the sacrificial tomahawk, the blow, the funeral fire and the double burial amid the wails of the tribe.

Not more than twenty feet away from this scene we next found the remains of a native woman, doubled up, her face to the east, and on her bony lap the remains of a little child. This simple combination became dramatic when on lifting her right ribs from their sandy bed we found a black war-arrow point between two of the bones. We thought we saw some indication of a method of lining the grave with oyster-shells, set with their inner sides upwards, and certainly the shells were disposed with protective care, especially over the head of the remains. Perhaps the body was wrapped in grass mats, but we found no trace of any materials. We know the texture of such mats, for some poor woman had used such material to press a pattern on the soft surface of one of their earthen vessels, and the weave is thus preserved in imperishable clay.

More than once in a dog-burial pit or shell-pocket at Seaman Avenue, we have found a bone awl, and once a bone needle, which indicates that a woman had a hand in the deposit. Most of the laborious occupations around the village were doubtless carried on by the squaws, and they not only wove the mats, but they scraped the skins with the flint scrapers, and sewed them with the aid of the bone awls, and perhaps embroidered the garments with the aid of the bone needle. Their garments were chiefly skins, and they wore but few ornaments. An occasional gorget or amulet has been found, drilled for a cord to be worn as a pendant.

The most interesting of these was a broken ceremonial stone in the form of a small pick-ax, beautifully formed of a brownish yellow marble. The fractured part had been drilled for two thongs, and evidently worn as an amulet for a long period of time, as shown by its worn condition. Then on being again broken, it was cast
away and found by us beneath the soil in front of the old Century House at 213th Street. Such amulets bear notches, and sometimes grooves recording some event of importance in the life of the wearer or of the tribe.

One of the most perfect as well as unusual of such objects was found at Cold Spring, during the exploration of the large deposit there near the margin of the Spuyten Duyvil Creek. This was a little amulet of gray stone, on which was carved in relief a human face. It has two holes for attachment of a thong or necklace, and is now to be seen in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

A BONE ORNAMENT
Marked on Both Sides
From the Shorakapok Shell Heap

Mus. Amer. Indian
IX

NATIVE LIFE

Many other objects used by the aborigines have been discovered of recent years upon the upper part of the Island of Manhattan, indicating their long residence, their habits, and characteristic life. The rock-shelters below the bluffs of Cold Spring hollow yielded pottery fragments, some of Algonkian and some of Iroquoian design, stones used as hammers, net-sinkers, clubs, axes and arrow-heads, with some bone implements and bears' teeth used as tools. Such remains in the interior of the rock-dwelling opened by the late Alexander Chenoweth lay in successive deposits, indicating the use of the cave at intervals, its vacation during the summer season leading to the burying of the debris of the previous winter by the washing in of soil. The dwelling was no doubt larger than at present, having been gradually filled in this manner. It may be surmised that quite a number of natives camped upon the area opposite the cave, now marked by shell beds along the present dry bed of a rivulet which once ran down the vale. The cave and rock-shelters may have been utilized as the resort for the sachem, or for certain favored members of the group.

Below one of the rocks, which still bears the traces of the action of fire, we found ashes and shells, and several characteristic objects which indicated occupation as late as the introduction of European materials. With a defective arrow-head, and some animal bones split and gnawed by children or dogs, there was a part of a “trade” clay-pipe bowl, an ornamental brass button, and some pieces of coarse chinaware, which had apparently been picked at in an effort to work it into some shape such as an arrow-head. Nearby Alanson Skinner discovered a blue bead of coarse shape, doubtless one of those treasured by some squaw, possibly one of the very beads for which the title to their homes was bartered away.

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One of the most interesting objects found at Cold Spring is an arrow-point made of the tip of a deer's antler. The use of antler points for other purposes is indicated by two small antlers which were found with remains of large fishes in pits at Seaman Avenue. and may have been used in the process of preparation of food, or in eating. Stones used as sinkers, grooved so as to afford a hold for a fish-line, are naturally to be expected in such a desirable locality as Inwood, and a number have been discovered.

The village situated along Seaman Avenue, between Academy and 204th Streets, probably was known as Shorakapkok and bears evidence of long-continued occupancy. Blackened refuse and shells cover a large area, and are overlaid by a foot or more of soil which may have drifted down the hillside after its accumulation. Its peculiar characteristic is the number of pits, some as much as four feet deep, in which were accumulated masses of oyster shells. Some of the long and narrow oyster shells which were found in pits on the west side of the avenue, are indicative of those early days when such abnormal bivalves were common in the waters of the creek nearby. Two or three pits on the south side, in which pottery was found, were unfortunately removed by the workmen before they could be explored, but a large part of an Algonkian vessel, and part of an excellently decorated Iroquoian pot, also part of an unusually small jar, point to occupation over period covering the development of the form of these vessels. In two of these pits were the scales of large sturgeons, showing the capture and utilization as food of that fish. Nearby these pits part of a human skull was disinterred, which could have been no more than three to four feet below the surface, and may be regarded as aboriginal. Human bones with part of a skull were also disturbed close to the northeast corner of Academy Street and Seaman Avenue, on the curb-line, but with the exception of part of the jaw, were thrown away by the workmen. The skeleton of a young female was found in the center of Seaman Avenue, and nearby the remains of an adult which was evidently very ancient interment.

Several well-defined pits were found on the west side, but had little beyond shells, many of which, however, were of extraordinary size and shapes, and the usual traces of native home life in scraps of charcoal and roasting-stones. The area of refuse deposits extends along the base of Inwood hill as far as Isham Avenue, where
INDIAN JAR OF IROQUOIAN TYPE

Found by Calver and Bolton at 231st Street near Broadway.

It stood upright in the ashes of a fire-pit, as described on page 10.

Now in the Collection of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.
the planting-field is located, and had the subsurface been thoroughly explored or disturbed as was the soil of Corbett's Garden by agricultural work, it is probable that much more material would have been found. The garden referred to was cultivated for some years, and lay between Academy and 204th Streets, extending from Seaman Avenue to Cooper Street. It was graded away in June, 1907, exposing the first human interment which was discovered, and a double dog burial. A considerable number of worked fragments and rejects, chief of red "jasper" the indurated red shale of New Jersey were found at this locality indicating the manufacture of implements which had been carried on there, also a number of finished tools and points of various forms, and of a variety of materials mostly such as are not found in the immediate vicinity. These with other objects would indicate that the site was utilized as a permanent home, and their extent and character point to the domestic occupations of village life.

On the south side of Academy Street, close to Seaman Avenue, W. L. Calver found axes, hammer-stones, sinkers, and a club stone, a celt, a good stone pestle, and pieces of perforated slate, the so-called "ceremonials" or "banner-stones."

On the north side of 207th Street, a few yards west of Broadway, there was an Indian fire-pit, in which was a quantity of articles of food of an aquatic nature, including the skull of an otter or muskrat, some small lobster claws, bones of fish, oyster shells, charcoal and carbonized food.

At 211th to 212th Streets, west of Tenth Avenue, several ceremonial pits were uncovered. The pits appear to have extended in a semicircle on the gentle slope of the sandy hillock, just north of the old boulder fence marking the division of the Dyckman and Nagel farms. One of them was found to contain, below a closely-packed mass of oysters a few of which seemed to have been unopened, the remains of a small dog, and below it, of a little pottery vase of unusual shape. In pits nearby were the bones of a snake and of a turtle.

Several dog burials were found at Cooper Street, one of which was that of an unusually large canine, others at 209th Street and Ninth Avenue, another at 210th Street and Tenth Avenue, and another, found by Alanson Skinner, on Broadway at 212th Street. A considerable deposit of refuse, containing deer prongs, bones, and
fragments of pottery, was found on the south boundary of Isham park. Its extent would indicate the use of the place by a number of natives. Close by the skull of an aged female was disturbed by workmen grading Isham Street, many of the teeth in which were missing or decayed.

One of the most curious of the numerous pits left by these red men was located about seventy-five feet west of Tenth Avenue, midway between 208th and 209th Streets, and contained, among the usual mass of oyster-shells, a quantity of small lobster claws, most of which were unopened. This adds another instance of an article of food buried in these curious pits, and may, like the dogs and the sturgeon, have the same general significance of a ceremonial offering, buried below the debris of the accompanying feast.

The Muscoota valley may be regarded as a place to which the red men resorted on occasion for such ceremonies. It is a coincidence that at 213th Street, near the Harlem River, the ceremonial pick-ax was found, which has been previously described. At this place, which was the site of the “Century House,” the home of Jan Nagel, and probably of the still earlier home of Tobias Teunissen, various objects of aboriginal workmanship indicate a favorite place of native resort. A fine stone axe which had been utilized to some extent for rubbing or grinding purposes, lay about eighteen inches below the garden soil of the farm, and hard by was a stone pestle which had been built into the footing of one of the farm buildings.

A beautifully formed arrow-head of black chert was near the old house, and on the margin of the old high-tide line there was a small paint-cup in the form of a hollow pebble, such as are found on the Long Island beaches, the metallic matrix of which has been worked out by the action of the waves. It bears on its edge two distinct nicks or incisions, showing possession by the aborigines. Close by was a piece of brown ochre, evidently scraped by some tool, and still capable of producing a strong brownish-red tint upon the flesh. Just west of the site of the Century House an excellent bone-needle about three and a half inches in length was found.

Three blocks south of this favored place, at 209th Street, a considerable shell-heap indicated a fishing-camp and canoe-landing, situated as it is at a bay or indentation in the shore of the Harlem
River, hard by the fresh water rivulet which formed a curiously irregular outlet at 211th Street.

The most valuable discovery of a relic of the Rechgawawanc is the beautiful and complete jar which was unearthed by W. L. Calver, in November, 1906, on the south side of 214th Street, one hundred and fifty feet east of Tenth Avenue. Its discovery was due to his acute observation. The street had been recently graded through the hillock at this point, the workmen leaving a neatly surfaced bank of red sand. A recent rain had washed away the sand so as to expose a little portion of the side of the vessel, which to an ordinary observer, appeared to be merely part of a boulder, but to the trained observer a boulder in such a bed of clear sand was worth observation, and a tap with the knuckles ascertained its character as pottery. The jar lay about two feet below the grassy surface of the hill, just low enough to save it from the ploughshares of the Colonial farmers. It lay on the side on which a hole is pierced through it, and on which the upper edge is also chipped away, apparently for the purpose of forming a spout for pouring out its contents. It proved to be a vase of very perfect form and design, about thirteen and a half inches diameter, and the same height, of uniform black color, and even thickness. Its characteristic decoration and design are of Iroquoian origin.

Small traces of charcoal led to the supposition that a fire had been made in a hole in which the pot was placed, but from its position it was concluded that it may have been deliberately buried, perhaps upon the removal of the clan to their summer hunting grounds, and that on their return it was not rediscovered. Here at any rate it had lain, quite undisturbed, for at least two, and perhaps more, centuries, while successive generations of farmers had tilled the soil or herded the cattle over its resting place, until the advance of the subway to the locality was followed by the opening of 214th Street, and its rescue from its hiding place.

Thus, scattered over their one-time busy village-sites and around the wide mounds of shells, the traces of many a generation of native occupancy have lain abandoned until the plough of their supplanters, or the veil of growing vegetation hid them from sight. Below the turf of the Nagel meadows and along the bank of the Harlem River, the remains of tribal ceremonies and the treasured pottery of the squaws lay concealed. Over these grazed the cattle of the
Colonial farmers, and among them were buried the dead of the colonists and of their slaves.

The tide of Revolutionary warfare swept over the scene, and for seven long years thereafter the armies of Britain and Hesse-Cassel camped around and upon the vestiges of the red men yet failed to discover or disturb them, except so far as the soldiers' curiosity was excited by the discovery of an occasional Indian object which, after its novelty had passed, they threw away in their huts and trenches. And so three centuries elapsed before the inquisitive archaeologist prying into the shell-heaps, searching among the rocks and delving deep in the soil, rediscovered the site of the homes, the graves, the pottery, and the implements of the long-forgotten Weckquaesgeek.

ANTLER POINT ARROW-HEAD
POINTED BONE TOOL

Found by W. L. Calver near the Indian Cave. Page 46
THE INDIAN PATH THROUGH SHORAKAPKOK

Leading to the Cave, the Rock shelters and the great Tulip tree. On either side the debris of native dwellings is strewn.
APPENDICES

INDIAN LOCAL PLACE NAMES

1 Conykeekst.—This tract extended along the shore of the East River to the mouth of the Harlem Creek, and the Delaware word Kwene-aki-es-k indicates its character as “a-long-place-little-at,” or long narrow tract of shore line.

2 Gowahasuasing.—This denotes “a place hedged in” and seems to have been the marshy flat on which Johnson’s Foundry has been erected, which may well describe its situation bounded by hills and the crooked creek. It has been cut through by the U. S. Ship Canal, leaving its southern part as a small half-moon shaped island near the Manhattan shore.

3 Konaande Kongh.—This village was probably situated on the high ground between our modern Madison and Lexington Avenues at 98th to 100th Streets. The name is probably a compound of Delaware words ackwonan “to catch with a net,” and kunk, “a hill,” thus indicating “the hill near which they fish with nets.” Below the hill spread Hellgate Bay, in the waters of which the fishing population of the lodges doubtless found an abundant supply of fish food.

4 Maikanetuk, or Mahican River, which has been rendered “The River of Ebb and Flow,” indicating its peculiar characteristic as a tidal estuary.

5 Minnahanonck.—Our present Welfare Island, long known as Blackwell’s Island, which Trumbull gives as a compound of munnohan, “island,” auke, “place or land.” But minna is the diminutive, says Tooker, of manhan, thus meaning “little island,” evidently indicating its lesser size compared with Tenkenas, as described in 1637, “The larger is called Tenkenas, and the smaller, Minnahanonck, lying to the west of the larger.”

6 Muscoota, or Musquetaug, “a place of rushes,” or “where the rushes grow,” very descriptive of the broad areas of cat-tail marsh extending through the Dyckman valley. The swarms of insects that bred in such stagnant swamps naturally resulted in the application of the name of their habitat to our familiar mosquito.

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7 Nipnichsen.—Spuyten Duyvil hill, known as Berrian's Neck after that family settled there. The name denotes "a muddy pond or place," which seems a strange title for a conspicuous headland. The Delaware, mbiniskeu, or in another dialect, nipnishkene-unque, signifies muddy or foul water. There is, however, a site where masses of oyster-shells and carbonized débris evidence native occupancy on the summit at about the line of 231st Street, and close to this is a depression which in wet weather is flooded into a muddy pool. This station is asserted to have been pali-saded by its occupants for protection.

8 Paparinemin, which has been the subject of sundry efforts at definition. The peculiar characteristic of the waterway was its double tide, which alternately set its waters flowing in reverse directions. Therefore, the Delaware papallenumen, which means "continually to make a false start," is in all probability nearest to indicating this special natural feature which could not fail to attract the natives' attention.

9 Penadnic.—Applied to the range of hills comprising Washington Heights as far north as Dyckman Street, and, according to Tooker, may be rendered "sloping mountain." As "ie" is always a locative, the sense of the term may be "the place where the hills are steeply sloping"—very descriptive of the precipitous hillsides along the Hudson and Harlem Rivers.

10 Rnachqua.—This tract, the later Morrisania, which forms the apex of the peninsula of the mainland, was appropriately named, for the Delaware term "wunackwaloye" means "the extreme end."

11 Recewanis.—The sandy point that used to extend south of the Harlem Creek to Hellgate Bay, evidently named in accord with its character rekawi, "sandy," ani "path" or "way."

12 Sapohanikan.—Very frequently spelled with a "k" in place of the letter "h." This was a trading station, situated at a place on the shore of the Hudson, at our modern Gansevoort Street. The name is a compound of the Delaware words Awasópoakanichan "over against the pipe-making place," or Hoboken, whence the treasured pipes were obtained by barter.

13 Saperewack.—The present Marble Hill, appropriately named by the observant natives sabbeleu-aki, the "glistening place."

14 Schorrakin.—The tract of cultivable land lying between the mouth of the Harlem River and the uplands of the Heights, and thus probably the Delaware lechauwaak, "fork of a stream," ink, "place."
15 SHORAKAPKOK.—Applied to the sheltered hillsides of Inwood, as well as to that part of Spuyten Duyvil Creek opening into the Hudson. This name has been translated as “the sitting down or resting place,” but the compound word bears a strong resemblance to the Delaware shaphakeyeu-aki, indicating “the wet ground place,” which fits naturally its features of marsh and running springs, both so attractive to the native mind.

16 TENKENAS, which corresponds according to Tooker, with the Delaware tenkene, “forest” or “wild land,” the island probably being overgrown with bushy woods. This island was renamed by the settlers “Great Barcut” or “Great Barn Island,” the modern Ward’s Island.

17 WECKQUAESGEEK, a difficult word which has suffered many variations, this form being that adopted by the Handbook of American Indians, Bureau of American Ethnology. Tooker considers that in the Delaware dialect this indicates “the end of the marsh.” There was a chieftain in 1637, whose name was Wequashchuck, probably a leader of this tribe. The name is that of the principal native station of the chieftaincy, which was situated at Dobbs Ferry in the glen descending to the Hudson River, and it was adopted by the natives as their own. In time it became corrupted to “Wickers creek.”

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## PART TWO

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II

Washington Heights today,

showing
its parks, and the sites of
some of its historic places.

1. The King's Bridge.
2. The Cockhill fort.
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4. Dyckman house, 1787.
5. Tubby Hook.
7. Fort Tryon.
8. Fort Clinton.
10. Redoubt.
12. Redoubt, 1776.
15. Audubon's grave.
16. 2nd line of defense, 1776.
17. 1st line of defense, 1776.
19. City College.
20. The Hollow Way.
I

THE OLD HIGH ROAD

SAINT Nicholas Avenue and Broadway preserve to us the irregular course of the earliest roadway connecting the mainland with the little town of New Amsterdam which was the precursor of this mighty metropolis, and to that road a large share in its growth was due.

If one had stood three hundred years ago at the end of Central Park, at the head of the steep hollow long after known as McGown’s Pass, there would have been visible, stretching away from that point, a wide area of grassy marshlands, across which wound two narrow trails of the Red Man, one nearly east to the Harlem river at 125th Street, and the other nearly north by east, to the forest covered hills now known as Washington Heights.

Along this ancient roadway have traveled the most important and interesting personages in our country’s history, and its development has seen and contributed to the successive evolution, from the primeval forest, of the Indian, Dutch, Colonial, Revolutionary and modern phases of civilization.

These native trails developed by the instinct of the woodsman, were important means of communication between the Indian settlements and over them passed the trader, the warrior and the messenger, while from time to time whole communities made their way along the narrow path in their migrations from their summer or winter quarters. The path which led along the line of Washington Heights was of peculiar importance because it was the only means of access to the mainland from the Island of Manhattan, and it afforded the most direct route to the great native settlements to the north and east. From its crossing of the Harlem River there developed in one direction the great pathway up the east side of the Hudson, through the regions occupied by the
Mahican and in another the Shore Path extending along the north shore of the Sound to the lands of the Pequot.

The path from the Harlem plain ran along the easterly side of Washington Heights as far as 140th Street, where it ascended the side of the hill, crossing the brooks which there descended from the springs around 141st Street, and finding some way in dry or wet seasons over the head of the marsh that set in from Harlem River to Edgecombe Avenue near 145th Street.

Reaching the summit near 146th Street by the steep grade which afterwards became Breakneck hill, the trail went forward through the forest, fairly directly to 160th Street, where it bent northwardly and so ran to 168th Street. Here it crossed sometimes at one dry place and sometimes at another, the brook and bog which extended across its line, and thence rising in grade, it reached its highest level at 173rd Street.

Between 176th and 181st Streets west of Broadway, the natives had cleared and cultivated a tract which was known to the early settlers as “the great maize land.” It was doubtless the planting ground of a nearby settlement, probably that which has left on Fort Washington point considerable traces of its one-time active existence. To that station there must have been a branch path which would have been likely to follow the line of West 177th Street, the old Depot Lane.

From 179th to 181st Streets the trail turned somewhat to the east towards the head of the ravine down which it and its successor, the old Kingsbridge Road (our present Broadway) passed on their way to the lowlands of Inwood. This was the most natural course for such a pathway to follow, and thus descending by the easiest grade and crossing the brook at 195th Street the natives made their way along the base of the hill, on which Fort Tryon was later constructed, to Dyckman Street. Their path probably passed around the hill that used to be known as “The Knoll,” by a detour to the east on the line of Sherman Avenue, as the west side of that eminence was more or less marshy. At Dyckman Street there were springs from which two little brooks ran east and west, easily crossed by a few stones. A branch path must have extended westward along the south side of Dyckman Street to the ancient riverside station on the Hudson, and it is quite probable that another set off on the north side, as the line of old Bolton Road ran to
Prescott Avenue, connecting the large village along Seaman Avenue with the main trail. Near Academy Street the main pathway probably turned southeast over the Muscoota flatland towards the Harlem river, reaching its bank near 209th Street, and thence passing north a little inland, past the sites of the first Dyckman and Nagel houses, and reaching the present Ship Canal near the line of Broadway. There it dipped into the narrow ravine that then separated the hilly ground to the south from Marble Hill, and crossed the little brook that lay at the bottom of the ravine. Rising from this point it wound around the east side of Marble hill, down below the present grade of Broadway and reached the Wading Place where the traveler could at low tide make his way, not without some danger, to the opposite shore of the island of Papirinemin which we now know as Kingsbridge.

Such was the course of the Red Man's pathway over the Heights, which opened to the white invaders the means of passage from their little settlement on the tip of Manhattan to the interior, and which by a gradual development into a horse track, thence to a wagon road, and later into a widened and beaten highway, became ultimately the means of opening up the region to settlement.

At the time of Montagne's arrival in the year 1636 with his family and belongings in a dugout canoe, to make the first settlement in the Harlem valley, he paddled from the East River up the creek that long bore his name, to the Indian trail and landing there made his settlement at Seventh Avenue, 115th Street and St. Nicholas Avenue, alongside of the native path.

Other settlers followed and penetrated the forest northward as far as the extreme end of the island, finding that the trail led to a "wading place" across which the aborigines were accustomed to reach the mainland, a shallow place in Spuyten Duyvil creek a few rods east of the King's bridge which was later established.

Down this trail in 1643 the red men found their way on their missions of murder and destruction, and it was not until 1658 that the settlement of New Haerlem was effected as a means of combined protection for the settlers against the treacherous natives.

Their establishment of a ferry at 125th Street diverted the traffic only in part to that crossing point, for it was found that the increasing number of wayfarers preferred to keep to the old trail
and the wading place rather than to pay the charges of the ferryman.

Fruitless efforts were made to block up the passage to the ford, travelers, cattle and Indians conspiring to break through the fencing, so that at last the ferryman himself petitioned for permission to remove his ferry from 125th Street to the point where the public convenience was best to be served. It was an early instance of the insistence of the public on travel in its own manner, but it required a message from the Governor to stir the Harlem freeholders into action for the opening of the trail into a civilized roadway.

A resolution of these worthies in 1667 in favor of building the road to Harlem from New York, and providing “that Spuyten Duyvil be stopped up as it was formerly,” was rescinded by the Governor in 1669, by which the people were at last moved to action, and commissioners were appointed that year to act for both towns.

Like other commissioners of later times, these failed to effect their assigned work, and the road remained in so bad a condition that a resolution of the Mayor’s Court of the City of New York, under date February 13, 1672, recites that “many complaints have been lodged, yea, that people wishing lately to travel over that road on horseback have been in danger of losing their lives by the negligent keeping of the said road.”

The ferry had been removed to Spuyten Duyvil in 1669, and the road over the hills was used by an increasing number of “Christians, negroes and cattle,” the Indians passing to and from their planting grounds and shelters around Inwood, partly by the path and partly in canoes.

On December 7, 1676, the inhabitants of Harlem met and resolved “to make the road between this village and Spuyten Duyvil to begin on Saturday, the 9th of this month.” A lane was opened directly from the village to the new highway which was later known as Harlem Lane.

In 1679 this city was visited by two sightseers, or globe trotters, quite the first of their since numerous kind, in the persons of two Labadist monks, who recorded in a brisk and gossipy style the impressions gained on their trip. As they reached the heights of Central Park, and saw the vista of valley and wooded hills open before them, they write of the “ridges of very high rocks, displaying

themselves very majestically and inviting all men to acknowledge in them the majesty, grandeur, power and glory of their Creator.” “Between them,” they add, “runs the road to Spuyten Duyvil.”

The division of the lands along Washington Heights, hitherto held in common, was begun in 1691 by allotments on that portion which lay south of Audubon Park, and was then known as “Jochem Pieter’s hills.”

Care was taken in the ground briefs relating to these divisions to conserve the right of the King’s Way across the several properties. Thus, in the Dyckman district, the authorization was given “to lay out a parcel of land at Spuyten Duyvil, between the high hills by the Round Meadow, on the other side of the Swamp, so much as shall be found fit for tillage, on condition that there remain a good and sufficient King’s Way, where shall be found best and most convenient.”

The road was officially known as the King’s Way, and is so referred to in the deeds of lands through which it passed. The most southerly portion at McGown’s Pass is thus referred to in 1701: “There is set off to Abraham de La Montanje a piece of land lying west of the King’s way, bounded against the Harlem limits to a steep rock standing in the run, upon it four rods northerly a small maple tree of Metje (widow) Cornelis; and southerly along the King’s way to a run where the King’s way passes over.” And at the other end of the roadway: “There is set off for Jan Dyckman and Jan Nagel a piece of land upon the end of York Island, north of the Round Meadow (Dyckman tract) and the Half Creek, commonly called Pieter Tuynier’s (the Gardener’s) Fall (now Sherman Creek), till to the little Sand Bay lying at the North River (Tubbyhook, Inwood). Also a suitable King’s way shall remain over the said land.”

In 1707 a survey of the King’s Way was made, and in some parts it was regulated. Its description, north of Central Park, runs as follows, showing the scanty habitations along its line at that date: “It runs along the lane to the next hollow, almost north; from thence to Meyer’s (141st Street), northeast; and thence to the run by Barent Waldron’s (145th Street), north-north-east; from thence along the fence, and so by John Kierse’s (Kiersen’s) house, on the right hand (160th Street), and so along as the road now lies, leaving the run of water on the left hand (the brook from
181st Street to 196th Street); until you come to the deep bridge (196th Street); from thence along the foot of the hill (Fort Tryon), which is to the left, about half a mile, then turning to the left and leaving the swamp (Sherman’s Creek), on the right hand, as the road now is, unto Nagel and Dyckman’s farm; from thence (that is from about Academy Street), leaving the fence on the west hand, through the ground of the said Nagel and Dyckman (that is, across the Dyckman tract, about 208th Street, to the Harlem River, the two farmers then owning the land in common), by the house where the said Dyckman doth now live (it stood at 210th Street on the Harlem River bank), and over his bridge (a little culvert over the creek at 211th Street that afterward divided his land from Nagel’s and is now filled in by the grading of 211th Street), and so forward as the road now is unto Kingsbridge."

The road was referred to sometimes as the Great Post or Albany Post Road, and after the construction of the King’s Bridge was known locally as the King’s Bridge Road, a title which was temporarily changed during the reign of Queen Anne to the Queen’s Road. The ferry had been replaced by the King’s Bridge in 1693 by the then owner of the franchise, Frederick Philipse, of Yonkers, and soon increased the traffic, so that the public again began to kick at the charges imposed upon them for access to and from the mainland.

The farmers in particular were sufferers, and, aided by Dyckman, they organized a movement which culminated in 1758-9 in the building of the Free Bridge, or Farmer’s Bridge, known also in the Revolution as the Queen’s Bridge, which was constructed by the local farmers on private lands, and connected Marble Hill with Fordham, but was buried in 1919 by the newly created 225th Street, once known as Muscoota Street.

In 1769 the road had reached sufficient importance to be marked out by milestones, which were erected on the west side of the roadway, setting off distances from the then City Hall at the corner of Wall Street and Nassau Street. The precise location of these stones has been the subject of some discussion, since the recollections of old inhabitants did not agree with the positions assigned to the stones in certain authoritative maps. This may be due to a rearrangement of the stones after 1817 on a resurvey of the road from the new position of the City Hall in City Hall Park.
Along the line of the road several hostelries were established for the entertainment of travellers. A blacksmith named Day opened up a tavern about 1770 near 126th Street, and John Myer was proprietor of another inn at 141st Street, competing with the celebrated Blue Bell Tavern, which commenced business long prior to that time at 181st Street. About 1758 Jacobus Dyckman sold his tavern at McGown’s Pass and built a new house of entertainment at the foot of Marble Hill, opposite the Free Bridge, which he sold prior to the Revolution to Caleb Hyatt. Its successor stood until a few years ago on the opposite side of Broadway.

The old road at this time and for long after was as crooked, irregular, steep and dangerous as it well could be, and that portion leading from the Harlem plain up to the Heights at 147th Street bore the name of Breakneck Hill, which was applied to it officially on city maps as late as 1871.

The Revolution brought about stirring scenes along the old highway. The defence of New York in 1776 mainly centered on Washington Heights, and the road was its most practicable means of access for materials, guns and troops. At 147th Street the line of defensive earthworks crossed the road, and a pitfall was cut in it, which, however, failed to stop the advance of General Percy’s division on November 16, 1776, in the final assault on Mount Washington. Thereafter the road was constantly tramped over by bodies of British and Hessian troops passing to and from the forts and camps along the Heights.

Near the line of 192nd Street the great fortifications, known as the Line Barrier constructed by the British and Hessian garrison, crossed the highway, and the Barrier gate at that point was guarded by fortified redoubts on either side. Traces of that on the east side were found and when dug into yielded a number of weapons and other evidences of military life.

The character of the road during the military occupation was described by a visitor approaching from the north in 1779; “the road between Laurel Hill (Fort George Hill) and the Heights on the Fort Knyphausen (Fort Washington) side is so narrow that it is shut up with a gate where a guard is kept.” Till recent years the remains of the stone abutments of the Barrier Gate could be seen, and on the widening of the road were utilized in constructing the culvert under Broadway at 195th Street.
Just before the end of the Revolution a royal visitor, the young Prince who became later William IV of England, rode up the highway accompanied by a large body of troops on a grand parade into the hostile county of Westchester.

The final scene in the Revolution was enacted on the old Post Road, when the American force delegated to take possession of New York made its way over the King's Bridge, and at the top of the Fort Washington hill (at 181st Street) was reviewed by General Washington and his aides.

In 1790 the general, then President, revisited the site of Fort Washington and took a meal in the Morris house.

The war ruined the business of the taverns along the road, but with the revival of peaceful traffic they reopened and others were established. Among the latter was the Post Inn at 177th Street, opposite Depot Lane, around the site of which were discovered many interesting objects and coins dating back to the end of the 18th Century.

Another "Black Horse" Inn was started on the south side of what is now Dyckman Street, and the Dyckman family, whose homes (near 208th Street Tenth Avenue, and 210th Street and the Harlem River) had been destroyed during the war, built the present picturesque building at 204th Street on the west side of the road which was utilized in later times as a sort of roadhouse for drovers of cattle. About 1782, the old detour to the east over the meadows was abandoned and the Kingsbridge road took the present course of Broadway from Academy Street to Marble Hill.

Thus, the old road remained for many a long year a shady country lane, winding between the hedge rows and boulder fences, peacefully contributing to the growth of the great city after the vicissitudes of the past, a reminder of the Red Man's trail, the Dutch settlers' horse path, the Colonial Post Road and the military line of communication, until its final metamorphosis into a modern avenue, nearly two and a half centuries after its first opening. It was widened, macadamized and re-baptized as St. Nicholas Avenue as far as 162nd Street, the portion north of that point remaining as the Kingsbridge Road.

Only that part of it north of 169th Street now bears the name Broadway, and to the old residents, fast being crowded out, it still remains the Kingsbridge Road of their childhood.
THE KING'S BRIDGE over the Spuyten Duyvil, which is now filled in, and the old bridge buried beneath Kingsbridge Avenue. Page 60.

THE OLD POST ROAD as it skirted around Marble Hill to the King's Bridge.
Its crooked course as the Avenue St. Nicholas turns from east to west can still be followed, though the sharp corners, where the coach passengers held onto their seats, are rounded off and the rough and steep inclines where the teams slowed up, are now graded and smoothly paved.

As one climbs the long ascent to the historic Heights, and notes the bends and turns of the present avenue on the very lines of the old trail, passing the interesting sites of bygone life, glimpsing here and there the bright waters of the Hudson and Harlem, the vista from Mount Washington over the Dyckman farmlands to the distant hills of Westchester, the varied interests of the old highway and its historic association with the past of the beautiful Heights of Washington, bring to mind the thought expressed by Marie Van Vorst:

"A wood road and a good road,
   And a road by land and sea;
A high road and a by road,
   And a road by plain and lea;
A fair road and a bare road,
   And a road by vale and hill;
A deep road and a steep road,
   And a foot road, sweet and still;
A town road and a down road,
   And the King's Road broad and free,
There's but one road in all the world:
   The way that leads to Thee!"
II

THE BLUE BELL TAVERN

The largest of all the places of public amusement on the Heights has been constructed at 181st Street, on the west side of Broadway. Few of those who observe the great Capitol Theatre realize that it occupies the same position in regard to the high road as the old Blue Bell Inn of Colonial and Revolutionary days.

The old frame building which was recently torn down at the corner of 181st Street was the modern successor of that ancient tavern, having been erected by William Christ about 1885, some years after its predecessor had disappeared in the widening of the old King's Bridge Road.

In Colonial times the King's Way, the single roadway through the Heights, reached its highest level near this point and it was doubtless due to the advantages offered by a place of rest at the summit of the hills rising north and south that the site of the tavern was selected. Its precise position was about 60 feet north of the northwest corner of 181st Street and Broadway, over the sidewalk and part of the present roadway.

Its appearance has been preserved by a drawing which formed one of the illustrations in Valentine's Manual and an engraving in Appleton's Journal of 1873, also a water color drawing painted by George Holston in 1875. These show the building to have consisted of a single story and attic, the latter having little oblong window openings, four in number, situated under the eaves. The front of the house was provided with an ample porch, and the low pitched roof was broken only in the centre by the great stone chimney. The walls were of stone or brick plastered.

In appearance the house was very much like the old Nagel farm house built in 1735 at 213th Street, and was probably constructed about 1725-30. It stood just north of the property of
Hendrick van Oblienisis, whose farm dwelling, the first constructed on the Heights, was at 176th Street, and therefore, the nearest neighbor of the tavern.

An early reference to its use is found in a letter written by Lieutenant-Governor Cadwalader Colden, who tells his correspondent that he was caught in a storm at Kingsbridge at sundown, and therefore concluded to break his journey to New York by stopping at the Blue Bell. This was in the year 1753. "The tavern," he says, "is kept by a Dutchman by the name of Vanderventer, and our food and lodgings were very comfortable."

There is an interesting reference to the site of the Blue Bell prior to its construction in the reminiscences of Robert Pintard. He tells us that some of the Huguenots of New Rochelle, between whom a division had arisen, were compelled to attend the service in the French Church of Sainte Esprit, in Pine Street, and that they used to walk to New York for that purpose. This was in 1724. He relates that having left their children in the care of friends "they set off early in the morning and walked to the city, bare-footed, carrying their shoes and stockings in their hands."

"About twelve miles from New York," he continues, "at a place since called the Blue Bell, there was a large rock by the roadside covered with cedars, and here they stopped for a short time to rest and take some refreshments, and then proceeded on their journey."

It may well have been that this weekly use of the place led to the establishment of the inn. The large rock by the roadside can be readily identified, as it later became known as the "Death Gap Rock," at the foot of which a little spring bubbled out which doubtless afforded the necessary water supply to thirsty travellers.

The next reference to the building which is found in print is a notice of sale in 1768, by Abraham Meyer, of the woodland lying above the Blue Bell. The following year, 1769, part of the Oblienisis farm was sold to Blaizius Moore, of 45 Broadway, the leading tobacco merchant of the City of New York. He became the father-in-law of the two Lorillards, who inherited the tobacco business and with their descendants have been so largely identified with that industry. The son of Moore, by name Jacob, inherited this part of his father's property, and in the first year of the Revolution he
is found to have been paying excise tax for the tavern and exercising the duties of its host.

The peaceful existence of the little inn was suddenly changed in 1776 by the military occupation of the Heights, and it soon became the very centre of warlike activity. The construction of Fort Washington brought to its shelter the officers in charge of that work, and the Post Commander of the fort later established his headquarters at the tavern. There is an interesting story in the journal of Captain John Montresor, who was a member of a well known Colonial family, an officer in the Provincial army, and the owner of Randell's Island, then called Belle Isle or Montresor's Island.

It will be recalled that when the leaden statue of King George the Third at the Bowling Green was destroyed by the patriotic demonstration, then described as a "mob," various parts of the statue were carried off, and as the story has always been told, the material was melted down into bullets, for which a great demand existed in the ill-equipped American forces. But it appears that not all of the statue was thus disposed of, for in 1872, the tail of the horse on which the figure of the King had been seated was found buried on a farm at Wilton, Conn., where it had been carried and possibly hidden by some Tory sympathizer. The interesting fact is disclosed by Montresor's journal, that the head of the statue of the King was also preserved and was brought to Moore's Tavern on Washington Heights. He learned, he says, "that the rebels had cut the king's head off the equestrian statue which represented George the Third in the figure of Marcus Aurelius, and that they had cut the nose off, clipped the laurels that were wreathed round his head, and drove a musket Bullet part of the way through his Head, and otherwise disfigured it, and that it was carried to Moore's tavern, adjoining Fort Washington, in order to be fixed on a Spike on the Truck of that flagstaff as soon as it could be got ready. I immediately sent Corby through the Rebel Camp in the beginning of September, 1776, to Cox, who kept the Tavern at King's Bridge, to steal it from them and to bury it, which was effected, and was dug up on our arrival, and I rewarded the men, and sent the Head by the Lady Gage to Lord Townshend in order to convince them at home of the Infamous Disposition of the Ungrateful people of this distressed Country." Whether the Marquis received and appre-
WASHINGTON BRIDGE, 1888. Each of its arched spans is 510 feet wide, and their crowns are 133 feet above tidewater. In the foreground is the Carman residence on the Speedway, now the Harlem River Driveway. Page 108.

THE FARMERS BRIDGE, 1758. The first free bridge connecting Manhattan with the mainland. Each of its spans was 35 feet wide, and its roadway was 12 feet above tidewater. Destroyed in 1911. Page 60.
ciated this evidence of the result of his favorite Stamp Act we do not know, nor has any further trace of the object ever been discovered.

One of the earliest scenes that brought vividly to its occupants the cruelties of warfare was the arrival of the wounded from the Battle of Harlem Heights, on September 16, 1776, when Major Leitch was brought to the Inn in a fatally wounded condition. He lingered in the care of those who were nursing him until the first of October, when he died, and from the little Tavern his body was taken to its place of burial in the hollow alongside the post road at 143rd Street.

The building was utilized for military purposes by a court-martial on October 5th, of the same year. This court assembled in the little parlor under the presidency of the Commander of Fort Washington, Colonel Robert Magaw, for the trial of Wagon-Master-General Champney, who was charged with having abused Dr. Martin, one of the surgeons of the American forces.

Back of the building on the line of Bennett Avenue were the barracks of the American garrison, and the soldiers drew their supply of water from the little spring previously described, which afforded the same service to the Tavern. The occupants of the Blue Bell doubtless became more or less used to the sound of conflict, as they heard the cannonading between the forts and the British warships in the river, in August, September and October of that year.

On November 16th, the full terrors of actual warfare concentrated around the Fort and shot and shell fell all around the tavern building. Old inhabitants had a tradition that one of the women folk in the dairy was nearly killed by a shot that passed through the churn at which she was working.

When the Fort was surrendered and the British troops moved up, the leading officers came to the little Inn, and among its visitors were Lieutenant General the Earl Percy, and General Sir William Howe with whom was his brother Lord Richard Howe, the Admiral of the British fleet, then lying in the Bay. On that evening these officers took dinner at the Tavern.

When the war with all its vicissitudes came to an end, the old building became the scene of an event of particular interest, which is recorded by Major Robert Burnet in Appleton’s Journal,
Vol. X., p. 247. He accompanied the little force which marched
down from Westchester County to take possession of New York
City under the personal leadership of General Washington. As the
column approached the summit of the hill on the Kingsbridge
Road, Washington and his aides, riding forward, took up a posi-
tion in front of the Tavern, and standing there, practically on the
threshold of Fort Washington, the loss of which had been so bitter
a blow to them and the recent abandonment of which meant so
much for the cause of freedom, they reviewed the troops as they
passed before them. There is no record that they stayed to procure
any refreshment for they passed on to stay at the Widow Day’s
Tavern for the night.

Major Burnet tells an interesting tale of his discovery at the
Inn of a young British Sergeant who had deserted his regiment
on its retirement and had married one of the girls of the locality
at the Tavern only the day before.

After the war an effort was made to revive the old Inn’s busi-
ness, by a New York proprietor, who advertised in the New York
Packet of June 10, 1784, as follows:

"THE BLUE BELL REVIVED"
"STEPHEN DOLBEER"

"Begs leave to acquaint his friends and the Public
in General that he has opened the Blue Bell Tavern, at
Fort Washington, where he hopes for the continuance of
his former customers, and all those Gentlemen who please
to favor him with their Custom shall be waited on in the
gentelest manner. Also good stabling and Pasture for
Horses."

This proprietor does not appear to have long held the business,
for in 1789 it was managed by a party by the name of Waldran.
It is believed that the attempt at the revival of its business by
Dolbeer was the result of the sale of the Tavern site in 1784 by
Jacob Moore to his brother-in-law, the husband of his sister
Rosannah.

John Barnard Bauer, commonly known as Barney Bowers,
who married Rosannah Moore, was a German by nationality whose
descendants tell the story that he came to his end by having over-
strained himself in lifting the guns when they were being removed
from the site of Fort Washington. He was a sort of itinerant
preacher and discontinued the business of the Tavern using the building as his residence. When the business was revived it was conducted in a new building of frame construction erected about that time on the opposite side of the highroad, where it continued until it was destroyed by fire in 1819.

The old Inn descended to the family of his daughter, who married Samuel Ryer, a member of one of the old families of the Heights, whose descendant, Blazius Ryer, occupied the house until its destruction upon the widening of the Kingsbridge Road into the present Broadway.

All traces of the old building were then completely lost, and the only objects which have been found near its site consisted of a part of one of the old Dutch tiles that probably adorned its fireplace, and a large rusty key, which must have been used to lock its hospitable door. While the theatre excavation was proceeding, the writer observed below the level of the sidewalk in Broadway, part of an ancient brick paved floor, probably part of the old structure. Thus passed away one of the well-known landmarks of the city—the one-time famous Blue Bell.
III

THE WHITE HOUSE

A WELL known place of refreshment was established in the neighborhood of the Roger-Morris Mansion, not long prior to the commencement of the Revolution. It is referred to in various documents of the period, sometimes as the White House, and at other times as Morris's Tavern. It seems more than probable that it was the original building of Jan Kiersen which he had constructed in the vicinity of 160th Street early in the eighteenth century, and which had passed about 1765 into the possession of Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Morris, when he purchased the farm upon which the Mansion was later erected.

Traces of such a building were found close to the old fish-pond on the Jumel estate, between 159th and 160th Streets. There was much plaster covered with white lime, and old Colonial bricks with many fragments of old-time pottery and earthenware.

The house was probably utilized for military purposes during the occupation of the Heights by the American forces. Several references are made to the tavern in general orders issued by General Washington, such as that of September 29th, "A court "martial of the following members are to meet tomorrow at ten "o'clock at the White House near headquarters, for the trial of "Captain Weisner and Captain Scott." At this interesting trial Captain Weisner was sentenced to dismissal from the service on account of misconduct of the surprise attack on Montresor's Island.

Another interesting event connected with the building, is the probability that Colonel Knowlton was carried there after the battle of Harlem Heights. The Tavern to which he was borne was not specifically named, but as the White House was then the nearest inn within the American lines, it is probable that it was used as a hospital so far as its limited accommodation would per-
THE BLUE BELL INN. As it stood in 1856 at 181st Street on Broadway with its neighbor the Beekman dwelling (left). Demolished May 1876. For its story see page 64.

THE SITE OF THE BLUE BELL INN IN 1912. Viewed from Bennett Avenue at 181st Street, now covered by the Capitol Theatre. Note the explorers at work in the bed of the brook in the debris of the garrison barracks of Fort Washington described on page 148.
mit. It is thus probable that the remains of that distinguished officer were borne from the little building to his place of burial in the hollow alongside the King’s Way, at 143rd Street, where later on the remains of his comrades, Henly and Leitch, were also laid.

The building was evidently not in use as a tavern after the British had captured the Heights, and it seems therefore, that it was abandoned or destroyed. That this was the case appears probable from a description by Captain Alexander Graydon, an American officer who was confined as a prisoner in the coach-house of the Morris Mansion nearby, to the effect that a brick house near the headquarters was set on fire just after the capture of Fort Washington. He attributed the destruction of the building to some of the British grenadiers who were cooking steaks in the building, and thus set it on fire.

In the military map of 1782, prepared by the British authorities, no building appears at this point; on the other hand, Washington in his diary of 1781, refers to a camp of British troops near “Morris’s White House,” of the destruction of which he may not have been aware, or he may have caught a distant view from the Heights across the Harlem River, of its ruined walls, possibly still retaining the lime coloring from which its name was derived.
THE CROSS KEYS

The next old tavern of interest in this locality was the "Cross Keys," which was the nearest neighbor of the Morris White House, and was in later years known as Wear's Tavern. The location is thus identified as being upon the property of George Wear, who was the owner about the year 1800, of a small tract on the east side of the Post Road, the southerly line of which was approximately the present Croton Street at 165th Street. On this little property, Wear, who was a blacksmith, established, perhaps as the successor to the White House, a tavern, which under the favorite name of the Cross Keys, became a well known place of call for coaches and vehicles passing along the high-way.

The little old two-story building with its two chimneys, one at each gable end, which still stands at the intersection of Audubon Avenue and St. Nicholas Avenue, is the successor to Wear's Tavern. It is said that the old sign-board fell into private possession, and is still in existence.

POST'S INN

Half a mile further to the north on the same side of the road, shortly after the Revolutionary war, another tavern was started, by one of the Post family who later inherited the estate of the Nagels in the Dyckman tract. This little building stood at the northeast corner of 177th Street and Broadway, and in 1789, was doing business as a road house. It must have been destroyed later than 1854, because upon its site when explored, a number of coins were found, the latest of which bore that date. Among these coins the earliest was that of George II., dated 1749, with other of United States coinage from 1780, onwards.
The site was littered with old objects cast out from the tavern, including broken porcelain and pottery, chiefly of the period prior to 1820, old knives, forks, marbles, bullets, with abundant debris of many a clam-bake and oyster stew, which were enjoyed under its hospitable shelter by the travellers along the old high road.
THE BLACK HORSE INN

THE "Black Horse Inn" a quaint little roadside Tavern, at Dyckman Street and Broadway, stood until recent times close up to the narrow Kings Bridge Road, upon the sidewalk of which it actually encroached, its position being about one hundred feet south of the intersection of Riverside Drive with Broadway. When Broadway was constructed its grade was raised and its line was shifted to the east, so that part of the little old roadway still lies buried under the grass of the meadow on the west side of Broadway at this point, and there can yet be traced the remains of a portion of the little tavern, of its barn and of the head of its well.

The land on which it stood was part of allotment 18, that of Captain Johannes Benson, and by several transfers it came to the possession of young Abraham Dyckman who was killed during the Revolution on Fordham Heights, fighting for the American cause. It has been said that he died in this building but of course that could not have been the case, as the tavern was built by Henry Norman in 1805.

The name of the "Black Horse" was probably adopted about the time that the tavern of the same title at McGown's Pass in Central Park went out of business, which was in 1812, and under the proprietorship of a widow named Crawford, it did an excellent business as a halfway house for the coach traffic on the run between Yonkers and the city.

It was a quaint little building with a small porch over the front door. It had two stories in front, the roof being extended back over a single story at the rear. It was part stone and part frame, with a kitchen on the south end provided with a brick chimney and a bake-oven extending out beyond the wall. It had only five bedroom chambers. Its construction indicated that it may
THE CROSSKEYS TAVERN IN 1872 on the old Post Road, now St. Nicholas Avenue, at 165th Street. A drawing preserved by the New York Historical Society. Page 72.

OLD CROTON STREET. Extending between Amsterdam and St. Nicholas Avenues, where once the Crosskeys Tavern stood. The street was incorporated into 165th Street, and buildings removed 1923. Page 129.
have been built in part of the materials taken from the ruins of earlier buildings, for its double door was of Dutch pattern and had the same massive hinges which were used in buildings of much older date in the Inwood valley. Around its site some of the old china ware, and a key of one of its doors have been found. The building was occupied for some years prior to its destruction by Hugh Drennan, and his daughter Miss Lottie Drennan made a model of it which gives an excellent idea of the appearance and quaint charm of the little old building.
VI

HYATT’S TAVERN

ONLY a few years have elapsed since the demolition of the Kingsbridge Hotel, which was a conspicuous object on the east side of Broadway just north of the line of 226th Street. This building was quite a favorite resort about forty years ago for anglers who then fished in the waters nearby. It was the modern successor of a more interesting building, which at the time of the Revolution was known as “Hyatt’s Tavern at the Free Bridge.” This inn occupied a site a little to the south of its successor’s position and on the west side of the present Broadway, deeply buried under which lies the old Post Road.

Just opposite the tavern a lane extended east to the Farmers’ Free Bridge which is now buried under the re-graded level of 225th Street. This little bridge was constructed by the farmers of the district in the year 1758, led by Benjamin Palmer of City Island, aided by Vermilyea and Dyckman who advanced money and gave land for the purpose. It was designed to relieve the farmers of the vicinity from the objectionable tolls which were imposed upon those who crossed the King’s Bridge. The bridge became known as Dyckman’s bridge or the Farmers’ bridge, and during the war in Independence it was referred to as the Queen’s bridge.

The Free Bridge was opened on New Year’s day, 1759, with much public rejoicing and feasting, and at the same time Dyckman, who had been the proprietor of the well known Black Horse Inn at McGown’s Pass in Central Park, removed his business to a new tavern situated as above described, at Marble Hill, opposite the turning from the post road to the new bridge. The opening of the bridge naturally diverted all the traffic from King’s Bridge, and the toll keeper resigned his position, so that ere long the tolls were abandoned and it also became free.
Dyckman's tavern was well situated to cater to the traffic to and from both bridges, but for some reason it was not very successful in the hands of its proprietor, who after conducting it for about fourteen years, sold it with the adjoining land on Marble Hill, which was part of his family's ancient allotment, to one Caleb Hyatt, by whose name the tavern was known at the period of the Revolution, and under his management and that of his son, was continued as a place of refreshment until early in the nineteenth century.

At the time of the military operations on the end of Manhattan Island, Hyatt's Tavern stood in a very exposed position, being just below Fort Prince Charles which was taken by the Hessian troops prior to the battle of Fort Washington. After the capture of the position the Hessian garrison of the Marble Hill position used the Tavern as its guard-house.

In December, 1777, an attack was made upon Kingsbridge by the American forces under General Heath, who brought up some small artillery to a position on Kingsbridge Heights, having turned the garrison out of Fort Independence. The intention of the attack was to destroy the bridges and the artillery was directed upon the side of the hill below which the Inn stood. As soon as the shots began to fall the Hessian guard could be seen running out of the Tavern to take shelter in the fort on the hill above, and it is recorded that the precision of the gunners of the American artillerymen caused the soldiers to "duck" at each impact of a shot in their vicinity.

During the war Hyatt somehow succeeded under many difficulties in continuing his business in the Tavern probably because it afforded the only accessible shelter for the officers of the various regiments which from time to time occupied this advanced position. The Farmers Bridge was broken down by the American forces in 1776, and was not restored during the war. King's Bridge also was rendered practically useless and such traffic as there was, became diverted to a bridge of boats across the creek near the line of Seaman Avenue until the war was over when the Free Bridge was reconstructed.

It is related that in 1789, President Washington passing along the high-road on his way to Connecticut, stopped and took a meal at this Inn. At that date it is curious to observe that the Tavern
is shown on the east side of the road, the business having been transferred to or re-established in a new building. The original premises seem to have been continued as a roadside store.

In 1807, the Tavern was leased by Jacob the son of Caleb Hyatt, to James Devoe. It must always be of interest as having been established by the enterprising builder of the Free Bridge, which was a demonstration of the determination of the people not to be subjected to an unregulated monopoly in bridge tolls.

Its modern successor was the Kingsbridge Hotel, which was a square building of modern character, with a mansard roof—a central turret. It catered to the anglers and sportsmen who were brought to the rural region by the Hudson River railroad and by the boat service on the Harlem and was noted for its turtle dinners. After the widening of Broadway, and the filling in of the Creek its custom disappeared, and it fell into disrepair and was torn down in 1917.
THE VALE BETWEEN FORT GEORGE AND FORT TRYON once the Kortright Farm. On the left the Kingsbridge Road led to the village of Tubby Hook.

THE BLACK HORSE TAVERN on the old Post Road, now Broadway, near Dyckman Street. A drawing in Appleton's Journal 1874. Page 74.
VII

COX’S TAVERN

The establishment of a place of crossing over the Spuyten Duyvil Creek brought so much traffic as to require some place of suitable entertainment and shelter in its vicinity. This requirement was recognized long prior to the construction of a bridge, for in 1669, when the concession of the ferry at the Wading Place, a little to the east of the future bridge, was given to Johannes Verveelen, it was required of him that he should “erect and provide a good and sufficient dwelling house upon the Island or Neck of Land known by the name of Papparinamin, where he shall be furnished with three or four good beds for the entertainment of strangers; as also with provisions at all seasons for them, their horses and cattle, together with stabling and stalling.”

It was further agreed in the deed of July 15 of that year, entered into by Governor Lovelace, that the ferryman might charge for accommodation in this Tavern as follows: “For lodging any person 8 PENCE per night, in case they have a bed with sheets, and without sheets 2 PENCE IN SILVER.” And for their mounts, “Feeding a Horse one day or night with hay or grasse 6 PENCE.”

The ferryman duly carried out his undertaking and built a dwelling which served the purpose of a Tavern for many years thereafter. It was probably situated upon the same site as the interesting residence of the Macomb family, which stood until 1918 adorned with the remains of its one-time beautiful garden and meadows at the corner of 230th Street and Broadway upon the island which had been a favorite station of the Indians, and now forms the site of the Village of Kingsbridge.

From the Wading Place probably under our present Broadway the roadway ran north along the bank of Harlem river as far as 231st Street when it turned sharply to the east over a rough cause-
way which had been constructed through the marsh. On the other
side, it divided, becoming the Albany Post Road, leading north-
wards, and the Boston Post Road turning southeast, with a branch
along the line of Bailey Avenue to the old Kingsbridge Road which
was known as the Westchester Path.

About 1688, Verveelen's privilege expired and the public was
left without an authorized means of reaching the mainland until
1691, at which time Frederick Philipse, lord of the manor of Yon-
kers secured a franchise permitting him to build the King's Bridge.

The construction of this bridge doubtless increased the need
and afforded better opportunities for a nearby tavern, and in 1775,
we find references to such an establishment conducted there by
John Cox, an Englishman who became one of the most prominent
residents of the little village then known by the name of the Bridge.
It seems probable that the tavern was continued upon the same
site, perhaps in the same building with additions. At the Revolu-
tion the local community was stirred to patriotic efforts, and organ-
ized a militia company of which John Cox was chosen as the leader.
But he later developed a very pronounced Tory sentiment and was
publicly denounced for his disloyalty to Congress and was deposed
from his command of the militia company. His attitude on the
current controversies was clearly evidenced by the statement of
Colonel Montressor that it was he who was requested to secure and
did secure the head of King George's statue from Morris's Tavern
and concealed it by burying it in the vicinity of his Kingsbridge
establishment.

He appears to have been rather a truculent character, as we
learn from a letter written by General Nathanael Greene, in which
he refers to an insult offered to Mrs. Greene "by the tavern keeper."
He must however, have been a competent landlord, since John
Adams passing on his way to the first Congress at Philadelphia
records that on August 20, 1776, he "Lodged at Cock's at King's
Bridge, a pretty place."

What became of this strenuous Tory after the Revolution we
know not, but in 1789 the ferry was kept by a man of the name of
Halsey. The site was purchased in 1797 by General Alexander
Macomb, and upon it the house of the Macomb family was erected,
which they occupied until 1848, when the estate was put on the
market by Mrs. Mary Macomb, and the house passed into the posses-
sion of the Godwin family. The building was often visited while still in possession of Mrs. Macomb, by Edgar Allan Poe. It became vacant about 1917 and stood for some years in a neglected and ruinous condition, being torn down in 1920.

This closes our review of the old places of refreshment which connected this locality with the events and characters of its historic past. From their much-changed and modernized sites it requires no great effort of imagination to re-draw the picture of their old appearance, of their hospitable accommodation, and of the characters that were familiar sights under their sheltering roofs.
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III

Washington Heights
1658-1712

being the Common Lands
of the
Township of New Haerlem
Based on the Map
by
JAMES RIKER

Showing the site of the Village and the
lots divided in 1691 (marked by
Roman numerals) and the
1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th divisions of 1712,
with modern street lines.

1. The ferry.
2. Teunissen's home.
3. Jan Dyckman's dwelling.
4. The little sand bay.
5. The Bluebell Inn.
7. Jan Kiersen dwelling.
8. Aaron Bussing's home.
10. Adolph Myer's farm house.
11. The Slang Berg.
12. The first ferry.
13. The burying ground.
I

JOCHEM PIETER’S HILLS

This was the title by which the Harlem settlers described the southerly part of the range of hills composing Washington Heights. It was applied by them to the upland for a distance of about two miles north of the valley known as the Hollow-way through which Manhattan Street, now 125th Street, runs. The name is that of one of the pioneers of civilization in our district, who was a man of much importance in the early Colonial life of the township of New Haerlem, and indeed of that of New Amsterdam.

Captain Jochiem Pietersen Kuyter was a native of Holstein, who had entered the service of the kingdom of Denmark, and had risen to a high command in the East Indies. The pressure of economic existence in Europe was, at the time of the settlement of New Netherlands, forcing the overcrowded population of Holland, accompanied by numerous refugees from the religious persecutions in other localities to emigrate to the attractive country which was ready to receive them in the western hemisphere.

The descriptions of the wonderful advantages of New Amsterdam spread from Holland into nearby countries and reached the inhabitants of Westphalia and of Denmark, who were in close relations of business with that active little country. The stories brought back by those who had made early visits to the Hudson region even proved attractive to people of considerable means, among whom were two of special interest to our district: Jonas Bronck and his friend Kuyter, the latter a gentleman born in the district of Ditmarsen in Holstein, a man of education and position, holding a captain’s commission under King Christian.

With a cargo of Holstein cattle, and a number of farm laborers
and herdsmen, Bronck and Kuyter sailed together in a private armed vessel named "The Fire of Troy," and were accorded a warm welcome by the residents of New Amsterdam on their arrival in June, 1639. Governor Kieft promptly granted to these two important accessions to the resident population extensive areas in the then unsettled regions of Harlem and the Bronx. Kuyter was conceded the fertile lowland tract then known by the Indian name, "Schorakin,"* this tract extending along the Harlem River, between 1st and 6th Avenues, covering most of modern Harlem north of 125th Street. It lay north of the irregular boundary of the bouwerie of la Montague, whose settlement, which he had named "Vredendal," or the "Vale of Quiet," extended south of 120th Street and west of 5th Avenue. Here Kuyter built a dwelling with several outbuildings all enclosed within a high fence of wooden palisades, and proceeded to cultivate his tract of about four hundred acres, which then and for long years after was known as the Jochem Pietersen flat, but which Kuyter himself had named Zegendal, or the Valley of Blessing.

The land thus allotted to Kuyter extended on its west extremity to the line of the Weckquaesgeek Path or St. Nicholas Avenue, where it abutted on the easterly side of Washington Heights, and a title to the contiguous wooded upland seems to have been claimed by the settler, so that the hill became known in all the early records of the township of New Harlem, as Jochem Pieter's Hills. It is probable that such a claim to the use of the wild forest lands of the Heights, which had not been abandoned at that time by the natives who still swarmed in the district, especially at the north end of the island, was the cause of those difficulties which later arose between the white and red men, and led to the disturbances and attacks by the aborigines in 1649 upon the advanced outposts of white civilization in Harlem and again ten years later.

Kuyter, however, appears to have established very friendly relations with the natives of the Heights, and always urged upon the Dutch authorities moderation and patience. Doubtless his exposed position as one of those settled nearest to the homelands of the red men, was a moving reason for his attitude. Notwithstanding—

* "Fork-of-a-stream-place," perhaps due to its position between the waters of the Harlem and the uplands.
ing his friendly attitude, his house was burned in the attack of March 5, 1644, an exhibition of the native system of revenge for the slaughter of their friends and relatives, but attributable primarily to the unreasonable and ill-considered actions of Governor Kieft.

Thereafter the farm was abandoned until 1654, when Kuyter returned and associated with himself several other partners in the property. While he was occupying his partly repaired home other difficulties arose between the Dutch authorities and the Indians and another treacherous attack was made by the latter, intended once for all to expel the white men from the end of the island, which they claimed they had not sold in the purchase of the island in 1626. Even their friend Kuyter fell a victim, being slaughtered during the attack on his farm, as were others of the settlers who had been hardy enough to risk the dangers of those exposed and unprotected localities.

The crops on the Zegendal and nearby farms were destroyed, the cattle were killed or driven into the woods, and the lands of Harlem for the time being were left to run back to their wild condition. This continued until the establishment in 1656, of the community, which constructed and occupied the village of New Harlem, under the scheme established by Governor Stuyvesant in March of that year.

The wild uplands, still known by the name of the original settler, were not included in the first division of the Harlem district between the settlers of the township, but were regarded as Common land, in which all residents claimed an equal right to cut timber, which was indeed a necessary requirement of all, not only for fuel, but for the palisades which protected their homes and farm buildings from the danger of attack. Nearly forty years passed before the Harlem settlers then greatly increased in numbers determined to exercise their right to divide the lands of Washington Heights among themselves, under the broad terms of the patents granted to them by the several Governors of New Netherland and particularly that of Governor Dongan of New York, in 1686.

It thus came about that in 1691, the residents of the township, who held between them the rights of ownership, decided "that the land lying in the common woods, so much as may be found suitable for making good, tillable land, shall be laid out into lots or parcels
whereof each inhabitant of this town shall draw a part as his property."

This allotment divided the whole of Jochem Pieter's Hills from 133rd Street to 162nd Street along the line of the then King's Way, later the Albany Post Road, and now St. Nicholas Avenue, and applied to all land lying west of that thoroughfare to the Hudson River front at 136th Street, as far north as 165th Street. The lots in this, which was known as the First Division, passed into the possession of some of the well-known families of New Harlem, the descendants of whom are prominent among the residents of this city.

With this division some tracts in the upper part of the island were also allotted to certain farmers, as well as some of the unoccupied properties south of the village on the East River. Those on Jochem Pieter's Hills, ran as follows:

"List of the drawn lands, as they are measured out by the Surveyor, A. Appel, by lot, pursuant to order from the whole Community and Authorized Men of this Town."

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Modern Location</th>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6 morgen</td>
<td>Hudson River, 136-142 Sts.</td>
<td>Johannes Vermilye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>14 &quot;</td>
<td>Hudson River, 137-142 Sts.</td>
<td>Jan Hendricks Van Brevoort</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>10 &quot;</td>
<td>Hudson River, 142-148 Sts.</td>
<td>Jacques Tourneur</td>
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<td>Hudson River, 145-147 Sts.</td>
<td>Arent Harmans Bussing</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>20 &quot;</td>
<td>Louwrens Jansen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>11 &quot;</td>
<td>William Holmes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>5 &quot;</td>
<td>William Haldron (dec'd)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>9½ &quot;</td>
<td>Samuel Waldron</td>
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The story of these allotments, of their interesting ownerships, and the modern developments to which they have given place, is to be told in the order of their original numbering, that is proceeding northward from Manhattanville up the Heights.

It is a satisfaction to those who appreciate the value of recording the work of the sturdy settlers of New Harlem in the development of our district, now the happy home of hundreds of thousands of our fellow-citizens, that the name of Jochem Pietersen Kuyter,
HAMiLTON’S “GRANGE” ON ITS ORIgiNAL SITE with the great Walnut tree on the left, and the thirteen gum trees on the right. For its story see page 91.

THE GRANGE AS IT IS TODAY. Serving as the parish house of the Church of St. Luke, 141st Street. The City College tower shows on the right. Page 93.
while it has been lost to the hills to which it was first applied, has been recently given to a public park at 129th Street, and is thus preserved for all future time, upon part of the ground he once owned, and in the locality in which he was a pioneer of development, and in which his life was brought to a violent end by the misunderstanding of those whose rights and interests he had so earnestly striven to serve.
II

JAN KYCKUYT'S FARM

In the division of these wooded heights among the settlers of the Township which took place in 1691, each freeholder had a right to a share in proportion to the size of his home allotment in Harlem. The division was made by drawing lots. More cultivable land was needed for the growing community, the younger members of which were demanding some place for their future home. The last tract of Indian land in Harlem had been purchased of them in 1669, but their survivors still maintained a quasi-title to the heights, and occasionally appeared at the upper end of the island. But the settlers nevertheless set to work to divide the part of the hills which was nearest the village, the upland part of which offered good opportunities for clearance and tillage.

The lots on the hills were set off in strips on lines running nearly east and west, extending from the Post Road to the Hudson River. The first plot on Washington Heights was numbered Five, in the order of its division. Its southerly side ran from 133rd Street at a point about one hundred feet west of the line of Ninth Avenue, to the shore of the Hudson, which it touched at 136th Street. It was a narrow strip, only eighteen rods in width, and it fell to the possession of Johannes Vermilye, and was sold by his widow, Aeltje, in 1715, to John Delamater, constable of New Haerlem, together with her other properties on the Heights. His daughter Margaret married Aaron Kortright, who purchased the Delamater lands in 1742, including that known as No. Five, but he sold off the latter in 1753, to Jonathan Odell, from whom it passed into the ownership of Jacob Schieffelin.

This little recital brings together a chain of familiar family names, some of them borne today by citizens of high standing and achievement.
In recent times the westerly end of this allotment became the site of Eugene Kelly’s residence, later the home of Oswald Ottendorfer, with its famous Pagoda, an elaborate structure occupying a conspicuous height on the grounds of this beautiful estate, whose grassy lawns and terraced gardens were the pride of its owner, and made one of the show places of the Heights, before the construction of Riverside Park Extension swept all traces of the place away. In the Pagoda, which was surmounted by a tower in Moorish style, capped by a gilded cupola, the Ottendorfers entertained their guests in a sumptuous banquet hall and billiard room, while the upper chambers afforded that magnificent view of the Hudson, to Fort Washington Point, which is now enjoyed by the dwellers in the cliff-like apartments that occupy the site of the Ottendorfer mansion.

The plots next to the north were known as Numbers Six and Seven, parallel with Number Five, and reaching as far as 141st Street on the Hudson River front, and these were drawn by Jan Hendricks Kyckuyt, a citizen of New Amsterdam who removed to New Haerlem in 1675, with his wife Anna Ellyessen. He, or Anna, must have found his peculiarly harsh name something of a nuisance, for he changed it to Van Brevoort, and thus became the progenitor of a large and well-known family, whose name is attached to a number of businesses and industries, and to one very widely-known hotel. Brevoort, sometimes referred to as “alias Kyckuyt,” rose to be overseer of the Township, and as he had followed the humble calling of a carter, he was evidently a man of natural ability. He became Alderman of the Out Ward, which office he filled from 1702 until 1713. As one of the earliest dwellers on our Heights, his queer name attaches itself to our history, for his modest homestead was the first to be erected on the lower part of Jochem Pieter’s hills, and in that building he was living, when in 1701, he sold the farm to Johannes Myer, at which time he was entering upon his public career.

Myer already had a substantial dwelling among his broad acres in the lowlands below Jochem Pieter’s hills, his house standing where 131st Street now runs, one hundred and fifty feet west of Eighth Avenue. So he gave the Number Six plot to his son Jacob, and Number Seven to his son John, who sold it to Jacob, doubtless because the latter was intending to settle on the farm and occupy
the Kyckuyt dwelling. The Jacob Myer farm was increased later by the addition of Number Eight, through which ran the old Bloomingdale Road, now Hamilton Place. This tract extended between 139th and 141st Streets, and on part of it the Montefiore Home used to stand until its removal and replacement by the new Gotham Theatre.

This plot had been drawn in 1691 by Arent Harmans Bussing, the progenitor of that excellent family whose name is yet to be read in the Telephone directory, and whose humble homestead stood, outlasting all its neighbors, at the corner of 147th Street and Eighth Avenue. At the death of Aaron Bussing, the grandson of Arent, the Number Eight plot was purchased by John Myer, and added to the farm lying to the south of it, making a tract of thirty-six Dutch Morgen, or upwards of eighty acres.

This old farm of our one-time Alderman, Brevoort, alias Kyckuyt, now includes among its modern features, the great Stadium, capable of seating more people than New Amsterdam in his time contained, and the beneficent Hebrew Orphan Asylum in which a thousand little souls are tenderly cared for and prepared for the battle of life, while stretching on either side of Broadway, which covers the site of his humble dwelling and farmyard, are the homes of thousands of apartment dwellers who swarm about the little Park at 138th Street, the only remaining open space of all his broad acres.
INTERIOR VIEWS OF THE GRANGE

THE HOME OF ALEXANDER AND ELIZABETH HAMILTON IN WHICH THE LAST FEW YEARS OF THE GREAT STATESMAN'S LIFE WERE PASSED.

THE FIREPLACE in the front parlor, a room filled with memories of a great character in our Country's history.

THE FRONT DOOR through which Hamilton passed for the last time on his way to meet Burr in the fatal duel, 11 July 1804.
III

HAMILTON'S "GRANGE"

The allotment which was numbered Nine in the division of 1691, became in later years, a place of peculiar interest to the people of the Heights, as the home of that great national character, Alexander Hamilton, in which his last years were spent.

The plot extended from 140th to 145th Streets, but was separated from the King's Way by a narrow strip of land through which St. Nicholas Avenue now runs. This strip was bought in 1722, by Johannes Myer, and included about nine acres, which now forms part of St. Nicholas Park. Here he built a dwelling which was maintained for fifty years as a roadside tavern. The Highway, which between 135th to 147th Streets ran east of the present St. Nicholas Avenue, was very steep. Between 141st and 146th Streets it was long known as "Breakneck Hill," a title which clung to it until quite recent times, when its inconvenient grade was disposed of by the construction of the present Avenue. A location near a steep grade was always a good place for such an establishment as Myer's Tavern, as witness the position of the famous Blue Bell at the head of the hill from Dyckman's to the Heights.

Lot Number Nine was drawn by the heirs of Captain John Delavall, the son of Thomas Delavall, who had been thrice the Mayor of New York. The estate of this gentleman, who owned large properties in several parts of the district, came into litigation, and eventually it was divided up between several of his heirs. Plot Number Nine was the largest of all the divisions on Jochem Pieter's Hills, containing nearly seventy-five acres, its proportions being due to the extensive rights that attached to the large allotment which the Captain had acquired in New Haerlem. The division of Number Nine was made in two parts, of which the lower or southerly portion was sold to one Samuel Kelly, and by him in
the year 1799, to Jacob Schieffelin, Druggist, of New York City. From him Alexander Hamilton purchased, on August the second, in the year 1800, the easterly part, being the tract lying east of the Bloomingdale Road, which is now Hamilton Place, a roadway which had been laid out in 1791. The property acquired by Hamilton comprised about fifteen acres, and was bounded on the north by the other half of the Lot Number Nine, which had by that time come into the possession of Dr. Samuel Bradhurst, a New York physician, and was bounded on the east by the land of John Myer, the Tavern-keeper, who were thus Hamilton’s next-door neighbors. The sale carried its “proportional share and right of and into the Common of Harlem.”

On this then charming spot, overlooking the peaceful vale of Harlem, with its broad meadows reaching to the banks of the winding river, and to the shining waters of Hellgate in the distance, the great financier proceeded to build his home, in which he sought retirement and rest after the turmoil and excitement of the fierce political struggle in which he had taken so prominent a part. It was natural that his thoughts should turn to our Heights as a haven of quiet and pleasant recollections, for it was the locality on which he had commenced his career of public service, as a youthful Captain of artillery, where he had gained the notice and approval of Washington, and through the woods and over the rugged heights of which he had tramped, camped, and labored in the preparation of its defences in the strenuous year of the Declaration of Independence.

Thus his new home, which was to prove his last, was planted in 1801 amid a bower of trees, on the conspicuous height that has since been cut up into streets and avenues, between 140th and 145th Streets. The building was erected on a slight knoll at the south side of West 143rd Street, one hundred feet west of Convent Avenue, the porch and entrance facing south-southwest. Its entrance was reached by a broad driveway from the Bloomingdale Road, which circled round the well-known group of thirteen trees, which it is said that he planted to commemorate the Union. These old trees, whether their grouping was thus planned or not, formed a picturesque feature of the locality, even as their surviving members stood in 1906, in the then vacant lot east of the Church of Our Lady of Lourdes.
To this charming estate, the name of "The Grange" was given by Hamilton, which is said to have been that of his uncle's seat in Scotland. The house was designed, it is said, by John McComb, who was later the architect of the present City Hall.

Fortunately it has been preserved from destruction when the property was divided, and was removed bodily to a position next to the Protestant Episcopal Church of St. Luke at 141st Street, where it has been utilized for the past twenty years as a parish house. The old building as now set faces west, but has undergone but little exterior change in the long period that has elapsed since that fateful morning when its distinguished owner crossed its threshold on his way to the meeting of "honor" with his bitter opponent, which was to terminate his valuable life and his service to his country.

Of his brilliant but unscrupulous opponent, Aaron Burr, we speak only in sorrow and regret. His career too was associated with the history of the Heights. The fierce spirit of political rivalry and the mistaken ideas of the age in regard to duelling, were the causes of the fatal shot that deprived the United States of its then most distinguished citizen, and these our Heights of our most honored resident.

Of the noble trees, the pleasant shrubs and flowers that tastefully adorned his estate, no trace now remains. Hamilton loved flowers, and with his own hands laid out the grounds around his home. "A garden, you know," he wrote, half humorously, half pitifully, "is a very usual refuge for a disappointed politician."

His old home is marked by a handsome tablet erected in 1907, by the Washington Heights Chapter, D. A. R., reciting the fact of its erection in 1801, and its occupancy by Hamilton till 1804.

The tragedies of life often attract more of the attention of the public than its uneventful blessings. And the sorrow that fell upon the lovely Elizabeth Schuyler, the accomplished wife of the statesman, rivets attention upon the old home, and fills its old chambers with sympathetic reminiscence. Her love for Hamilton, for whom in 1780, she abandoned the security of her parental home to share the despondencies and difficulties of the campaign, and to uphold him in the vicissitudes of his political career, led her to appreciate as much as he did, this quiet home, in which she was to meet with a triple bereavement, as her devoted husband and adored son were
in turn taken from her by the duelling pistol, and the reason of her beautiful daughter, Angela, gave way before the succeeding shocks.

It is a happy coincidence that has brought to the vicinity of the one-time home of Alexander and Elizabeth Hamilton, the splendid establishment of the College of the City of New York, which is doing so much to train the youth of the metropolis for future lives of usefulness, towards which the career of Hamilton affords so noble an incentive.

While the name of our great resident is perpetuated in the title of Hamilton Place and of the Hamilton gate of City College, the preservation of his one-time home as a public possession, is still delayed. It is hoped that it will eventually be placed in secure surroundings on public property in St. Nicholas Park, as near its original site as is now practicable.

The people of Washington Heights owe it not only to themselves but to the nation, to insist upon the preservation in public possession of a building so intimately associated with the life of one of our Country's greatest statesmen, and to secure in this way, another centre of historic interest and invaluable association of our Heights with the great events of American history.
IV

THE MAUNSELL RESIDENCE

JOHN MAUNSELL was an army officer, who prior to the Revolutionary War, held commissions in the British and Colonial forces, and, like his comrade, Colonel Roger Morris, had been attracted by the beauty and advantages of Harlem Heights, on which he decided to build a home. He bought from Marinus Low, in the year 1766, part of Lot Number Ten, and also the north half of Number Nine, which was described as the "33 Morgen lot." The northern boundary of the property he thus acquired, was at 148th Street on the old High Road, and it crossed the Heights to the Hudson River at 151st Street.

Maunsell had a varied military career. He first secured, probably by purchase, a Captaincy in the Thirty-fifth British Regiment of Foot, which is now the Royal Sussex Regiment, in 1750. In 1760, he had become a Major in the Seventy-seventh Foot, and the following year he was transferred to the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment, probably at that time commencing his life on this continent. But in September, 1761, he was transferred back to his old corps, the Thirty-fifth, and at the end of the following year to the Twenty-seventh, or Royal Inniskillen Fusiliers. His rise was pretty rapid, for he was commissioned as Lieutenant-Colonel the thirty-first of October, 1762, at which time he appears to have been attached to the Eighty-third Foot. In New York the next year he married a well-to-do widow, their license being dated June the tenth, 1763.

It seems probable that, as was the case with his comrade, Roger Morris, it was his marriage that decided the settlement on the Heights, and that the property was really purchased by his wife, who was the relict of Captain Peter Wraxall, Mariner, of New York, who had left his entire estate to his "most excellent and
dearly-beloved wife," in 1759. Elizabeth Wraxall was a daughter of Samuel Stillwell, a merchant of New York who had died in 1762, leaving a share in his estate to her, so that the Maunsells were probably well-provided with capital, and were thus able not only to acquire the estate of about fifty acres, but to add thereto at a later date, Lot Number Nineteen, extending east of the high road, and to build on their property a substantial residence, as was being done just at the same time and only half a mile to the north, by their neighbors, Colonel and Mrs. Roger Morris.

The house was located at 148th Street, about three hundred feet east of Amsterdam Avenue, and later it became the residence of the Bradhurst family. A photograph of the building was made by Victor Prevost, which is preserved by the New York Historical Society.

In 1766, Colonel Maunsell and his wife thus became residents of the Heights, and continued to reside here until the commence-ment of the War of Independence. During this time he was chosen a Governor of King’s College, in November, 1773. About this time also he resigned his commission, and in 1774, he was on half-pay, drawing the usual allowance of eight shillings and six pence per diem. He appears to have gone at one time on a trip to the West Indies, for we find that he was a witness to a will in the Island of Jamaica in the year 1771. Just prior to the Revolution he sold the residence, and the larger part of the estate, to Charles Aitkin, of St. Croix, West India Islands, reserving only that portion lying east of the post-road, which was many years later, in possession of Mrs. Maunsell, then a widow.

The cause of his leaving the Heights, and the reason for the sale of his property may be gathered from the interesting letter of introduction which he received from Governor Cadwalader Colden, on his departure to England, in the same vessel that carried his neighbor, Colonel Roger Morris:

New York, 4th May, 1775.

“To Lord North

“My Lord:

The State of annarchy and confusion into which this Province has run since the actual Commencement of Hos-tilities, between the King’s Troops and People of Massachu-setts Bay, induces several Gentlemen to go over to England, in the hopes of being able to do something to stop the

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THE HOME OF COLONEL JOHN MAUNSELL and his wife Elizabeth Wraxall Maunsell in 1766, later the residence of Charles Aitkin, and of Dr. Samuel Bradhurst, then of Molineaux Bell. Its story is on page 95.

*From a photograph in 1857 on waxed paper preserved by the New York Historical Society.*
effusion of Blood, and the Horrors and Calamities of a Civil War which has already had such terrifying effects. Among these is Lt. Col. Maunsell, an half-pay officer in his Majesty’s Service, who with great zeal offer'd to carry my Dispatches to your Lordship. I have not had more than a very superficial Acquaintance with Col. Maunsell, but on this Occasion I have been told by Gentlemen who know him well, that he is a Man of strict Honor & Probity—a warm Friend to Government, and by a Residence of eleven years in this Place, is well acquainted with the General state of the Province. He will be able to give your Lordship a minute Detail of Circumstances which you may wish to know. I do not however my Lord deliver up public Dispatches to him as it is possible he may be detain’d by sickness or some accident. If he should arrive in London before the Mail, your Lordship may confide in his account of our present state, which is a total prostration of Government, & an association with the other Colonies to resist the Acts of Parliament and oppose Force to Force.

I am, &c.”

The letter was confirmed by another, which Governor Colden sent by the same mail directly to Lord North, in which he says:

“Lt. Coll. Maunsell was the person who in the sudden change that has happened in this Province, took the Resolution of going to England, and engaged a Letter of Introduction to your Lordship. He is an officer on half pay, served in the last war in America, and has acquired a knowledge of the state of this Colony by a residence of 11 years. He has been an Eye Witness of the late extraordinary events in this Place.”

These letters indicate that he was a man of kindly character, who, though his sympathies were not unnaturally on the side of British authority, yet earnestly desired to prevent if possible the conflict between the home government and his friends and neighbors in the country of his adoption, and who was willing to sacrifice his home life and undertake a hazardous trip, if thereby he could do something towards bringing about a peaceful settlement.

The Maunsell residence was rented in 1776 by Aitkin to Laurence Kortright, of Harlem, to whose tenancy a reference was made in a letter written by Garret Abeel of the same village, in the month of September of that fateful year;

“After the firing of the enmies Cannon ceased on Fryday Evening 13 Sept: I ordered my man Sam to put
the Horse in ye Chair, and I proceeded that Evening as farr as the Hill above Harlem to the place where Mr. Lau. Kortright had retired, Being a House Belonging to Mr. Eogans of St. Croix, where I was kindly received."

The house was occupied immediately after the battle of Harlem Heights, by General Spencer and his staff, whose forces were engaged in constructing the line of earthworks across the hill, approximately on the line of 147th Street, from the Hudson side to the High Road, near 148th Street, terminating in an elaborate redoubt commanding the passage of Breakneck hill, and overlooking the Bussing farm-lands below Colonial Park.

In the meadows around the mansion, a Grand Parade was established on which the American troops were exercised. The house was reached by a driveway lined with trees, extending from the Post Road, and thus appears on the Military Map, prepared by the British authorities, and published in 1777.
V

THE BRADHURST ESTATE

The Maunsell property was held by the Aitkin family for thirty years, when the three married daughters of Charles Aitkin sold the estate to Dr. Samuel Bradhurst, a physician of New York City, who thus became the owner of the old Maunsell mansion and its broad acres of lawn and meadow. The old home existed until recent years, when it had fallen into the condition of a road house under the name of the "New Mount Saint Vincent."

An old resident describes his recollections of the handsome home as it was in the time of the Bradhurst's occupation: "The long winding driveway from Kingsbridge Road was shaded by large trees and a beautiful, well-kept sloping lawn extended from the house to the Kingsbridge Road. On the Tenth Avenue frontage was another lawn, which was level. The gardens were fine, there were many green and hot houses, and the surrounding grounds were beautifully kept. Across the Kingsbridge Road facing the Bradhurst house were fields belonging to that family, where the cows grazed, and I and two or three other friends were privileged to gather nuts off the trees that were there."

In 1820, Dr. Bradhurst and his wife, Mary, conveyed all his property, then amounting to one hundred acres, to his son, John M. Bradhurst, druggist, of New York City. He and his wife held the estate till 1845, when they deeded it over to a trustee for the benefit of their daughter, Elizabeth, and her husband, Hickson Field, who thus gave another name to the old property, which in later years became known as the Field estate, only to be cut up and developed into the rigid blocks of solid apartment buildings, which now cover the whole area of the old "33 morgen lot," and the one time estate of Colonel John Maunsell.

Colonel Maunsell appears to have returned to this country
after the war, and his wife's estate on the Heights escaped the attentions of the Commissioners of Forfeiture, by which we may gather that they had taken no active part in the conflict.

The "General," as he was then described, seems to have advanced money to his wife's relative John Watkins, for the purchase of the land lying to the north of his old estate, and to have taken a mortgage thereon as security. This he foreclosed in 1793. About two years later he passed away, leaving his widow in possession of the property. Mrs. Maunsell made her home thereafter in a residence that had been built on the Watkins property, at 157th Street, west of the high road, where she was living in 1807, and probably at the time of her decease in 1815.

That old house was torn down about 1897. Her home and lands were divided equally under the terms of her will, between her two nieces and a nephew, the children of her kinsman, John Watkins.
VI

THE BUSSING FARM

THE low-lying tract of marsh-meadows which once extended along the base of Colonial Park, from 139th Street on St. Nicholas Avenue, eastward to the Harlem River at 155th Street, and through which Seventh, Eighth, and Bradhurst Avenues are now extended, was known in early Colonial days, as Gloudie’s Point. It derived that odd title from the given name of Claude LeMaistre, one of the early settlers of New Haerlem, a French refugee from Richebourg, in the province of Artois, who with his wife, emigrated from old Amsterdam to the New Netherlands, before 1660, and became one of the leading inhabitants, serving four terms as the magistrate of the little community. Not only was his first name distorted by his Dutch neighbors, but his picturesque surname became twisted in time into the less artistic, if more widely known, “Delamater,” by which name is known the considerable and respectable family descended from him and his wife Hester Du Bois.

It was his great-grand-daughter Susannah, who married Isaac Day, the blacksmith of Hackensack, and was at the period of the Revolution, the widow that kept the Day Tavern on the Post Road, at 128th Street, at which hostelry George Washington and other celebrities were entertained.

Old “Gloudie,” as he was familiarly known, passed away about 1683, leaving his name attached to the tract of land which for some reason or other had become associated with him, though he had no recorded title to its possession. In 1687, the magistrates of the township decided to sell the “piece of land called Gloudie’s Point, with a house-lot lying between the swamp and the King’s Way, next to the house-lot of Barent Waldron.” It was bid in at auction, by Resolved Waldron, for his son Barent, at the price of fifteen hundred guilders, to be paid in instalments. The title did not pass to
Barent for fifteen years, so he must have been pretty slow in his payments. He added considerably to his holdings, but in 1740, he sold out some of the property to Aaron Bussing, whose family name thereafter became attached to the farm. The greater part of the tract, however, had been purchased by Adolph Myer, through whom however, it came back by descent to his grandson, another Aaron Bussing, the second of the name, about 1784.

The old dwelling of Aaron Bussing stood at Eighth Avenue and 147th Street, until recent years, and fortunately, a good photograph of it was made by Mr. E. Wenzel, by which its features and proportions were recorded. Though in rather dilapidated condition, it had the same general features as those that doubtless characterized all the homes of the Haerlem patentees, the two brick chimneys, the wagon-top roof sloping out over wide verandahs on its north and south fronts, the broad doorway with double doors and little dormer windows in the roof. It had evidently been added to at some time on its eastern end, by an extension of the same height. It was the very last of the old homes of our predecessors in the Haerlem lowlands, and, situated among the swarming flat-houses that now cover the broad meadows which once surrounded it, it would have made a wonderfully interesting and valuable object, had the good fortune of the William Dyckman farmhouse fallen to its lot, some public-spirited and generous descendants, who would have bought the old house, have restored it to its original condition, and have filled it with objects that would have spoken of the honest and interesting lives of the old farmers of Gloudie's Point.

The land for which Barent Waldron paid, by his tardy instalments, the sum of fifteen hundred guilders, is worth an enormously increased sum today. The rocky margin of the farm, and the strip of lowland that lies west of Bradhurst Avenue, only twelve and eight-tenths acres in all, was purchased by the City in 1894, for Colonial Park, at the cost of $1,473,017, or about one hundred and ten thousand dollars per acre!

This steep hillside bounded the Bussing farm, and was not included in the original sale of Gloudie's Point. It was divided up in 1712, and those who drew the fortunate lots, sold them off to the owners of contiguous lands. These plots included the upland between the Post Road and the bluff along which Edgecombe
TABLEWARE OF THE VAN OBLIENIS FAMILY found on the site of the old farmhouse at 176th Street. English hand-painted tea-cup and saucer, green shell-edge plate, slip-decorated pie-plate, black glazed pottery custard cup. With these were bullets and a button of a British officer. Page 137.

THE LAST FARM DWELLING OF NEW HAERLEM. The homestead of Aaron Bussing on Gloudie's Point, Eighth Avenue at 147th Street. Page 101.
Avenue is now constructed. All three properties passed through several ownerships to the Bradhurst family, and their name has been preserved in the title of Bradhurst Avenue. But it would have been more appropriate if that had been the name of Edgecombe Avenue, and the associations of the old Bussing Point Farm had been preserved in the name of the avenue that passes over part of its once picturesque meadows.

The commonplace title of "Coogan’s Bluff" has been applied in modern times to the rocky hillside extending north of the Bussing Farm, from 155th to 159th Streets. Below the bluff, the marsh was divided by an inlet of the Harlem River, that extended through the present yards of the Manhattan Elevated Railroad, the Polo Grounds and the Manhattan Field; and wound for some distance through our present Colonial Park. This property, north of 155th Street, was known as Lots Numbers Twenty and Twenty-one of the first Division subsequent to that of 1691, of the Haerlem Commons, which partition took place in the year 1712. These plots extended from the east side of the Post Road, now Avenue St. Nicholas, and included the steep hillside through which Edgecombe Avenue passes, and the entering grade of the Speedway. The original allottees were respectively, the widow Aeltje Vermilye and Jan Dyckman, the first securing a strip of about eight-and-a-half acres, and the second twenty-five acres. The Matje sold hers to John Delamater, son of old Gloudie, with her other properties, who in 1729 sold it to Johannes Waldron, whence it passed by other sales, to Colonel Maunsell, together with Lot Number Twenty-one, and thus came by bequest of Mrs. Maunsell to Dr. Samuel Watkins.

In later years it came into the possession of the Lynch family the heiress of which married Coogan, who was the first Borough President of Manhattan under the Charter of Greater New York. He was a practical business man who had no use for salt meadows and watercourses, so he caused the area in the valley to be filled in, and on the fill the Field and Polo Grounds that are so widely known in sporting circles, were constructed. The natural grandstand formed by the bluffs overlooking the scene of the sports, has attracted multitudes of spectators of the free-lunch class, and Coogan’s Bluff became a household word among the “fans.”

Upon the upland the line of Croton Aqueduct cut across the property, and along the east side of the old Post Road, the charming
residences of Resolved Gardner, of the late Dr. William T. Alexander, and of our esteemed neighbor Erastus B. Treat, stood after 1886, in neighborly order, amid sloping lawns and terraced gardens overlooking the picturesque Harlem in the valley below. The two latter residences remained until 1921 as reminders of the time when Washington Heights was a region of spacious homes and a center of delightful country society.
VII

CARMANSVILLE

ALLOTMENTS Eleven, Twelve, Thirteen and Fourteen, of the Division of 1691, fell to the lot of Jan Dyckman, in part as trustee for the heirs of his partner, Jan Nagel. The two settlers had been jointly interested in various grants of land at Inwood, and after the death of Dyckman's wife, and the later decease of Nagel, his widow married Dyckman. This marriage united two young families, those of Nagel all being under age at the time of the division of lands, in which their father had been entitled to share. After they came of age, the combined properties were divided up between the two families, and Jan Dyckman took over the property on Jochem Pieter's Hills, thus establishing himself in the neighborhood of his friends and fellow immigrants from Westphalia, Myer and Bussing.

Before Jan Dyckman died in 1715, much of his property outside of his large farm in the vale of Inwood had been disposed of, and his son Gerrit had acquired the farm on Jochem Pieter's Hills, which passed by descent to his son, Jan, who dropped the letter "c" from his surname, and founded that well-known branch of the family, whose name is spelled "Dykman."

The sturdy old home of this esteemed family, which was doubtless built by Gerrit, stood until recent years on the old Kingsbridge Road, now Avenue St. Nicholas, between 151st and 152nd Streets. It was a fine Colonial farm dwelling, a single story and attic, with the usual wide sloping roof, embracing a porch, front and rear, much of the same proportions as the old William Dyckman house at 204th Street. Its walls were of stone, for it was locally known as the "Stone House." It faced south, its east gable-end being close to the fence on the Post Road. Its precise position was just where Convent Avenue now joins the present St. Nicholas Avenue, and

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its site extended half-way across Convent Avenue. At the rear of
the house the barns and barn-yard covered the space between 152nd
and 153rd Streets, on property now covered partly by the garden
of the residence of Captain Steers, and partly by a large apartment
house. At the south-west corner of 153rd Street, on what is now
the sidewalk of St. Nicholas Avenue, the original Milestone marking
the 10th mile from New York was placed in 1769, and was standing
there on March 23, 1811, when the Surveyor Randel so noted the
fact on his survey of the Heights, with its then new gridiron plan
of numbered streets and avenues.

The Dykman farm covered an extensive area. It ran along
the high road north from 148th Street, and along the Hudson River
from 151st Street, including ninety acres of field and woodland.
It is a tract the after-disposition of which became of special interest,
as it included the area now covered by Trinity Church Cemetery,
also that of Audubon’s estate. Between 1850 and 1860, it was
known as “Carmansville,” a title which at one time was popularly
applied to the southern portion of the Heights, and came danger-
ously near becoming its fixed and inappropriate name.

The Gerrit Dykman farm eventually became the property of
the Watkins family, whose name though lost to our locality, is
widely known in another neighborhood up-State, where it is borne
by the famous Watkins Glen, which is now public property.

The farm was sold to John Watkins in 1767, and he was in its
possession at the time of the Revolution. Over his farm the
American forces constructed the “Second Line of Defense,” on the
line of 153rd Street, the earthworks coming close to his house.
Watkins extended the area of the farm by the purchase of Lot
Number Fifteen, lying to the north, then in the possession of John
Low. He next purchased Number Sixteen, thereby increasing the
estate to one hundred and forty-two and a half acres, its east
boundary extending along the high road as far north as a point
eighty-six feet south of 158th Street, and to the North River at
161st Street.

Watkins’ purchase from Dykman was made just at the time
that Lieutenant-Colonel Maunsell bought the property below Dyk-
man’s. Watkins was related to Mrs. Maunsell, and this was prob-
ably the reason for his settlement on the Heights. He borrowed
the purchase-money from her or her husband, giving back a mort-
ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHTH STREET. Where Riverside Drive now runs. The Develin residence, one of many pretty estates once facing the Hudson River.

CARMANSVILLE. Residences on West 152nd Street, leading down to Hudson River before Riverside Drive was constructed. Page 105.
gage on his farm. The mortgage was foreclosed in 1793, but it seems probable that Watkins continued to reside in the old Dykman house. About two years later, Colonel Maunsell died, and left the whole property to his widow.

In 1815, upon her decease, she bequeathed the farm to her nephew and nieces, the children of John Watkins, his son Dr. Samuel Watkins and his married daughters, Mrs. Duncan and Mrs. Beekman. The estate was divided by them into three equal parts, of which Dr. Watkins took the northerly one, Mrs. Duncan the middle, which just included the old Dykman house, and Mrs. Beekman the lower tract, the two latter of these later becoming known as "Carmansville."

Only a few of the old-time residents of this locality can now recall the period when the southern part of the Heights below 158th Street, was known by this unattractive title, which has been fortunately superseded by the historic and appropriate name of which we are all proud.

The title was derived from the name of Richard F. Carman, who about 1850, having made money in his box-making business in Beaver Street, invested extensively in real estate on the Heights, taking advantage of the development which he foresaw as a result of the operation of the Hudson River railroad. He purchased the Beekman tract, being the southerly part of the old Gerrit Dykman farm, lying between 148th and 152nd Streets, on the High Road, and 151st and 154th Streets on the Hudson River front, where he built some houses on the newly opened 152nd Street, and he and his tenants dubbed the property and the region around it, "Carmansville." The Hudson River railroad station at 152nd Street, which had been established but shortly before, and still exists in an anaemic condition, was long known by this name; but the only visible reminders of the possessions of Carman today are a few of his old frame houses on 152nd Street, and the row of little white-fronted dwellings and stores on the west side of Amsterdam Avenue, between 151st and 152nd Streets, which he built. Opposite these modest survivals of the one-time Carmansville, and facing on the old Fortieth Precinct Station house, is the Municipal playground opened in 1913, which not inappropriately bears his name as a reminder of that phase of our neighborhood's checkered career.

When the playground was graded some human remains were
disturbed. They may have been burials of slaves upon the old Dykman farm, of which the area formed a part just outside the old barn-yard.

Carman did not reside upon this property, but in a handsome frame residence facing the then picturesque Harlem River. The building is still standing on City property, within Speedway Park, and it is utilized at present as an office for the Superintendent of that expensive public parkway, the Harlem River Driveway. It was reached by a steeply winding and picturesque driveway, from 175th Street, which can still be followed from Amsterdam Avenue to the house, and the hollow in the hillside in which the building stands, still retains some of its original natural features of rugged woodland scenery.

Carman also secured the rights to lands under water along the Hudson front, abutting on his Beekman estate, by a grant dated, 13th December, 1852, as owner-in-fee of the upland. He acquired part of the Duncan farm, excepting Audubon's property, and it was he who in 1850 sold the area of the Cemetery to the Corporation of Trinity Church.

At the time of his death in 1867, he had accumulated, chiefly by his real-estate transactions on the Heights, a considerable fortune, said to have amounted to a value of eight millions of dollars, which passed to his two sons, Richard and Charles, who lived only a short time thereafter, when the estate was sold off in partition.

The tomb of Carman and of his family is in Trinity Cemetery, and it is appropriately situated on a boundary line of the Beekman property, which cut across the west part of the Cemetery. The plot is situated about one hundred and fifty feet west of Broadway, and seventy-five feet north of 153rd Street, in full sight of his one-time property extending to the Hudson River below. It also occupies a part of the site of the Redoubt which was constructed on the "Second Line of Defense" of 1776, upon that conspicuous elevation, the position of which is recorded on a bronze tablet placed on the face of the wall of the cemetery on Broadway, by the Society Sons of the Revolution. Upon an imposing marble shaft in the centre of the plot, which was erected in 1852 by him and his wife Mary Baker to the memory of their daughter Lucene, his name and those of his family and of his wife's relatives are carved. The present condition of the memorial is an evidence of the neglect that
is shown to the memory of men, who at one time have been prominent in the public vision merely by reason of their acquisition of money or property.

Though Richard Carman's possessions, his business and his name have passed away from our locality, we may remember him as one of those who in his time was of sufficient importance to attach his name to this part of the city, and as one who took a pioneer's part in the development of the Heights, as an interested property owner and resident, and is not unworthy of our respect and recollection.
VIII

AUDUBON'S "MINNIESLAND"

It is only very recently that the larger remaining portion of this once beautiful vale passed into the hands of the City and of the speculative builder and was metamorphosed into Riverside Drive; and 156th and 157th Streets being opened through it, became covered with tall apartment houses. The charming lawns and beautiful trees surrounding the residences of the one-time residents in this park-like area have disappeared, and only a small portion extending west of the curved line of the driveway retains any semblance of its original condition. Part of the park area may still be traced below the level of the Drive, where nestling among the survivors of the fine timber which once was the pride and pleasure of its owner, the old residences still survive of some of the well-to-do residents who here enjoyed a delightful neighborhood, the families of Benedict, Martin, Jerome, Miller, Grinnell, Foster, Wheelock, Stone and others, most of whom long ago left the neighborhood.

Among these scanty survivors of the group of residences, it is fortunate that the original house of John James Audubon is still to be included, though its condition is one of deplorable neglect. It stands on its original site, at the line of 156th Street, immediately within the bend of Riverside Drive.

The Audubon estate comprised the area between 155th Street and 158th Street, and extended from Amsterdam Avenue to the Hudson River. It formed part of the lot drawn by Dykman in the distribution of commonlands of 1691, later the Duncan farm, and it was purchased by the great naturalist in 1840, from a banking institution into the possession of which it had at that time come.

The title to the estate was taken in the name of the eldest son of the naturalist, Victor G. Audubon, and it was held by the family
until 1864, when it was sold to the late Jesse W. Benedict. The two sons of Audubon, Victor G. Audubon and John Woodhouse Audubon, resided in houses built at a later date on the property, of which one is still standing, and the attractions of the sheltered and picturesque valley brought other residents after Benedict's purchase, among them, Leonard Jerome and Collector Henry Smythe, who erected handsome dwellings, and joined in forming a colony of a unique and delightful character. At the foot of a lane leading from the old Post Road, of which all traces have now disappeared except a little strip alongside the residence of the late Darius Miller, the family home of Audubon was erected. The charming features of the estate were described by a visitor at the time of Audubon's residence. "A rustic road led directly down to the river. A noble forest was planted on one side of it and on the "other vast grain fields lay. A secluded country house not entirely "adapted to the scenery, but simple and unpretentious in architec- "ture. Graceful fawns and a noble elk stalked among the trees, "and shared with a few dogs, numerous turkeys, geese and other "domestic animals, the freedom of semi-wild nature."

The ardent love of nature of the owner which brought him to select this place as his home, was shown in his greeting to his visitor: "I wonder," he said, "that men can consent to swelter "and fret their lives away amid those hot bricks and pestilent "vapors, when the woods and fields are all so near."

At the time of Audubon's settlement on "Minniesland," as he affectionately named his estate, the Heights were entirely farm and wood lands. No cross streets had been opened, although the gridiron map of the city had been planned to extend as far as 155th Street, a limit which the commissioners in their report asserted would never be exceeded.

Audubon thus became one of the pioneers of modern residence on the Heights, and his house remains as the only one of those early homes, constructed by his neighbors, the Kingsland, Knapp, and Monroe families. The old residents at that time were the Jumels, the Bradbursts and the Hamiltons, but visits were exchanged at long range in those days, and my own grandfather was wont to drive across from Pelham Priory, and to meet Washington Irving in social chat at the home of Audubon.

The old building has been somewhat altered by more recent
occupants. Benedict added the present ugly mansard roof, which in any future restoration should be removed, and the large bay windows are also modern. The large room on the north side of the first floor is that which was Audubon’s studio and workroom, in which stood his easel and work bench, and on the walls of which were painted some of his sketches, and hung with specimens of skins and plumage used by him in his studies. The rustic character of the locality was such that in order to build the house the workmen had to erect huts for their own temporary occupancy, and it is said that domestic supplies were so difficult to obtain that the family not only depended upon vegetables grown around the property, but were sometimes compelled to kill the animals they raised.

It was from this home that Audubon started in 1843, with his son Victor, upon his last excursion in search of nature’s wonders among the prairies of the West, undertaken for the sake of completing his great work on the Quadrupeds of North America, from the exposures and hardships of which his health suffered, ere he returned in October of the same year.

During the succeeding three years, as his health began to fail, his life in Minniesland became “a short yet sweet twilight to his adventurous career.” Rising almost with the sun he would roam the woods to view his feathered friends, and would alternate his work over his beloved studies and publications with walks through the Heights, or surrounded by the families of his two sons, would spend delightful hours singing French songs to his grandchildren.

A broad lawn extended from the front of the house to the sandy beach of the Hudson. From the projecting rocks on the shore, afterwards known as Sugar House Point, there was a beautiful and extensive view down the River, and towards the north the prospect was bounded by the wooded hills of Fort Washington. On the upland, where Broadway and Amsterdam Avenue now cut the estate, there were cornfields and a peach orchard, and two or three little cottages where the men lived who worked on the place. In the valley near the dwelling house, there was a large barn and stable, and a little cottage where the coachman lived with his wife and family. The coach house was in later years reconstructed into the residence of the late Darius Miller and is still standing on the line of 157th Street.

A beautiful little brook ran through the grounds, finding its
MINNIESLAND. Audubon's rural home on his forty-four acre estate which he purchased 1841. From the laundry in the basement on the right hand side, Morse sent his first telegraphic message. For its story see page 110.

THE NEIGHBORS' GARDEN AT ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHTH STREET once occupied by Audubon's bird house and fishpond, now cultivated by the author, and in which much of this history was written.
way from two points on Broadway at 159th Street, and 156th Street and passing down the hillside south of 158th Street through the garden of the present writer. It widened out into a pond, at the lower end of which was a broad waterfall about five feet high, over which the water fell into a lower pond, below which the brook divided into two parts, forming a little island. Just before the brook reached the river it was crossed by a rustic bridge which added to the picturesque scene.

Such was "Minniesland," named by the naturalist for his devoted wife, who during his declining years never left his side, read to him, walked with him, and even fed him; to whose entire unity of interest, enthusiasm and sympathy, as well as hard work, much of his success was directly due. His last years were thus passed on the Heights.

"Surrounded," he wrote, "by all the members of my dear family, enjoying the affection of numerous friends, and possessing a sufficient share of all that contributes to make life agreeable, I lift my grateful eyes toward the Supreme Being, and feel that I am happy." So passed away the great Naturalist, and was laid to rest in a spot he had himself selected, in the then newly-opened Trinity Church Cemetery, close to his own home. Over the grave there was later erected a dignified memorial in the form of a Celtic cross, on which appear the figures of birds and creatures, to the study of which his life had been devoted.

His old home remains, but in private possession, and in a state of decay. It should be secured by our City and utilized as a place wherein the work of Societies concerned in the education of our children in the study of nature should be centered and extended, and in which the lessons of the life of the great ornithologist may be perpetuated when all other traces of Minniesland shall have passed away.

The upper third of the property bequeathed by Mrs. Maunsell to her nieces and nephew, fell to the lot of Dr. Samuel Watkins. It included part of the Gerrit Dykman farm, and the lot numbered Sixteen, of the 1691 division. His boundary along the high road extended from a point half way between 154th Street and 155th Street, to a point eighty-five feet south of the south side of 158th Street. On the Hudson front it ran from just south of 158th Street, to 161st Street. Within this property stood the house of John
Watkins, the doctor's father, situated in the middle of the block, 157th to 158th Street, between Amsterdam and St. Nicholas Avenues.

In later years, a block below, there was erected another interesting residence, known till its removal in 1915, as the "Mills" house. This was a comfortable-looking frame dwelling with extensions on both ends, fronting a garden shaded by fine trees, and having two carved eagles, which once decorated its entrance gates, mounted a little space back from the modern street line. This old place was built about 1850, and was the home of A. B. Mills, whose son General A. Mills, was at one time the Superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point. In recent years it was the home of Samuel J. Huggins, who sold it in 1915, after a tenancy of twenty-five years.

The Samuel Watkins property included the site of our Public School Forty-six, which was the first of its kind to be established on the Heights. Its site at 156th Street, on St. Nicholas Avenue, was purchased in 1851, from A. B. Mills, and as Ward School No. 31, it opened its fine career of public service under the guidance of John A. Graff.

On this Watkins tract, also stood the old Washington Heights Presbyterian Church, on the north-west corner of 155th Street and Amsterdam Avenue, with a row of fine trees in front, one of the picturesque features of the vicinity, that was lost to the locality, when it was removed upon the construction of the present North Presbyterian Church on 155th Street, with which its congregation united a few years ago.

The second site of the Church of the Intercession, at 158th Street and Broadway, was also on Watkins' land, as is the subway station at 157th Street, now the center of a teeming traffic to and from the vast apartments that now cover the Watkins farm.

"Sugarhouse Point" was a name applied after 1850, to the point of land standing out into the Hudson River at the foot of 159th Street, now separated from the Wheelock estate by the rock cutting of the Hudson River Railroad. This land was purchased about 1850, by Dennis Harris, an enterprising manufacturer, who erected upon the point, about 1852, a monstrous red-brick sugar factory known as the New Congress Sugar Refinery, a building of the most commonplace and disfiguring appearance. For about five
years he operated therein that business until his financial failure in 1857.

The building was at one time thereafter, utilized by the Fire Department as a sort of training school, but eventually fell into complete decay, and was razed about 1896, and the brick and other material removed, so that at present very little indication remains of its existence.

The opening of 158th Street from the Kingsbridge Road to the river was due to the enterprise of Harris, who thus secured access to the dock which he built at the foot of 158th Street, and to his sugar factory. His activity extended to the matter of transit, and he started to convey passengers to and from the city, in competition with the Hudson River Railroad, by obtaining a charter for a steamboat service, carrying passengers at a fare of ten cents in either direction.

The steamer "Jenny Lind," of which his brother, William Harris, was the skipper, ran for a few years carrying passengers and freight to and from the sugar factory dock and Chambers Street, but the scanty population of the Heights afforded little patronage. Thus came to an end the only attempt made to provide transit by water for passengers between Upper and Lower Manhattan, a convenience which we may hope to see re-established at some time with better prospect of support and success. Meantime, we may recall with interest that pioneer work and enterprise in the improvement of the Heights, which is associated with the name of Dennis Harris.
THE allotments numbered Seventeen and Eighteen, bounded on the south by the Watkins property, commenced at a point eighty-six feet below the south line of 158th Street on the highway, and at the Hudson River at 161st Street, and extended north to a point on the same road, now St. Nicholas Avenue, fifty feet below 162nd Street, and on the river-front half-way between the lines of 164th and 165th Streets.

Number Seventeen was originally drawn for the estate of William Haldron, an interesting personage in the little village of New Haerlem, since he was the only Englishman of the community, and was also the village blacksmith. His forge stood at the corner, where the little village lane ran down to the creek that made its way in from the Harlem to the Indian trail, about half way along the modern block, on the south side of 123rd Street, between First and Second Avenues. His services were in active demand for the house iron-work that was needed to build the increasing number of dwellings required in the township, and we may probably still see some of his handiwork in the forged nails, the latches and hinges that were stolen by the soldiers of the Revolution from those very dwellings, and were found, long after the Revolution had passed the century mark, in the excavations of camp and barrack sites of the Heights.

His end was tragic, for he was drowned in the river in December, 1687, perhaps being too venturesome on the ice. His property on the Heights was sold, and the allotments Numbers Seventeen and Eighteen were acquired by Thomas Tourneur, who sold them again about 1701, to Jan Kiersen. Kiersen had obtained a piece of property east of the high road, of about half a Dutch acre, and on this he built himself a dwelling, the first of its kind on the
Heights, which later, being sold with his other property to Colonel Roger Morris, became known as the "White House," or Morris Tavern. It was on a part of the same property that there was erected by Morris, in 1766, the well-known mansion which is now the chief historical treasure of the people of the Heights.

Kiersen was one of the pioneers of the development of Jochem Pieter's Hills. He was the third son of Kier Wolters, a native of the Dutch county of Drenthe, who arrived in America in 1657, and settled on De Meyer's farm at New Haerlem, in 1667. His son Jan was born about 1655, in the ancestral home at Arnhout, and took the usual Dutch method of providing himself with a surname by the use of his father's given name, and thus became Kier'sen.

Jan joined the Dutch Church in New Haerlem in 1682, and later became a Deacon, then the Town Constable, and the Collector of Taxes. Like other of the younger children of the freeholders, he had to look elsewhere than in Haerlem for a place on which to settle, and so in 1686, he, with Captain Van Dalsen, whose daughter Gerritje he had married the year before, took a lease for a period of twelve years, of the Indian clearing or planting-field just below 181st Street. But he was not entitled to share in the division of Common Lands in 1691, and therefore that plantation fell to the Van Oblienis family. His lease being thus terminated, he had to buy land, and so he purchased the lots of Thomas Tourner for one thousand guilders in money, perhaps his wife's "dot," and in addition, he secured the concession from all the freeholders of the Township, of a small tract on the east side of the Post Road at 160th Street, with permission to build thereon a house.

The plot was described as "a half morgen (Dutch acre) of land from the common woods, lying at the south-east hook (point) of the land that Samuel Waldron has drawn out of the common woods, which half morgen of land he may build upon, thereon setting a house, barn and garden."

This was an unusual gift by the freeholders, and Kiersen's dwelling, at this early date, preceded all others on the Heights, so that he was our pioneer resident, as he probably was living on his property as early as 1701. Thereafter he increased his holdings on the east side of St. Nicholas Avenue, eventually owning twenty acres on that side, as well as the farm on the west side. He seems to have lived to a great age. The historian Riker thought he recog-
nized the old man’s peculiar signature on a deed as late as 1749, which would have made him then ninety-five years of age.

Kiersen’s home was located on the east side of the high road, between 159th and 160th Streets, the site being partly under the sidewalk of the present avenue. It was probably considerably remodeled or added to, prior to the sale to Morris. In excavating the site of the apartment house that occupies part of the block, quantities of lime-plaster, old bricks and scraps of earthenware were disturbed, which probably formed part of the old building and its contents.

The heirs of Jan Kiersen were two sons, Abraham and John, and a daughter, Jannetje, who married Jacobus Dyckman of Kingsbridge. In 1763, James Carroll purchased of them the farm at 160th Street, for “a thousand pounds of good and lawful money of New York.” Carroll held the Kiersen farm for a couple of years, and then advertised it for sale as containing about one hundred acres in all, with “a good House, a fine Barn 44 feet long and 42 feet wide or thereabouts,” and the advantage that it “commands the finest Prospect in the whole country.” It was this glorious view, with the advantages of the well-kept orchards, gardens and woods of the Kiersen property, that doubtless attracted the attention of Colonel Roger Morris and his wife, Mary Philipse, as they drove from the city to visit her family home at Yonkers, and decided them to purchase the place and build thereon a summer residence, that fine Colonial building still standing in Roger Morris Park, the only little piece of the once-extensive farm of Jan Kiersen, that is not now covered with streets or brick and mortar.

With the bargain went the dwelling, which later became known, we believe, as the “White House,” sometimes referred to as Morris’s Tavern. In that building several historical events took place in 1776, when courts-martial assembled under its humble roof to try matters arising in the American army. In all probability the building was that which was destroyed by fire, the day of the battle of Fort Washington, when British grenadiers, raising a hot fire to cook steaks, set it in a blaze.

The Kiersen farm is now covered chiefly with modern dwellings, lining the avenues that intersect its width and the streets that cross its length from river to river. Upon its westerly portion, the high ground at 160th-163rd Streets attracted the attention of
the defenders of the Heights in 1776, and a system of earthwork defences known as "The Third Line," was constructed from Riverside Drive to the highway opposite the Morris Mansion.

This fortification commenced in a redoubt erected on a conspicuous summit overlooking the Hudson at 162nd Street, about two hundred feet east of our present Riverside Drive. Long years after, the beauty of the place attracted the attention of a wealthy business man, Mr. Shepard Knapp, who purchased a large part of the property prior to 1841, as a site for a residence which he built in 1851, and named "Melbourne." This building was, in recent times, used as a road-house, under the name of "The Grand View," and it was destroyed by fire in 1916, while 162nd Street was being opened alongside.

Knapp sold off a part of his land in 1841, to Ambrose C. Kingsland, who in 1852, became Mayor of the City of New York. He built the large frame residence which stood until 1915, on the south side of 161st Street, about two hundred feet west of Fort Washington Avenue, conspicuous features of which were the spacious sun-parlor on its southerly side, and the great Colonial portico on its west front.

The Kingsland and Knapp residences were reached by a picturesque and shaded driveway, that extended from the Kingsbridge Road, at a point right opposite the entrance to the Jumel Mansion at 160th Street. It crossed our present Broadway at 161st Street, where a little brook found its way from the springs and pond on the Bradley farm at 168th Street. Here was the Knapp barn and barnyard, at the north-east corner of 161st Street. The driveway was used in common by both owners, and formed the boundary of the divided property. It probably followed the lines of a more ancient lane which led, at the time of the Revolution, from the Morris Mansion to the Hudson River near 165th Street, over which General Washington and his staff passed on their way between their headquarters and the General's yacht.
THE MORRIS MANSION

By a rare good fortune the imposing residence of Roger and Mary Morris survived the ravages of war, and of neglect, escaped the dangers of public street planning, and the threat of the speculative builder, and still stands, the chief historic ornament of the Washington Heights district, and the most impressive example of Colonial architecture within the metropolis.

All residents of the Heights are entitled to a particular pride in the local possession of this most interesting City Park, since it affords them not only a place of public recreation of unusual advantages, commanding the magnificent prospect over the Harlem plain, the East River, and Long Island, which attracted its original owners, but in addition they share in the interest of the noble building in which events of stirring character, connected with our country's history, took place.

In the story of the Kiersen farm, the ownership of the site of the Mansion has been traced to the possession of James Carroll, whose advertisement of it for sale, and his description of its advantages resulted in its purchase by Colonel and Mrs. Morris, for the purpose of the erection of a summer residence. It was advantageously situated for their purpose, since it lay on the high road half-way between their town residence at Stone and Whitehall Streets, and the home of the Philipse family at Yonkers. The property was improved and the building erected by the use of her money, she being heiress of a large share of the Philipse estates, and it was included therefore, in the terms of her marriage settlement, by which her own property was protected for her benefit and that of her children.

The house was completed in the summer of 1765, a year after Colonel Morris had resigned his commission, and had received the
THE RESIDENCE OF MAYOR AMBROSE KINGSLAND, later the home of the Lewis family. Fort Washington Avenue at 161st Street. Page 119.

MELBORNE. The one-time home of Shepard Knapp, later a roadhouse known as the Grandview, Fort Washington Avenue at 163rd Street. Page 119.
agreeable appointment of membership in the King's Council. He was himself fairly well off, being worth ten thousand pounds sterling at the time, according to a statement he afterwards filed in London, when asking some compensation from the British government for the use of the building during the war.

It would be a matter of interest to discover the name of the architect who planned the Mansion, and to give him credit for its excellent proportions, its spaciousness, accessibility and comfort. It is very likely that Colonel and Mrs. Morris had much to say as to the features that determined its homelike character, and doubtless supervised the laying out of the extensive grounds and garden. Its fine portico is the earliest example of that form of two-story construction which is now in existence.

The house was reached from the high-road by a driveway lined with trees, and a sloping lawn extended in front, in part preserved to this day. At the rear there was a large formal garden, beyond which stood the barn and coach-house, connected to the road by another driveway.

The water supply was derived from a well located near 159th Street, where a spring emerged from the hillside and fed a little brook that tumbled down the rocks to the Harlem River. Across the high-road the barns of the Kiersen farm stood, and a narrow road-way led across the farm to the Hudson River at 162nd Street, where a landing could be made from the Colonel's yacht, the "Fancy."

Such was the situation of the Mansion in the decade preceding the Revolution, during the summers of which the Morrices occupied it, and their little family sat in the shade of its trees, wandered over the fields of the Watkins and Kiersen farms, or rambled through the wooded hillsides along the Harlem.

The public disturbance preceding the Revolution decided Colonel Morris to go to England, on the same vessel that carried his comrade and neighbor, Colonel Maunsell. During part of the summer of 1776, Mrs. Morris and her family were at the house, but when events became more warlike, she returned with the children to her old home, the Manor house in Yonkers, leaving the Mansion in the care of servants. It was in this condition, when the fortification of the Heights began, and when the American forces retired to the hills Washington and his aides took up their abode in it,
as the most advantageous building from a military and residential standpoint of the scattered dwellings along the Heights. From the middle of September to the end of October, the house was the centre of military operations, and its quietude was broken by the coming and going of officers and orderlies, and of messengers and visitors on the great affairs of the nation in that strenuous period.

In its stables and barns were stalled the mounts of Washington and his officers, and to accommodate the military guard, a number of huts were erected, lining either side of the driveway.

When the Commander-in-chief vacated the building and led his army to White Plains, the Mansion was occupied by the Post Commander, left in charge of Fort Washington and its defences. This was Colonel Robert Magaw of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, who later on was compelled to surrender the position on the general assault by the British and Hessian army, which took place on November 16, 1776. At the time of this attack Washington paid a hasty visit to the house to observe the military situation, and was exposed to the enemy's artillery fire, and to the danger of capture by the advance of the Royal Highland Regiment, which crossed the Harlem in boats and landed near 165th Street, fighting their way up Highbridge Park and coming out on the upland at the rear of the Mansion.

The barn on the estate was utilized for the temporary confinement of prisoners, and in it were thrust several hundred officers and men of the captured American troops. From the grounds they marched to join their comrades taken in the Fort, and together made their way to captivity in New York, that was to end for so large a part of them in disease and death.

The surrender of the Fort having been made to the Hessian forces, their commanding General, Baron Knyphausen, was placed in charge of the position, and the Morris Mansion became his headquarters. In such fashion it was utilized during the remainder of the war.

The result is described in Colonel Morris's petition, in which he says that the house itself "had not suffered so much as might have been expected," but that, "the barn and out-houses are greatly damaged, all the Timber upon the Farm has been cut down, and there is not a pannel of Fence upon the 100 acres excepting what are round the House and garden."
Its wartime career came to an end as Washington and his guard marched past it on the high road in November, 1783, and abandoned by its one-time owners who were now all in refuge in England, the estate was seized by the Commissioners of Forfeiture and put up for sale. But here the rights of the Morris children came into play, and although the property was sold, the claim of Mrs. Morris to the property under her marriage settlement was eventually conceded and a large sum of money was paid by the American government to her assignee, John Jacob Astor.

From one ownership to another the old residence passed, becoming at one time a road house under the title of "Calumet Hall," the stopping-place of a line of coaches to Boston. While in possession of a "common farmer," it was re-visited by President Washington and a party of members of his cabinet, in July, 1790. Nine years later it was bought by William Kenyon, a merchant of New York, who sold it to Leonard Parkinson, an Anglo-West-Indian investor, who held it until 1810, when he re-surveyed the estate, and divided it into several plots, which he sold off to various parties. Number Eight of this partition, with the residence, was purchased by Stephen Jumel, with whose name the estate and the Mansion in particular, was thenceforth associated.
XI

THE JUMEL ESTATE

The property which was purchased from Leonard Parkinson by Stephen Jumel on April 28, 1810, and his further purchases in 1814, embraced the lands lying east of the present St. Nicholas Avenue, as far north as 174th Street, with the exception of the narrow strip at 165th Street, then owned by David Wear, and on which stood his roadside Tavern.

It included the old original house-lot of Jan Kiersen, on which the Morris Mansion had been erected, and covered all the plots of the Second Division of the Haerlem Common Lands, which were divided in 1712, numbered Six and Seven, part of Eight, and numbers Nine, Ten and Eleven, whose old stone-fence boundaries ran nearly east and west from the rocky margin of the Harlem River to the Post Road.

In addition to the foregoing, Jumel also acquired a tract of thirty-nine acres on the west side of the highway, lying south of 175th Street, and extending to the north side of the Murray farm at 170th Street, an area which now includes the Hood-Wright estate.

The new resident on the Heights was a Frenchman, born on the island of San Domingo in the West Indies, who had been driven from his native locality by its political disturbances, and had settled in the City of New York, where he had become very successful in his business as an importer. He had married Eliza Bowen, the romantic personage who as Madame Jumel became one of the characters prominent in the after history of the Heights, on which she resided until her decease in 1865. It gives an idea of the limited population of this district but little more than a century ago, to look at the map of the period, and see the names of the scattered neighbors of the Jumels.
WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS, the country home of Roger and Mary Morris, which sheltered Washington, Howe and Knyphausen, and later became the residence of Stephen and Betty Jumel. And note the open window at the left, the room in which Aaron Burr married the widow Jumel. For its story see pages 120 and 124.
To the north the nearest dwelling was David Wear's tavern at 165th Street, and at 168th Street the farm-house of the Murrays. Old Mrs. Maunsell was living in the Watkins house at 157th Street, and her nephew, John Watkins and his family in the old Dykman house at 152nd Street. The only other dwellings were those of Dr. Bradhurst at 148th Street, a family named Wilmerding lived at 147th Street on the Bloomingdale Lane, and near the Hamiltons at the Grange was the dwelling of a party of the name of De Long de-mare, while at 134th Street west of Broadway, the family of Laurence completed the list.

Including the Jumels, there were thus just ten families occupying the area extending from 134th Street to 174th Street, a distance of two miles, now covered with the homes of many thousand families.

Jumel and his wife proceeded to restore the Morris Mansion, which must have been in a very neglected condition, and laid out the grounds in an attractive manner. The variety of ownership through which it had passed make one wonder that the precious building survived the period between the war of Independence and its restoration by the Jumels.

When seized by the Commissioner of Forfeiture, it was sold on July 9, 1784, to John Berrien and Isaac Ledyard, with one hundred and fifteen acres of land for the paltry sum of two thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling. In 1791, the executors of Berrien sold his share to Anthony L. Bleecker for the still smaller sum of one thousand pounds, and the other half share was sold to Theodore Hopkins and Michael Foy of London, who were evidently mere operators for a profit. They sold their half share to Bleecker for a thousand pounds, who thus acquired the whole property for less than its sale price in 1784. It was Bleecker who sold the place to Mr. William Kenyon, who in 1799, re-sold to Leonard Parkinson at the price of three thousand pounds, or at the rate of less than one hundred and thirty dollars an acre. Parkinson however, made a large profit after holding the property eleven years, for his sale to Jumel was at the price of nine thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven pounds for the house and thirty-six acres.

The vicissitudes of ownership by no means ended with the Jumel purchase, for they had been settled there but a few years when Madame Jumel induced her husband to deed over the property
to a trustee for their joint benefit, and this was followed in 1825 by a further deed of relinquishment by Stephen Jumel of his own share, in her favor. In 1828, at the direction of Mrs. Jumel, the trustee conveyed the property to her adopted niece, Mary Jumel Bownes, as trustee for the use of Madame Jumel. In the same year, during which her husband had returned from a protracted absence in France, she executed a deed-poll, conveying her rights in the property to a trustee for the benefit of her husband or her niece after her decease.

In 1832, Stephen Jumel was fatally injured in a carriage accident on the Post Road, and the following year Mrs. Jumel hastily married Aaron Burr, at a time when she was some fifty-six years of age and the bridegroom approaching four-score. This ill-assorted match soon ended in separation, and Burr died in 1836, just after a suit for divorce had been instituted.

In this situation the property stood at the time of the old lady's death on July 16, 1865, when real difficulty of deciding its ownership began. Her will left her property mainly to charity, one large bequest being in favor of the Church of the Intercession, then established at 154th Street, on Amsterdam Avenue. This will was disputed in court and was set aside by a judgment obtained in 1856, in favor of the heir of Mrs. Jumel, namely, her niece Mary, who had married Mr. Nelson Chase, a well-known attorney. But these heirs were soon engaged in defending themselves. A suit was started by one George Washington Bowen, of Providence, claiming the property as the natural son of Eliza Jumel in her early years of existence in that city. This resulted in a prolonged litigation, carried to the Supreme Court, extending from 1867 to 1874, and resulting in the defeat of the claimant, but at ruinous expense to the defendants.

Even then their troubles were by no means at an end, for in 1878, the heirs of Stephen Jumel started a suit for the estate, alleging its wrongful diversion by Mrs. Jumel from her husband.

This suit was settled in 1880 by a compromise involving a partition of the property, which was sold for that purpose on November 14, 1882, the old house being bought in by William I. Chase, son of the heirs of Madame Jumel. The Chase family continued to reside in the Mansion until its sale, May 17, 1894, to Mrs. Lillie J. Earle, wife of General Ferdinand Pinney Earle. By them
it was re-named "Earle Cliff," and to their care and protection we owe the fact of the preservation of the old house during the period of street opening and development, which proved disastrous to some of our other historical buildings.

General Earle died at the Mansion in 1903, and the same year the City of New York purchased it, with what remained of its once extensive grounds, covering the space between Edgecombe Avenue and Jumel Terrace, and extending from 160th Street to 162nd Street, for the sum of two hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars, thus happily ending its long career of ownership and sale, of war and confiscation, of poverty and wealth, of romance and legal wrangles, which have made the old dwelling a centre of public attraction and historic interest.
XII

THE MURRAY FARM

The division of Jochem Pieter's Hills in 1691, ended with plot Number Eighteen, the north boundary of which extended from the Highway at 162nd Street (where Amsterdam Avenue now crosses it) to the Hudson River at a point a little north of the line of 164th Street, intersecting the present main building of the New York Institution for the Deaf.

The division however, included other important tracts, the next in the order of numbers being a large allotment awarded to the Van Oblen family, the south boundary of which commenced on the Post Road (Broadway) just on the north side of 175th Street.

Between these two boundary lines a large area on both sides of the Post Road lay undivided, doubtless covered with primeval forest from river to river. It was however, too valuable and promising a tract to be for long left in that condition, and in 1712, it was divided up between the freeholders of New Haerlem, in what was known as the Second Division of that year, in twelve plots, the first five of which lay on the west side of the highway, and those numbered Ten to Twelve, on the east side, extending down to the Harlem River.

The lots were drawn by some of those whose names are connected with other properties on Jochem Pieter's Hills, the widows Vermilye and Cornelis and Meyer, the Waldrons, and our pioneer settler, Jan Kiersen, each receiving allotments.

Among the allottees was Captain Charles Congreve, who drew, in respect of his house and farm in Haerlem, the plot numbered Seven, which lay south of 165th Street, on the east side of St. Nicholas Avenue, on which stands today, the Church and Rectory of St. Rose of Lima, and on which across Amsterdam Avenue, the
DAINTY TEA-CUPS OF WEDGWOOD CREAM-WARE. The middle cup had two delicate twisted handles and is mottled with purple dusting of manganese.

POTTERY AND PORCELAIN FOUND ON OLD HOUSE SITES and in the military huts on Washington Heights, exhibited at Washington's headquarters. The broken parts were pieced together and restored by Reginald and Ethelind Bolton. Over the case hang two Hessian swords, also a bayonet found near the building.
kitchen gardens of the Jumel Mansion were in later times cultivated.

Captain Charles Congreve was an English gentleman who came over in 1702 as one of the staff of Governor Cornbury. He saw some military service in command of a force sent to Albany to guard the frontier from Indian invasion, and later was in command at Oswego. He was a devoted member of the established Church of England, and was actively interested in promoting its development in this colony. It was probably such a purpose that led him to take up a residence in New Haerlem, and to undertake the duties of Clerk of the Village. But he was also actively concerned in acquiring real estate, and he secured several grants from the English government. His Haerlem holdings constituted him a land-holder on the Heights, but he sold out both his house in the village and his allotments on the hills in 1713, and went into military service in the Independent Fusiliers Regiment, in which he remained at Oswego and Cherry Valley till 1744, when all further trace of him is lost in our State's history.

The plot next north of Congreve's fell to Captain Johannes Benson, and in 1803, part of it came into the possession of George Wear, Blacksmith, whose business was carried on there during his lifetime, and whose son David established the old Tavern long known by his name, and as the "Cross Keys" until modern times.

Wear's plot became of importance to the Heights, as it was preserved intact to recent years, and thus defined the exact boundaries of other properties in the vicinity.

After the opening of Amsterdam Avenue, the Wear property was purchased by Shepard Knapp, then living at "Melbourne," the large white residence known of recent years as "Grand View," at 162nd Street. He laid out the purchase as a site for cottage homes for some of his work-people. To give access to their little dwellings, he constructed the narrow roadway known as "Croton Street," which has persisted in continuing to these times, as a problem in our local street plan. It occupies the centre of the Wear plot, and is parallel to its one-time north and south boundaries. The means of getting rid of its private ownership has been a local puzzle for many years, and various methods of disposing of its area have been discussed and the latest is in process of development. So some of the humble cottages continue to this day upon their little
plots, while poor Croton Street, unpaved, unsewered, and uncared for, exists only as a blot upon the neighborhood, and a warning against private premature street planning!

The various allotments, with the exception always of Wear's property, were shuffled into a new division at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Roger Morris house and lands had been sold by the Commissioners of Forfeiture, and with other properties, had come into the possession of a Quaker gentleman, William Kenyon, whose residence was at Hoorn's Hook on the East River. He was of English descent, and had come to New York about 1774, and became a successful shipping merchant, a member of the Chamber of Commerce as early as 1779, and a Governor of New York Hospital in 1795.

Mr. Kenyon, upon purchasing his property at Hoorn's Hook, sold out his possessions on the Heights to an English speculator, Leonard Parkinson, of Kinnersley castle, in the County of Hereford in England. Parkinson's interest in the locality appears to have been merely to dispose of the properties to advantage, so he consolidated the various old lots, re-surveyed them, and re-numbered them in parcels, which he sold off to new owners, the most important of whom was Stephen Jumel, who bought the old Morris residence and all the lands north of the house, on the east side of the Kingsbridge Road to 175th Street, always excepting the independent Blacksmith, who held on to his shop and tavern at 165th Street, in spite of all temptations.

On the west side of the road the division brought into being in 1810, three farms that continued to our times. The old Kiersen farm of fifty-seven acres was somewhat reduced in size to an area of forty-eight acres, and this was purchased by Ebenezer Burrill, who thus became the next neighbor of the Watkins family. Burrill made his home in a dwelling at 161st Street, on the west side of the old High Road. This building stood at the present intersection of St. Nicholas and Amsterdam Avenues, right across the roadway and the east sidewalk of the latter.

Next north of the Burrill farm, a tract of thirty-seven acres was bought by Robert Dickey, who in 1819, was living in a little frame dwelling which stood till 1907, on the north-east corner of 164th Street and Fort Washington Avenue, right opposite the grounds of the Institution for the Deaf. It was one of the last
pieces of land which was continued as a farm upon the upper Heights.

North of the south side of 165th Street extended the sixty-seven acres of the third farm, which was purchased in 1810 by John R. Murray, whose home, occupied in 1817 by his widow Hannah, stood on the south side of 168th Street, opposite the great Armory, and on the very site of Billy Sunday's pulpit in 1917.

The farm-house was reached by a drive from the Kingsbridge Road, the entrance of which was the middle of our present Broadway at 168th Street. Alongside the old house was an excellent spring that fed a wide area of marsh meadow, extending south to the line of 166th Street. It overflowed in a little brook that ran down the centre of Broadway, and found its outlet to the River in Audubon Park. Back of the house on the steep knoll between 168th and 169th Streets, the barn was located, and in later years a new home was built there, and was reached through a new driveway at 169th Street, some of the trees bordering its margin, existing until 1919.

Long before the Murrays occupied the place, it had been the site of a military camp, occupied during the Revolution, for several seasons by the von Donop Musketeer Regiment, traces of whose existence were from time to time discovered. On the line of 168th Street were abundant remains of the soldiers' work in making bone-buttons out of meat bones, and round their camp fire-pits were broken pocket-knives, table-ware, and fragments of the ubiquitous rum-bottle.

Along the hillside in the still vacant plot behind the Armory, were the remains of stone fireplaces that had formed part of the Hessians' huts, in which they starved and suffered from cold and flood in the bitter winter season of 1779. These huts extended as far north as 170th Street.

North of the Murray farm, the remaining area to the Oblenesis boundary at 175th Street, was sold to Jumel, and it later became the charming estate of Mr. J. Hood Wright, the banker whose beneficence established the hospital at Manhattanville, which has rendered so great a service to the suffering and injured of our locality.

From 171st Street on the Old Road, a winding driveway lined with fine trees extended to the Lespinasse house, known about 1865
as the "French Academy," a pretentious building situated on the knoll between Fort Washington and Haven Avenues at 171st Street. The little lodge at the entrance gate has only recently been swept away, and a few of the great trees long survived to remind us of the time when the mail coach traversed the Kingsbridge Road and passed the Eleventh Milestone, at 171st Street on the crest of the long haul over the Heights, or stopped to deposit its passengers near the scattered residences in its vicinity.

THE HEIGHTS BETWEEN 175TH AND 181ST STREETS in 1902, of which the Juvenile Asylum occupied 20 acres. Only one apartment house appears in the entire area. Page 131.
THE INDIAN FIELD

THE tract of land lying west of our present Broadway between 175th and 181st Streets, is of particular interest because its past history connects the present ownerships with the Indian cultivation of bygone ages, since a great part of its area was known to the early settlers of New Haerlem as "The Great Maize Land," or Indian Field. The rude cultivation which the natives had applied to this piece of ground had cleared away the primeval forests, and had doubtless brought under some systematic growth an irregular area which probably comprised some part of the space occupied by the Isaac Martin, J. Hood Wright and Edwin Clark estates, and the one-time meadows between Haven Avenue and Broadway nearly as far north as 181st Street. This ground was watered in part by the little rivulet which was visible until recent times, commencing at a spring in the vicinity of 180th Street on the west side of Fort Washington Avenue, the course of the water being diagonally across the present 180th Street to 181st Street, where it crossed the Beekman property and descended along the line of Bennett Avenue to Sherman Creek, below Fort George Hill.

Such a cultivated area indicates that the local natives had some sort of settlement or station in the vicinity. It is probable that such a station existed upon Fort Washington Point, on the south side of which a considerable deposit of oyster shells and blackened debris containing fragments of Indian pottery, indicates a long occupation of the site by aborigines.

The increasing demand for cultivable land among the settlers of New Haerlem led to an attempt to occupy some part of the Heights, upon which some of the Indians were still ekeing out a living, and in 1686, the officials appropriated this Indian clearing
and leased it to two of their number, the pioneer, Jan Kiersen, and his father-in-law, Van Dalsen.

It seems to be evident that the Harlem patentees realized they had little or no title to this property, since they made only a lease for its use for a period of twelve years, but their action in this transaction led to their eventual decision to divide up the Heights as far as 175th Street, which course was taken seven years later than the lease of the Indian clearing. The terms of that agreement are sufficiently quaint and interesting to quote from the copy given in the History of Harlem by James Riker:

"On this date, We the Constable and Magistrates hereby acknowledge to have consented and agreed in manner hereafter written. Jan Gerritse van Dalsen and Jan Kiersen own and declare to have received from the aforesaid Constable and Magistrates, a piece of land named THE GREAT MAIZE LAND, belonging under the jurisdiction of New Haerlem; which aforesaid piece of land the before written Jan Gerritse van Dalsen and Jan Kiersen shall use, build and live upon, for the time of twelve successive years, to commence in the month of August of this year, 1686, and ending in the month of August, after the harvest is off; and the hirers shall be permitted the last year to sow two shepels of buckwheat and to plant a piece of maize (corn); also the lessees, for the first seven years, shall occupy it free, only each giving to the lessors a fat capon yearly, as an acknowledgment, and shall be obligated for the last five years to pay each year two hundred guilders in good wheat, rye, peas, or barley, at the market price; from each parcel the just fourth part to be given to God the Lord. The lessees shall be allowed to make an orchard, and at the end of their years, shall have the right of taking up half of the same, from the large fruit trees or the nursery; and the lessees shall be required to clear fourteen morgen of land in the first years, which will be two morgen yearly, and if the lessees shall have need of more land, the lessors shall be required to assign more land to the lessees, at the most convenient time; also is leased with the land a piece of meadow lying at the farthest point at the North River. So also the lessees are required to deliver up the buildings in good condition at the end of the years, as also to deliver the fencing of the land tight and sufficient. To the extent of fourteen morgen, the lessees shall be obligated to bear the ordinary town charges, but no extraordinary. The lessees shall be allowed to continue living on the aforesaid land till May of the last year, being the year 1699."
The lessees shall have the liberty of removing, upon condition that they signify one year before, their intention to give up the lease. All thus performed and agreed to, and with our usual hand undersigned. Done at New Haerlem this 30 of March, 1686.

(Signed by Jan Delamater, as Constable, Daniel Tourneur, Jan Nagel, Jan Kiersen, and Jan Gerritsen van Dalsen, in the presence of Jan Tibout, Clerk.)

It does not appear likely that the lessees erected any permanent buildings upon the land from which they thus expropriated the poor savages, but probably cultivated the ground and planted some of the fruit trees which are referred to in the lease, and thus rendered the tract a desirable acquisition, so that it became one of the allotments of the year 1691, although its southerly boundary at 175th Street was removed by a considerable distance from the north boundary of the other allotments, which ended at 160th Street. The tract was known as Number Nineteen, and included twenty-two and three-quarters Dutch morgen in its area, being described as abutting "upon the south end of the Long Hill," by which name the ridge of Fort Washington was then commonly known.

The allotment of this desirable tract was made in favor of Joost Van Oblienis, or Oblinus, the Magistrate of New Haerlem, who served in church offices as Deacon and Elder, and was regarded as one of the most reliable and important of the members of the little community, his advice being sought upon all matters of importance.

It is a far cry from Washington Heights to the little town of Houplines in Flanders, which quaint little place is about five miles north of Lille, within the area of the fierce conflict of the Great War on the Flemish low-lands. From this village there proceeded this interesting family of settlers, whose name by a curious process of corruption had become deprived of the aspirate, and had changed to the form of Oblinus, as its first member spelt the name on his arrival in our locality.

Joost Oblienis and his wife, Martina, the heads of the family returned about 1663, to their ancestral home where they had left some of their children, but their eldest son Joost, to whose career reference has already been made, remained in New Haerlem and became the progenitor of one of the most interesting families con-
nected with our locality, and after a long and useful life, died in 1706.

It was his youngest son, Hendrick, who also became Constable of New Haerlem, and married the daughter of John Tibout, to whom his father gave the allotment of 1691, upon the Indian Field, and at the time of the death of his father, Hendrick Oblienis and Jannetje his wife had built and were living in a farm dwelling upon the property, which thus was erected about the same time as the dwelling which their nearest neighbor, Jan Kiersen had erected near 159th Street. The site of this interesting farm dwelling was upon the line of 176th Street, close to Fort Washington Avenue, but all traces of the building and of its out-buildings have long disappeared from sight. The only reminder of the farm, consisted of the ancient cherry trees which formed a double line extending from Broadway at 176th Street in a curved line, doubtless that of the old farm driveway, to the place which was eventually proved to be the site of the dwelling.

In 1913, when 176th Street was opened across the Clark property from Broadway to Fort Washington Avenue, the workmen encountered the stone foundation of the old building, and thereupon an exploration by W. L. Calver and the author disclosed the position of the well, and of the rubbish-pit used by the occupants of the old dwelling. At its south-east corner, close to the porch, a small pit was found in which a quantity of broken glass, china, pottery, and earthenware had been buried, and some very interesting pieces of material were secured and completely restored.

In the pit at the rear of the building, where the kitchen rubbish probably had been placed, a large amount of household debris was found, including Colonial bricks, broken pottery and earthenware, meat bones, also rough iron-work including pad-locks, keys, and stable iron-work. Above these materials were found a number of military objects, including the butt ends of pike-staffs, which were used by the Hessian soldiery, a bayonet, grape-shot, bullets, and as a climax, a silver vest-button of an officer of the British Fifty-fourth regiment of foot, in which Major John Andre held his commission.

Behind the building there was a wheel-pit formed in a hollow in the rock filled with wood ashes, iron-work and nails. There were smiths tools and other indications of wagon iron-work, leading to
the conclusion that the Wagon Yard of the Garrison forces was maintained there.

The story of the occupation of the building was thus told in great part, the material indicating its peaceful occupation until the Revolution, when it was taken possession of by the soldiery, who in all probability either wrecked or burned the building. Around the site were quantities of broken Colonial bricks which doubtless had once formed its chimneys. The house faced south and was probably of the same general plan and proportions as the Dyckman house at 204th Street.

Hendrick Oblenis died about 1745, and was succeeded in possession of the farm by his son, Johannes, who had been the Constable of New Haerlem in 1736. He continued to reside upon the farm until the year 1769, when he concluded to remove from the locality to the Manor of Cortlandt. Thereupon he divided the farm, giving the lower part to his son Hendrick and his wife, Marie De Voe; the other or northern half, dividing the farm approximately on the line of 178th Street, he sold to Blazius Moore, a well-known merchant in the tobacco trade in New York City. This sale included an area of one hundred acres extending from our present Broadway to the Hudson River. Hendrick Oblenis, just prior to the active hostilities of the Revolution, sold his share of the farm and the homestead to Jacob Arden, a butcher of New York, who at the same time acquired several other pieces of property on the Heights, and has left us his name in the title of Arden Street in the Dyckman district.

The family of Oblenis continued to reside in this district until comparatively recent times, the last in direct descent being John Oblinus, whose remains were thought to have been disturbed when some Colonial graves were opened by Alexander Chenoweth, at the corner of Sherman Avenue and Dyckman Street, some years ago. His daughter married John Sowerby, who resided in the little cottage still standing below Fort Tryon Hill, about on the line of 196th Street, on the east side of Broadway.

Connected as it is with the record of the leading family in the little old township, and occupied as it was for a period which extends back beyond the advent of the white man into the dim past of aboriginal existence, the Oblenis farm, and the site of its old farm dwelling is of particular interest in the record of the development of Washington Heights.
AT Fort Washington Park may still be found the traces of its occupation in prehistoric times. If you prowl along the margin of the Hudson you may still find places where the original shore line remains unchanged; and here and there can be seen, a deposit of black soil and oyster shells, which on careful examination will disclose to the practised eye scraps of native pottery, with fragments of gnawed bones, the teeth of deer, bears, or muskrats, or the shells of mussels and snails, which came equally welcome to the Rechgwawanc larder.

Some Indian name was doubtless applied to such a conspicuous point as that which now forms our most picturesque park, but of it no record was made. Whatever it was, the early settlers ignored it, and in Colonial days the Point was known as "Jeffrey's Hook."

There is no local connection with this title, nor any local landowner who bore the name. It is however, a coincidence, that a family of Jeffrey was settled in the City of New York, which included several mariners, among whom was a privateersman, Captain Richard Jeffrey, who commanded at various times between 1744 and 1747, the sloop "Anna," the privateer "Greyhound," and the sloop "Polly."

Higher up the river, near Poughkeepsie, there is another point of similar name, the origin of which has been traced to the Dutch *Juffrouw, young woman*.

The land comprising the present park was part of the allotment of Oblienes, which included the Indian Field, probably cultivated by the same savages who made their home upon the shell beds of Jeffrey's Hook. It was divided, at Depot Lane, or West 177th Street, by the sale in 1769, of its northern half to Blazius Moore, and the lower portion to Jacob Arden.
In 1776 the Hook was selected by the American army staff as the site for an obstruction of the river, for which it was peculiarly suited, since the Point juts out into the estuary and reduces its width by a third.

A small battery was erected on the extreme point, the form of which was a “demi-lune,” within which a single gun was mounted. On the rocky height back of the lane leading to the shore, there can still be seen the “Rifle Redoubt” which was used by American sharpshooters in picking off the crews of the British frigates and their tenders when they forced their way past the Point. It is now marked by a Boulder monument which was erected in 1910 by the Fort Washington Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Blazius Moore conveyed his purchase in 1784 to his son Jacob Moore, who had kept the Blue Bell Tavern at 181st Street on the old Post Road since the Revolution. In 1810 the property was transferred under foreclosure proceedings to William and Gerardus Post, merchants of New York, probably the mortgagees, excepting about thirty acres which had been purchased of Moore by his sister Rosannah, the wife of Bernard Bauer. The executors of the brothers Post sold the land in 1834 to John A. Haven, who thus became possessed of the north half of the Park area, and thereafter the locality between Depot Lane and 181st Street became identified with his family, whose name is perpetuated in the title of Haven Avenue, which cuts directly through the heart of their property.

Deciding to reside on the heights, John Haven built a handsome residence about two hundred feet south of 181st Street, on the slope of the hill rising east of Riverside Drive. This house stood until a few years ago and was in recent years occupied by Woodbury Langdon.

The Haven house was reached from the High Road by the driveway long known as “Haven’s Lane,” which left Broadway at 180th Street. It was lined with noble elm trees, the last of which still survives in the sidewalk on the south-east corner of 180th Street and Fort Washington Avenue. A little way beyond the avenue the lane turned sharply to the north to the line of 181st Street, where it descended the hill to the Haven residence and its neighbors, the homes of Warren Hastings and C. M. Connolly, the
latter occupying the site of Dr. Paterno's castellated residence on Northern Avenue.

South of Haven's Lane on the line of 179th Street, stood the Perkins residence, its beautiful terraced lawn extending to Broadway. This house is said to have been built by the father of the author Shaw, who wrote under the name of "Josh Billings."

Hosea B. Perkins was born in Dover, New Hampshire, in 1819, a member of one of the oldest and most respected families in that state. He arrived in New York in 1836, a boy of seventeen years, and worked his way unaided in the carpet business until he became well-to-do. He was active in public educational matters, and for twenty years represented the Twelfth Ward on the Board of Education, and was also President of the Century Club. His eloquence earned him the title of "the silver-tongued orator" of Washington Heights. He passed away in 1902, generally regretted and highly esteemed.

His old home may have occupied the site of an earlier dwelling, perhaps that of the Moore family, for on its removal there were found three stone vaults below the terrace facing Broadway, which may have been part of an older building.

When the grounds were graded away to open 178th and 179th Streets, many signs of military occupation were disturbed, such as the foundations of huts or barrack buildings, fire-places, iron shot, bar-shot, bullets and broken debris of the camp. The place had evidently been part of the permanent camping ground of the armies of the Revolution, conveniently located near Fort Washington. After its sale by the family the Perkins house was for a time utilized as the first Washington Heights Hospital.

Between the residence of Hosea Perkins and that of John Haven lay the large estate of Charles O'Connor, whose house, a large frame building in Colonial style, stood close to the junction of 180th Street with the present Northern Avenue. He was a well-known attorney, who had taken a conspicuous part in the important suits regarding the Jumel estate. Abutting on his property at the south, and facing Depot Lane, was "Pinehurst," the home of C. P. Bucking, a rather picturesque dwelling with pretty grounds, which had little local interest, yet has been dignified by the adoption of its name for Pinehurst Avenue.

The next-door neighbor on the west to John Haven was Thomas
Ingham, the site of whose one-time pleasant home within the Park area can still be traced on the north side of the Lane close to Riverside Drive, by the remains of its terrace and of its circular sunken garden, in which the rose bushes still clamber over the cedar fence, and a wonderful great wisteria vine twines its huge limbs around a dead pine tree.

From the Haven house a winding road led to the water-side at the Point, for which the railroad provided the present bridge. This lane and the connecting pathway to Depot Lane west of the Ingham plot, was locally known as “Sunset Lane,” and fully deserves that picturesque title.

The south part of the Oblenis farm was divided in recent times into several properties, each with a fine residence overlooking the Hudson, on the ridge now bounded by Haven Avenue. That on the south at 171st Street and Fort Washington Avenue, was at one time known as the Lespinasse French Academy. Its next neighbor north was the home of Isaac P. Martin, a substantial brick building in Tudor style. Next to that was the house of A. F. Smith, which later became the residence of J. Hood Wright the banker, and is still in use by that family. Next was the house of Benjamin Douglass, now included in the Wright estate, and north of that the home of William H. Guion, which in 1859 was occupied by Mr. Robert Caldwell of Charleston, S. C. It became the headquarters of the Driving Club, and then the first Arrowhead Inn, and was afterwards transformed into and used until 1923 as the headquarters of the Forty-second Police Precinct. Across the lane the house of J. M. Hopkins was the second Arrowhead Inn. Between that building and Pinehurst, was the home and estate of Robert Chesebrough Rathbone.

South of Depot Lane the southern part of the Oblenis farm extended. That part which is now included in the Park had been purchased by Isaac P. Martin. The attractions of the locality brought other residents, who leased or purchased plots on the Martin estate, and formed a little colony of residences in the vicinity of the little Fort Washington depot on the Hudson River Railroad, which in 1847 has been extended through the point in a deep rock cutting. The station and these homes were reached by the private roadway known as Depot Lane, now widened into West 177th Street as far as Riverside Drive.
Just below the lane a red brick and frame residence was once occupied by the family of Hurst, and nearer the shore, facing a splendid prospect down the Hudson, there was erected a residence which later became the West-End Hotel, an ungainly brick structure, the recent removal of which has been an advantage to the scenic character of the Park.

The only residence which remains is a brick building at the south end of the park, now utilized as a park headquarters. It was one of a pair of similar buildings erected about 1875 by Mr. S. Morris Locke, who resided in the northern one of the pair, both being approached through the entrance gates, the stone posts of which are still standing on Riverside Drive.

The area of the Park, west of the Boulevard Lafayette, which is now re-named Riverside Drive, was suggested as a most desirable city park by the late Andrew H. Green, and it was purchased by the city in 1894, at a cost of $904,268, which on its forty and eight-tenths acres, was a price of twenty-two thousand dollars per acre.

In a tangle of brushwood, south of the Rifle Redoubt, the hardy visitor may find the place on which was erected about 1843, a telegraph mast which supported a wire across the river to the Jersey side, over which it is said the first telegraphic communications were received and sent by Morse from the Audubon House in Audubon Park. The great pole stood in a socket hewed out of the rock surface, and around the place there may be found several eye-bolts secured into the rocks, to which the guys supporting the pole were attached.

Such is the history of Fort Washington Park, a place of unusual natural beauty and commanding situation.
THE DOUGLASS-HOWLAND AND A. F. SMITH RESIDENCES. The rear one being later the home of Mr. and Mrs. J. Hood Wright. Page 141.

WILLIAM H. GUION'S HOME on old Depot Lane now West 177th Street, later the headquarters of the Driving Club, then the "Arrowhead Inn", and in 1914 the station-house of the 42nd Precinct. Dismantled 1923. Page 141.
XV

MOUNT WASHINGTON

The picturesque and rugged hill north of 181st Street, extending west of Broadway to Inwood, is one of the most distinctive and interesting features of the Heights. It is no wonder therefore, that in the several phases of its occupation by man it has always been known by some distinctive title.

To the Indians who haunted its wild forest in search of game or wild-wood foods, it seems to have been known as "Penadnik," which is thought to have meant "The Comb Mountain," whose steep sides, densely wooded, formed a refuge for innumerable wild birds and beasts, the bears and wolves especially being so numerous and dangerous, even as late as 1685, that an organized battue was necessary before they were finally disposed of.

The New Haerlem settlers gave it the more prosaic name of "The Long Hill," by which it continued to be known until the Revolution, when it was selected as the site for the principal defensive fortification of the Heights, and was christened, in honor of the Commander of the American Army, as "Mount Washington," thus attaching to our locality the immortal name which we are proud to retain.

The last or fourth of the divisions of the Common lands in the year 1712, disposed of the Long Hill, which was suited only for lumbering, and was intended to be utilized for that purpose, since its rocky surface offered little or no opportunity for cultivation. The partition therefore, beginning at a point on the Post Road, our present Broadway, just south of 186th Street, on a line reaching the Hudson River midway between the lines of 184th and 185th Streets, was divided up into eighteen parcels, each extending from the Road to the River. Some traces of the boundaries of those old allotments may still be found along the steep hillsides,
where the iron bolts which secured the fence posts cling, rusted in
the holes drilled into the rock.

Of these the first and most southerly abutted on the north
boundary of the Oblienis farm and was allotted to Samson Benson,
whose son Johannes, at a later date, acquired the next plot from
the Cornelissen family, and thus came to possess a tract of about
thirty-three acres, extending to 188th Street.

This interesting family, largely identified with the history and
progress of New Haerlem, was of Swedish or Danish descent, the
original form of the name being Bensing. Samson Benson had
quite an extensive property in New Haerlem, and he built a flour
mill on the Haerlem Creek in 1740, which was a conspicuous fea-
ture of the locality till it was burned during the Revolution. It
was in respect of these extended holdings that he was entitled to
a share of the common wood-lands in this distant part of the
Township.

To Benson also fell the most northerly wood lot, being the
tract next south of Dyckman Street, through which Riverside Drive
now turns east to join Broadway, the north boundary of which
was "at the little bridge at Jan Dyckman's," by which the Post
Road crossed the rivulet that then made its way under the present
Dyckman Street to the North River.

Through these wood lots, for such they were intended to remain,
a roadway was directed to be laid out, "from the north end of the
Long Hill through the land of Hendrick Oblienis to the Queen's
Road." This was doubtless a logging trail, by means of which was
taken out the cord-wood that formed the fuel of the homes of the
Township. It was there in the Revolution, and is shown on the
military maps of 1777, and of 1782, extending from Fort Tryon
along the line of Northern Avenue, around the site of Fort Wash-
ington, and down the hillside, about the line of 180th Street to the
highway.

When the tide of warfare rolled up from New York to the
Heights in 1776, it naturally followed that this conspicuous eleva-
tion was selected for the construction of an important fortification,
and the forest-clad hill was then appropriately named after the
leader of the American forces, a title which however, only lasted
until the capture of the Heights in November of that year, when
the Fort was officially re-christened "Fort Knyphausen," after the

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commanding officer of the Hessian army, to whom it had been surrendered.

The position selected for the construction of the Fort was the summit extending from 181st Street to 184th Street, west of the present Fort Washington Avenue, the highest point on the Island of Manhattan, being two hundred and seventy feet above tide water. The work as laid out, consisted of an earthwork about three hundred and fifty feet in length, east and west, with five bastions, one at each corner and one in the centre on the north side.

The Fort was commenced in June, 1776, and completed during the summer, and in its survey it is said that Alexander Hamilton, then a junior officer of artillery, took a part, while some of the work was done under the observation of General Washington. Its weakest feature as described by Alexander Graydon was the lack of water supply. The well that may still be seen within the north or centre bastion was constructed for the Bennett or Morewood residence.

The site was admirably suited to its purpose, since it commanded the high road on the east and overlooked the river at the west, while on the south the ground sloped away forming a glacis over which the guns could sweep their fire. The garrison was probably housed in rough barracks below the hill on the line of the present Bennett Avenue, but within its ramparts several buildings were later erected by its Hessian and British occupants after its capture. The site of one of these buildings has been approximately located by the discovery of masses of red brick near its northwest curtain wall. Upon the excavation in 1853 for the Morewood residence in the southeast corner many military objects were found, including shot and other missiles intended to be used in its cannon.

Numerous military objects were discovered in 1922, upon the opening of West 183rd Street, along the south side of the fort, chiefly in rubbish pits and in the trench or ditch at the foot of the ramparts on the south side.

The Fort, which was captured in November, 1776 by the British, was armed with about thirty guns, mostly of small calibre, and possibly four that carried a thirty-two pound solid shot, were mounted on the west side of the Fort overlooking the river.

Situated on the top of the hill, bare of trees and shelter, the Fort was an uncomfortable place to live in, and additional quarters
were therefore constructed outside, of which one, an officer’s house, was located on the east side, forty feet west of Fort Washington Avenue on the center line of 182nd Street. This was discovered in 1913, and its fireplace and brick floor removed and re-constructed in Roger Morris Park.

An irregular line of exterior earthworks extended around the Fort, taking advantage of the natural features of rocks and ridges that overlooked the lower ground. These ran just north of 181st Street across the site of the two red brick houses west of Fort Washington Avenue, passed east of the avenue behind the Fort Washington Collegiate Church to the high rocks above Bennett Avenue at 182nd Street, thence along the ridge overlooking the valley through which that avenue extends. On the north these earthworks continued along the hillside to 184th Street, and thence across the Bennett estate to Northern Avenue where the line turned south, to a point near 181st Street, thus completing the circuit of the Fort.

Of these exterior defences all traces are now destroyed by modern changes, and of the Fort itself only the centre bastion can now be recognized.

There were strange and stirring scenes within that now peaceful space; first, came the Pennsylvanian volunteers laboring on its construction, then the crucial day of its defense, when the men crowded back within the ramparts and wept and swore at the necessity for its surrender. Thereafter a succession of military garrisons, Hessian, English, Scotch and Tory, occupied the place, marching in and out to raids in Westchester and alarms of counter attacks. At one time in September, 1781, a great gallows was erected “in front of the Fort,” on which were hung the stuffed effigies of three Hessian sub-officers who had deserted to the American forces. Then came the evacuation in 1783, and the removal of guns and stores and the burning of barracks and huts.

Years later, in 1791, the General for whom it was named, now President of the Union, re-visited the spot with his suite, and surveyed, with many a sad thought of the bitter day of its loss, the grass-grown remains of the fortress he had helped to defend.

The larger part of the site of Fort Washington became the property of James Gordon Bennett, Senior, and was inherited by his son, who generously contributed the monument which now marks
the place, and on which is briefly recorded its military history. The Fort must have been quite an extensive construction, its ramparts probably several feet in height in 1819, and even in 1853, at which date it had been purchased by Richard Carman who appears to have graded down its walls, in which state it was when it was purchased by George B. Morewood, who built his home in its southeast corner.

George Barrow Morewood, who then came to reside within the area of Fort Washington, was the son of George Morewood, a member of an old family of Derbyshire in England, who came to New York about the time of the Revolution, was naturalized soon after 1783, but later returned to England where he inherited a family estate, married and remained to the time of his decease. George Barrow Morewood was born in England but came to America at the age of twenty years, and engaged in business in the City of New York. He made his home for many years in Carmansville, residing near the present 153rd Street, and became a member of the vestry of the Church of the Intercession at the time of its organization. He purchased the site of the Fort from Richard Carman, and erected thereon his new home about 1853-4, where he continued to reside until 1871-2 when he sold the property to James Gordon Bennett.

On the west side below the two bastions overlooking the river a building was erected after 1860, for the Four-in-hand Club, which fell a victim to a violent storm. On the north side the large residence was built by one Reilly, which was purchased about 1855 as a country home by the elder James Gordon Bennett, founder of the New York Herald. This, like the Morewood house, became vacant and neglected, and was removed in 1917.

Thus every structure that once occupied any part of the Fort has, in course of time been razed and removed. The estate was divided by Bennett's executors in 1919, and was largely sold off in plots. The executors, upon the urgent request of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, reserved part of the area of the Fort—between 183rd and 184th Streets.

Below the Fort, to the south, the Garrison Burying Ground was established, its position having been disclosed by the disturbance of many skeletons in the construction of the sewer under Fort Washington Avenue, about seventy-five feet below 181st Street. It
was evidently covered by the filling-in of the Avenue. In this place other interments were made after the war, for as late as June, 1829, the remains of Abraham Stuyvesant, a faithful and valued colored servant of the Moore family, were buried there with some ceremony.

On the east side of the Fort, the hillside descends very abruptly to the bed of the brook, which in early days was known as “The Run,” and found its way down the valley between Mount Washington and Laurel Hill, on the west side of the Post Road. It was a pretty little brook, bordered by tall bushes and overhanging willow trees, which crossed Broadway at Nagel Avenue, and wound through marshy meadows to Sherman Creek. At 183rd Street it passed on the east side of a bluff of rocks, known after the Revolution, as “The Death Gap,” the traditional scene of fighting at the Battle of Fort Washington, and still in part in their original condition on the west side of Bennett Avenue.

These rocks formed a natural defense, which controlled the valley below, and below them, when the Avenue was blasted through, the contractor found some solid cannon shot, one of which was marked with the broad arrow of the British army stores. Under part of the rocks, now buried by the Avenue, a little spring bubbled out, known as “The Hessian Spring,” which had doubtless provided the water supply for the Blue Bell Tavern hard by, and later, of the Hessian Hut Camp and the Barracks of the garrisons of the Fort. The huts were dug into the steep hillside, several having been explored on the bank above the Avenue, between 182nd and 183rd Streets, disclosing stone-built fireplaces, and in one, a paved floor, with military objects lying as they had been left by their one-time occupants.

The Garrison barracks were probably rude log buildings, though quite extensive, and their position was indicated by many relics, brick-work and rubbish, along the line of Bennett Avenue, about 182nd Street. Their construction, as well as that of the Fort itself, took place upon land which had once formed the north part of the Obleniis farm, sold by Obleniis to Blazius Moore, and by him transferred to his sister, Rosannah, who had married John Bernard Bauer, an itinerant preacher. Barney Bower, as he was locally known, was residing near the Tavern at the time of the war, and one of his descendants relates that he came to his death
JAMES GORDON BENNETT'S HOME at old Fort Washington, just north of the memorial at the north-east bastion of the Fort on Fort Washington Avenue. Page 146.

BENNETT LANE, the carriage driveway to the Bennett and Morewood houses, lined with fine locust trees. Page 149.
by injury while removing the guns out of the Fort on the conclusion of peace.

The local family of Ryer was descended from a daughter of the Bowers, and old Blazius Ryer lived for very many years of his long life in a little cottage alongside the Tavern site, situated on the side of the mound which sheltered the Tavern from the west winds, opposite 182nd Street, on the west side of Broadway.

The Bower property was sold in part to John Haven, and added to his estate below 181st Street, and thus began the modern settlement of the Fort Washington district, as the locality then became known. On the crest of the hill, occupying part of the line of earth-works which once encircled the Fort, two red brick houses were built about 1865, by Mr. De Long, which were later occupied by a boys' school, conducted by the Jesuit fathers.

North of these houses was the Morewood property, occupying part of the site of the Fort, which was afterwards purchased by Mr. Bennett, and above 183rd Street the Bennett estate extended from Broadway to the River. The Bennett and Morewood homes were reached by a driveway starting from the Kingsbridge Road at 181st Street, which turned at right angles up the hill at Magaw Place, and entered the two estates through a large iron gateway of massive construction. Alongside the gate was the gate-keeper's little lodge, still standing on the hillside. The gate has been rescued by Mr. George Grey Barnard, the sculptor, and is re-erected at the entrance to his studio and museum on Fort Washington Avenue at 190th Street.

North of the Bennett property remains almost intact the Joseph Fisher estate which extended on Broadway from 187th Street to a point about one hundred feet north of 189th Street.

The Fisher residence, a frame building facing east and west, is still standing on Northern Avenue on the brink of the steep hillside overlooking "Inspiration Point" on Riverside Drive, and commanding a glorious view of the river and the Palisades.

Next north of the Fisher property was the home in 1860 of William Sweetser, a curious triangular building, still standing between Fort Washington Avenue and Northern Avenue, on the line of 189th Street.

Both of these residences were reached by a driveway starting from the Kingsbridge Road between 185th and 186th Streets which
led diagonally up the hillside northwards, on the line of the new
"Overlook Terrace," with a branch that ran south and by a series
of sharp zigzags led to the Bennett estate.

Above the Sweetser house the land was owned by Lucius Chittenden, whose large estate extended to Fort Tryon, the story of
which is related later.

Such was the modern development of the Long Hill, or Mount
Washington, before the construction of the "Ridge Road" along its
summit, which cut through the heart of these beautiful wooded
estates, opened the door to the traffic of the great City, and drove
the old residents from their picturesque and retired residences
around old Fort Washington.
THE easterly side of the Albany Post Road from 173rd Street to Fort George, comprised a fairly level tract of upland about a mile and a quarter in length, which in the early days of the Township of New Haerlem was covered with the same wild woodland growth as the Long Hill to the west of the highway. Its partition therefore, did not take place until the year 1712, when the Second and Third Divisions of that year disposed of its area among the freeholders.

Allotments numbered Eleven to Twenty, of the Second Division, extended from 173rd Street to 190th Street, in parallel plots from the High Road to the margin of the Harlem Creek, and were awarded to the following owners:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Owners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eleven</td>
<td>6 acres, 173d to 173½ Streets</td>
<td>Jan Van Oblents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve</td>
<td>18 acres, 173½ to 175½ Streets</td>
<td>Zachariah Sickels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteen</td>
<td>28 acres, 175½ to 177½ Streets</td>
<td>John Waldron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourteen</td>
<td>15 acres, 177½ to 178½ Streets</td>
<td>Jacques Tournier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteen</td>
<td>6 acres, 178½ to 179 Streets</td>
<td>Marcus Tiebout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixteen</td>
<td>73 acres, 179 to 184 Streets</td>
<td>Heirs of Thos. Delavall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventeen</td>
<td>19 acres, 184 to 185 Streets</td>
<td>John Dyckman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighteen</td>
<td>30 acres, 185 to 187 Streets</td>
<td>Samson Benson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nineteen</td>
<td>12 acres, 187 to 188 Streets</td>
<td>Isaac Delamater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twenty</td>
<td>27 acres, 188 to 190 Streets</td>
<td>Arent Bussing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These and other lots became divided up into modern estates. Part of the Waldron and Sickels plots became the site of the Juvenile Asylum, the great prison-like building which for many years dominated the area around 176th Street and Eleventh Avenue, now covered with closely built apartments. It also included the summit which is crowned with High Bridge Reservoir and its lofty Water Tower, which marks the Heights from every distant view, rising four hundred feet above tide water. On the Waldron allotment our newest public school, No. 115, also stands.
About 1830 a strip of the Sickels plot at 175th Street was purchased by Richard F. Carman, through which a driveway was extended to his residence facing the Harlem River, which is still standing in Speedway Park. This driveway had an interesting predecessor, having been in part the original means of access to Harlem Creek. It was stipulated in Town meeting, 22nd March, 1711, "that a sufficient common wagon road be and remain from the Queen's Road at Hendrick Obleniis's house (176th Street), to the landing-place on Harlem River at Crab Island." For this road two acres of land was set aside, and it was laid out "between the land of Marcus Tiebout and Jan Dyckman." The latter was Tourneur's plot, which had been acquired by Dyckman, whose wife was Madelaine, the sister of Jacques Tourneur.

This lane thus ran east from the old highway, and found its way to the Harlem River near 175th Street, where it reached a landing place for boats in a bend of the rocky shore opposite Crab Island, a little marshy islet on the Bronx side at the mouth of a brook which ran down the Fordham hillside, on the boundary line between the Manors of Fordham and Morrisania.

The island was under the Bronx side of High Bridge, which was begun at this point in 1839, and completed in 1848, and that and the Railroad wiped out all traces of the island. The Bridge was originally known as "Acqueduct Bridge," and at the time of its construction was considered one of the most notable structures in the country. It was a favorite resort of the poet Edgar Allan Poe during his residence in Fordham, doubtless attracting him by its command of the view of the picturesque Harlem winding between the rocky hillsides of Manhattan and Fordham, its beautiful banks overhung with trees.

Opposite the old Blue Bell Inn on the Albany Post Road, a small tract of land was acquired in 1786, by Jacob Moore, which extended to the Harlem River. This he sold to his brother-in-law, Barney Bowers in 1799. Bowers's grand-son, Blazius Ryer, recalled the existence of another second Blue Bell tavern building on this property, which he believed had been used during part of the Revolution. It may have been originally built for the purpose of adding to the accommodations of the Inn, and later on it took on its name when the original building had become the home of the Bowers, in which Rosannah lived till her death at a great age, in 1847.
THE HEIGHTS FROM 175TH STREET TO FORT GEORGE in 1902. On the right the Harlem River Driveway. Fort George hill crowned by the Isabella Heimath Home, Fort Tryon on the left, and scattered residences around 181st Street and vicinity. Page 151.

FORT TRYON, OR FOREST HILL in 1900. On the ridge is Libbey Castle and Tryon Towers, with their stables and conservatories, in foreground the little cottage of John Sowerly on Broadway, the old Kingsbridge Road, at 196th Street. Page 158.
The advertisement probably referred to this building in the New York Packet of June, 1784, which announced, "The Blue Bell Revived." In 1769 the Tavern at that part of the road was in the hands of a proprietor named Waldron, and it evidently passed into other hands, for the land and the building were bought from some New York attorneys in 1802, by Blazius Moore, with a dwelling house formerly owned, and then occupied and used as a tavern by David Wilson. It was destroyed by fire in 1817 by the carelessness of an old crazy colored woman employed in its kitchen, and the material in its ruins was used to build a small dwelling a few yards from its site. The whole property was sold to the Chesebrough family in 1820.

The Chesebrough estate which thus included the site of the destroyed building, comprised about sixty acres, and extended from the old Kingsbridge Road to the Harlem River south of 182nd Street to 178th Street. It was acquired by the daughter of Baltus Moore, a brother of that Blazius Moore, who had in 1769, purchased the old Oblienis farm.

Her estate was one of the earliest modern residential developments, following Jumel's settlement on the upper Heights by only 10 years.

Miss Margaret Moore had married Mr. Andronicus Chesebrough, a retired merchant, and having inherited quite a fortune from her father, they purchased the farm and built the house for their summer residence, and so occupied it until the death of Mrs. Chesebrough, about 1855.

The Chesebrough residence stood upon a mound or slight rise in the ground on the northeast corner of 180th Street and Broadway. The house stood until recent years but fell into disuse and ruin in 1899. It had an immense kitchen fireplace constructed of old-fashioned red brick, and in a recess on one side of the old mantel a rat's nest was discovered in which were a number of objects that had doubtless been missed by the family when their rodent tenants walked off with them; parts of clothing, spoons, thimbles, marbles, and the dried skeletons of the last of the rat family.

Just above the Chesebrough boundary on the north lay the school house property now occupied by Public School 132. This site was purchased from Laurentine Snowdon in February, 1858, for two thousand dollars, and its more recent addition of about
twice the original area cost $25,775. It was the local successor of the old Hamilton Free School, our first scholastic institution, which was incorporated by Act of the Legislature, 17 April, 1818, and was built and maintained by part of the proceeds of the sale of the Harlem Common Lands to the City of New York. The Hamilton Free School building was on the old Kingsbridge Road between 187th and 188th Streets.

In 1852 its trustees were Isaac Dyckman, John P. Dodge and Teunis Ryer of Fort Washington, and its teacher was Mr. Perkins. It was so continued to 1853, when it was destroyed by fire, and its place being only inconveniently supplied by Ward School 31, our present No. 46, at 156th Street, no school was provided in the vicinity until the opening of No. 52 at Inwood in 1857. There being no further need for the Free School, its Trustees re-organized it as The Dyckman Library, which was incorporated by Chapter 330 of the laws of New York in 1860 and has continued to maintain since then the only public library in the Inwood valley.

Above 190th Street the land was divided in a different manner, as the commanding height now known as Fort George, had long been designated as the proposed site of a future dorp or village. The hill, which was in those early years known as the "Ronde-vly-berg," or Hill of the Round Meadow, was therefore, divided by a line described as "The Cut Line," extending nearly north and south over the centre of the hill-top, on the centre of Audubon Avenue, and down the steep north front to a point on Dyckman Street, four hundred feet east of Dyckman Street station. East and west of this line allotments were made, which comprised the Third Division of the year 1712. The property, comprising about one hundred and thirty acres, extended as far north as 197th Street, on the High Road, and took in all of Fort George hill to the Harlem River, and down to the Speedway on the north side.

A reservation was made for the church of the future village by a plot at the foot of the hill, near Dyckman Street. This was held as church property by the Reformed Dutch Church in Harlem until the year 1818, when it was sold to the Dyckman family, who gradually acquired all the other holdings and came to possess the whole hill, which was added to their farm in the valley.

All the familiar family names of the New Haerlem patentees appear in the list of those who secured a share of the Ronde-vly-
berg, among them our old friends, Jan Kiersen, and Johannes Van Oblenis, and the widows of Vermilye, Meyer, and Cornelis.

The project of the new "dorp" came to naught, the overflow of population from the township finding homes in other parts of the State. Thus when the Revolution broke out the mount was still in great part uncultivated, and had come to be known as "Laurel Hill," a name derived from the abundant growth of mountain laurel which even until recent years could be found on its rugged slopes. Its military value was promptly recognized by the American army in 1776, and a redoubt was constructed on the northern brink of the hill near the present Fort George Avenue. This was not a very large affair, chiefly depending for security on the steep height on which it was situated, and the marshy creek at its feet. The hill was bravely defended by the Pennsylvanian troops that held it against an overwhelming force of British Light Infantry and Grenadiers. Some of its gallant garrison were buried on the spot, and some of their bones were disturbed on the building of the Schuyler Casino about twenty-five years ago. The blasting away of the hillside for the construction of Amsterdam Avenue and Fort George Avenue, brought to light many relics of military occupation.

This was to be expected, since the British garrison constructed a large earthwork on that part of the hill, known as Fort Clinton, overlooking Fort George Avenue. In 1781, Fort George, an elaborate fortification, was constructed on the summit of the hill further south extending from 192nd to 193rd Streets between Audubon Avenue and Amsterdam Avenue. A small part of its easterly ramparts long existed on the vacant land north of the Isabella Heimath Home. This fort was re-named for old Fort George at the Battery, which was at that time abandoned.

A considerable military Camp was also maintained for several years during the war on the land from 191st to 193rd Streets, sloping westward from Audubon Avenue to Eleventh Avenue, long cultivated by the brothers Zerenner, who found many relics in the soil, and another chiefly occupied by officers of British regiments was located by W. L. Calver at 189th-190th Streets on the east side of Audubon Avenue.

Around the central fort a line of earthworks was extended, part of which can still be seen overgrown with grass and trees, in
vacant land at 190th Street, about one hundred and fifty feet east of Amsterdam Avenue. The line extended around the north side to include Fort Clinton, and thence down the west side of the hill to the Post Road, forming a chain of works connecting Fort George with Fort Tryon on Mount Washington, crossing the Post Road at the Barrier Gate.

There was a spring of water at 191st Street and Audubon Avenue, which filled a pond that provided the water-supply of the garrison and the camp. The pond overflowed to the east in a little brook that ran down into the Harlem at 189th Street and in ancient times had another outlet to the west, across the Post Road to the “Run” or brook that came down the hill from Fort Washington. Its marshy bed was explored, and military debris was found, broken bottles, bones and brick, buckles and buttons of various British, Scotch and Hessian regiments all dumped into its muddy waters during the Revolution.

The hill-top was reached from the Kingsbridge road by a lane which led diagonally up the slope, commencing at 187th Street. It was wide enough only for a single team. It can still be traced in places among the wild undergrowth on the hillside.

After the war the hill relapsed into its original wild condition, and only the great earth-works, grass-grown and hidden by brushwood, remained to testify to its military history. Strange it is however, that the name of the British fort has clung to it, and its more picturesque Dutch and Colonial titles have been lost.

In 1850 the modern settlement of the locality began. The first residence erected on the hill was the home of J. Van Namee, which is still standing between 185th and 186th Streets, east of Amsterdam Avenue. On the west side of the hill was the house of Conrad Schwackhamer, at 186th-187th Streets, on the east side of the Kingsbridge Road, with a group of little cottages at 184th Street. The only other dwelling in those early days of modern settlement was the humble home of the Sherman family on the creek at 199th Street, from which it derived its present name.

The opening of Amsterdam Avenue brought an unfortunate development in the form of the amusement resorts which gradually extended around the hill, to the saloon of Ferdinand Hofele, and the later “Paradise Park” at Audubon Avenue. Among these was an enormous frame building which was surrounded by a castellated
THE CASTLE BUILT BY ALEXANDER RICHARDS IN 1864. Later the home of Mayor William Tweed, later of Mayor Hugh Grant, and the residence of the Libbey family. Page 160.

RESIDENCE OF DR. WILLIAM SWEETSER on Fort Washington Avenue at 189th Street. An odd-shaped brick building commanding splendid views from every room. Page 149.
cornice, and was conspicuously labeled "Fort Wendel," a name which frequently misled uninformed persons to connect it with the historic past.

Ferdinand Hofele was a German-American who volunteered in the Union army as a drummer-boy, saw service in several battles, in one of which he was wounded, witnessed his father's death in one of them, and came out of the war as a sharpshooter veteran. He took considerable interest in the military remains of the locality, and but for his care, a number of historical objects discovered around the Fort, and now in the museum of Washington's headquarters, would have been lost.

Several efforts have been made to secure some part of the splendid eminence for a public park, which have all failed to materialize, but the wild woodlands that still cover its northern slopes and its vacant spaces are frequented by thousands of visitors, who clamber over the old boulder fence of the Cut Line, and picnic under the shade of the successors of the ancient birch and maples, while the splendid George Washington High School has now replaced the ruined ramparts of the Fort, and its students will enjoy the glorious prospects of the surrounding country from the commanding height of the old Ronde-vly-berg.
XVII

FORT TRYON

To the foreign garrison camped upon the Heights at the time of
the Revolution, the north end of the Long Hill was known as
“Forest Hill”—“Forced Hill,” as von Kraft, the Saxon officer,
describes it in his mis-spelt diary.

The fort on the summit, which was the north outwork of Fort
Washington, had been constructed there by American hands in 1776,
and was defended during the assault on the Heights by the gallant
Maryland and Virginia regiment, which distinguished itself at the
battle of Brooklyn, and, at the battle of Fort Washington consisted
of about six hundred men, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Moses
Rawlings of Philadelphia.

For upwards of three hours these men, aided by the few small
guns of the fort, one of which was served by Margaret Corbin, the
first American woman to shed her blood in actual fighting for the
cause of liberty, held back successive attacks by the disciplined
Hessian troops advancing from the Dyckman valley, and their resis-
tance was only overcome when Colonel Rall led the von Kohler
Grenadiers around the Hudson shore and stormed the fort on its
weakest side. In the hand-to-hand fighting that followed, many of
the Southerners were bayonetted on the ground south of the fort,
as they retreated to Fort Washington, over land now traversed by
Fort Washington Avenue and Northern Avenue from 193rd Street
southward.

Thereafter the fort was strengthened and garrisoned by various
British and Hessian corps, and an extension of its earth-works
was carried down the steep hillside across the Libbey estate to
meet the similar line from Fort George, which was completed in
1780, and was known as the “Line of Circumvallation,” or the
“Line Barrier.”
The fort was named by the title that has clung to it ever since, in honor of Major General Sir William Tryon, the last of the English Civil Governors of New York, who resigned his office early in 1778, and became a Lieutenant General in 1782. Between these occurrences Fort Tryon probably received its name.

Margaret Corbin, the heroine of its defense, who is now remembered in the name of the little connecting street between the bends of Fort Washington Avenue on the line of 198th Street, was the daughter of Robert Cochran, of Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Her father was killed and her mother taken captive by Indians, but Margaret was absent, and so escaped her parents' fate. She married John Corbin, a Virginian, in 1772, and after his enlistment in the Pennsylvania artillery, she followed his regiment to New York. John Corbin was serving one of the cannon in Fort Tryon at the time of its defense, when he was killed, and Margaret took his place at the gun, and loaded and fired it, until she, too, was struck down, desperately wounded by three grape shot, which nearly tore off her arm.

The land on which the Fort was constructed was the Plot Number Ten of the division of the Long Hill in 1712, which had been awarded to Jan Nagel the second, who three years later sold one half of the plot, the southerly portion, to his neighbor, Abraham Meyer. It was in their possession at the time of the war. Nagel's property was inherited by his son, William Nagel, who on his decease in 1806, bequeathed his lands to his nephews, among whom was Henry Thison. He obtained the title to the plot and sold it in 1818, to Dr. Samuel Watkins. By several other conveyances it passed to Lucius Chittenden in 1846.

Lucius Chittenden was a merchant of New Orleans, who about 1840, came to New York and made his first purchase of land on the Long Hill in 1844, when he bought of Dr. Samuel Watkins, the old Lots One to Eight inclusive, together with the south half of old Number Nine, which had become part of the property of his father, John Watkins, the farmer of 152nd Street. The consideration for the tract of nearly ninety-seven acres was only ten thousand dollars. Chittenden then proceeded to extend his property northwards, and in 1846, he purchased the north half of old Number Nine and all of Number Ten, and thus came to possess the whole of the hill between 185th and 198th Streets.
Upon the northerly end of this property just within the area of Fort Tryon, the Chittenden residence was built. It was a frame building of comfortable but unpretentious design, which stood west of Fort Washington Avenue, in the bend of the road north of the Libbey Castle. The house stood on part of old lot Number Nine, allotted to the heirs of Captain Thomas Delavall, who divided it in two parts, that on which the house stood becoming the property of Johannes Myer, and later of William Molenaor, who sold it in 1818. Later, the Chittenden house became the home of Francis Thayer, a well-known attorney, whose active interest in public improvements in the locality is recorded in the name of Thayer Street, in the valley below his old home, one block below Dyckman Street.

The lower or south half of old Number Nine was bought of the Piovan family, one of the Delavall heirs, in 1747, by Laurence Low, who sold it just before the Revolution, to John Watkins, who transferred it in 1793, to General Maunsell, and through his widow it came to Dr. Samuel Watkins. This plot was sold by Chittenden, about 1851, and was purchased in 1855 by Augustus C. Richards. Upon it he erected the massive stone building in castellated form, which has been known locally ever since, as "The Castle." This building and land was sold to General Daniel Butterfield in 1869, at the price of about twelve thousand dollars an acre, having risen from a value of $10.33 in twenty-five years. The General promptly deeded the property to Mayor William Tweed, to whose ownership is said to be traced his conception of the plan of the "Ridge Road," now Fort Washington Avenue, as well as the plan of opening "the Boulevard," our present Broadway. Tweed's troubles and exposure soon followed, when he transferred the Castle to his son, Richard M. Tweed. In 1872 the property was purchased by the great dry-goods merchant, Alexander T. Stewart, whose widow in 1880 sold it to William Libbey, the partner of Stewart, and thereafter the house became known as "Libbey Castle," a name which clings to it to the present time. The Castle was purchased in 1904 by ex-Mayor Hugh J. Grant, who later sold it to C. K. G. Billings from whom it was purchased by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

In 1896 William C. Muschenheim, the late well-known proprietor of the Hotel Astor, a lover of history and art, purchased a part of the old Chittenden property lying between Fort Wash-
ington Avenue and the Drive, and erected thereon an attractive residence. The site was just below the fort, in the protection and care of which he took a lively interest. This house was completely destroyed by fire in 1903, and was not re-built, and its site as well as the area including the Fort and the old Chittenden and Libbey properties, was acquired by C. K. G. Billings, of Chicago, for the erection of the great stables in which his numerous fast horses were housed, and later, of "Tryon Towers," as his large residence is known. This building, recently sold, with the whole estate, to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., stands on the site of the old Fort, the south part of which it destroyed, leaving only the north-east bastion in its original condition. The site of this bastion is marked by a fine bronze memorial secured on the east face of the lofty rock on which the remaining part of the Fort still exists. This monument was erected in 1909, and dedicated during the Hudson-Fulton Celebration.

The Hays property included the old allotments Numbers Eleven to Fifteen, inclusive, extending from the north side of the Billings estate, at 198th Street on Broadway, to a point between 201st and 202nd Streets. By various transfers these lots were passed along, until about 1850 the whole tract comprising about two hundred and ninety city lots, was purchased by William Henry Hays, who built thereon, the frame residence now used as "The Abbey Inn." His one-time stable has now become the hotel garage.

At the entrance to the hotel there are two very large iron bombs, partly buried in the soil and utilized as guards for the gate posts. These are missiles of the Mexican War, which are said to have been given to James Gordon Bennett. There is another specimen in the yard of the Drennan home on Broadway at 205th Street.

The portion of the hill lying north of the Hays property, which is largely in its original wild condition, forms the Sheaffer estate, recently acquired, together with the Hays lands, by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Around its summit the extension of Fort Washington Avenue curves, turning south, and descending to the Dyckman Valley. This property comprises about thirteen and a half acres, and includes old Plots Numbers Sixteen and Seventeen, and part of the Benson plot Number Eighteen, as far north and east as Riverside Drive and Broadway. From the original allottees, Charles Congreve, Isaac Delamater, and Johannes Benson, the prop-
erty eventually came into the possession, about 1892, of Walter S. Sheafer, who was State Geologist of Pennsylvania, who bought it for investment purposes only.

From the towering height of Fort Tryon hill a splendid view is obtained of the Dyckman valley, and the surrounding hills, the Harlem and Hudson Rivers, and the noble Palisades.

Descending the steep grade of Fort Washington Avenue on a graceful curve, we reach the level land at the junction of Broadway with Sherman Avenue and Ellwood Street, where another phase of the history of the Heights awaits the enquirer.

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Washington Heights, 1850-60, the district then being known as Carmansville, Fort Washington, Fort George, and Tubby Hook, showing the large estates into which the district was divided.

The only avenue in our modern street system which was partly laid out was the 10th or Amsterdam Avenue. The old Kingsbridge road was still the means of access to the homes of the residents, connected by private lanes and driveways.
THE KORTRIGHT FARM

The triangular tract of land south of Ellwood Street, between Broadway and Nagel Avenue, is still utilized as a truck farm by the sons of Adolph Zerrenner, who for many years followed a similar occupation at Eighty-eighth Street, until the encroachments of building rendered it impracticable.

Zerrenner was a Civil War veteran, who served in the Second New York Volunteer Cavalry as despatch rider to General Hancock. In the cultivation of the farm Zerrenner frequently found objects showing its occupation by Indians, as well as by the soldiery of the Revolution, and back of his little cottage he disturbed human remains, which were possibly those of an aboriginal interment.

There is a little old-fashioned cottage, a tiny box of a building, standing alongside the east side of Broadway at 193rd Street, as it stood long years gone by, alongside the old Post Road, and in place of the clang of the Kingsbridge cars and the hoot of the swarm of automobiles, its rooms re-echoed the infrequent call of the horn on the mail-coach and the jingle of sleigh bells in the winter seasons. This is the old home of John Sowerby, whose father of the same name came from old Yorkshire early in the nineteenth century, with his uncle, when he was but seven years of age, and they settled at this place alongside the old Barrier Gate, that had barred the highway below Fort Tryon in the Revolution. As a contemporary account described it, "the road between Laurel Hill and the heights on the Fort Knyphausen side is so narrow that it is shut up with a gate where a guard is kept."

The Barrier or "Barry-gate," as John Sowerby remembered it, was the roadway opening in the earth-works of the Line Barrier of 1779, the banks of which he remembered on each side of the road, by his home, leaving only a narrow passage between, once
filled with the gate from which it derived its local name. William Conklin stated that on the widening of the Kingsbridge Road these banks were destroyed, and he helped to remove some of the stones and boulders in them, many of which were utilized in building the culvert under the roadway at Sherman Avenue, by which the waters of "The Run" made their way to the marsh-lands on the Kortright farm. The marsh was probably flooded at high tide to such an extent as to render it possible to bring boats some distance south of Sherman Creek, for in 1781, von Krafft refers to the "Line Barrier where pontoons were placed and guarded."

John Sowerby's mother was Mahala, the daughter of John Obleniis, who lived to an advanced age in the little cottage, as in turn did Sowerby himself, until he too passed away and the little dwelling became the property of strangers, and has been surrounded by enormous advertisement hoardings completely enclosing the little century-old home.

With a part of the area of the Kortright farm another ancient family became associated, a representative of which, in his efforts to regain part of the properties of his ancestors in the Township of New Haerlem, including land in this vicinity, established himself for a number of years in a little "shanty" on Hillside Avenue, east of Broadway, and south of Nagel Avenue.

Martin Montrose Molenaor, is the grandson of William Molenaor, who was born in 1754, and of Mercy his wife who came from Newtown to New Haerlem in 1790. They purchased from Charles Duryea the Adolph Myer farm and the old dwelling thereon, which had been built about 1715, and stood in our present Hancock Place, West 124th Street and Morningside Avenue. Here William Molenaor passed away after 1812, having added to his landed possessions half of the Plot Number Nine of the 1712 Division on the Long Hill. At one time he had also owned the interesting plot Number Eight at 165th Street, which he sold to Ithamar Heeley, from whom it passed in 1803 to George Wear the blacksmith.

Among these purchases was the tract on the east side of Broadway on which his grandson has established himself, which with all the family property was lost by David Molenaor his son, in unfortunate investments in the one-time project of a Harlem Canal, and other wild-cat schemes, before his decease in 1847. He had inherited these properties under the will of William Molenaor,
THE KORTRIGHT FARM in the valley between Fort George and Fort Tryon, in 1890. On the hill is the Hays residence, the "Abbay Inn." On the right the little gas tank and Tubby Hook village. At the right the nursery gardens of Henry Bantelman. Story on page 164.

AN ANCIENT BOUNDARY. Remains of the boulder fence dividing the Nagel and Dyckman farms. Page 187. In the background is the Dyckman apple orchard, in foreground W. L. Calver exploring Indian shell pits.
which was dated April, 1812, the terms of which ran as follows:
“To my eldest son David William Molenaor the legitimate heirs
“of his body or to the nearest heirs of his body, I give and bequeath
“all my homestead,” etc., and thirty years after David Molenaor
died, his son commenced the legal proceedings which he has pur-
sued for nearly forty years in the effort to prove that by the terms
of the will, the heirs of David Molenaor had an interest in the
property he enjoyed, and that it could not be alienated from them
by his creditors. So while the law slowly grinds along its way,
Martin Molenaor sits in his humble dwelling on the last vacant
plot of his ancestor’s estate and watches the growth of streets
and tenements advancing to his door, as it has already covered the
eighty-four acres of the old farm in the heart of modern Harlem.

On board the good ship “Brindled Cow,” which arrived at
Nieuw Amsterdam in the year 1663, there were several of the
pioneer settlers of the Heights, among them Joost Van Obliesen,
with whom there came Jan and Michiel, the sons of Sebastian Van
Kortright, whose name was derived from the Flemish town of
Kortryk. In accordance with the custom of their homeland they
took different surnames from the names of their father, and became
known respectively as Jan Bastiaensen and Michiel Kortright. The
son of Bastiansen in turn was known as Cornelis Jansen, whose
widow Metje, daughter of Bastiaen Elyessen, after her husband’s
death in 1698, managed his property, which she was to enjoy till
her re-marriage, and became the possessor of several plots on the
Heights, previously described, in the allotment of common lands.

The third son of Michiel Kortright was also named Bastiaen,
whose wife was Jolante La Montagne, and they purchased in 1709,
the allotment Numbered Twenty, of the Division of 1691, which
had fallen to Peter Van Obliesen. This tract of low-land, com-
prising twenty acres, inclusive of the marshy borders of the creek
which bounded it, which included as much and more in area, lay
in the valley between Fort George and Fort Tryon Hills, extending
from 194th Street to Arden Street, and from the old Post Road
to the foot of Fort George hillside, approximately on the line of
Hillside Avenue. Upon this farm Bastiaen Michielsen, or Kortright,
built a dwelling in which he resided until his death in 1753, when
he was succeeded in its possession by his son Johannes, known
both as Bastiaens and as Michelsen Kortright, who had learned and
followed the trade of a weaver. His management of the farm appears to have been unsuccessful, for he mortgaged it in 1768, and then, his wife having died, abandoned it and returned to his trade as a weaver in New Haerlem. Upon his death in 1775, the farm fell to his son, John Courtright, as the name had then become spelt, and he sold it in 1786, to Cornelius Hansen, who passed it along in 1804, to Jacobus Dyckman, and sixty-four years later it was parcelled out in the sale of Isaac Dyckman's Fort George properties.

The old Kortright dwelling was doubtless in existence at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, and it is indicated on the map of 1777, but does not appear in the more detailed military map of 1782. The reason was not apparent until a few years ago, when in exploring the soil we came upon the ruins of the dwelling, about one hundred feet south of Arden Street, and the same distance east of Sherman Avenue. We had uncovered the stone base of the fireplace and were tracing the foundation of the building, when we came upon the south-east angle of the stone wall and found there a military fireplace, at one side of which there stood stuck upright in the ground, a British soldier's bayonet. The fire had been made in the space formed by the ruined walls, below the original level of the building.

This plainly indicated the destruction of the house by fire or by its wreckage to provide materials for camp buildings, and the scanty number of bricks which were found around its ancient hearth made the latter occurrence the more probable. Some silver buttons of the Kortright's coats, their broken clay pipes, and fragments of some of Vrouw Jolante's crockery and earthenware, were all that was left to tell of the domestic life of these humble pioneers.

Over the farm swarmed the soldiery in the battle of Fort Washington, and on part of its area, now intersected by Elwood Street, the Hessian garrison of the Heights established the huts of a camp, one of which, with a fine stone fireplace, was found on the north side of the street. This camp was probably utilized as a sanitary camp during the year 1779, when an epidemic of fever attacked the garrison of the Heights, compelling the isolation of some of those infected.

Another and more elaborate camp was located on the steep bank of "The Knoll," that strip of rising ground extending between
Sherman Avenue and Broadway, to Dyckman Street. On the southerly face of this hillock more than twenty deep "dug-outs" have been located and explored with interesting results, in the discovery of abandoned military objects, connecting the camp with its occupation by the "Body-regiment" or "Garde-du-Corps" of the Hessian army.
THE eastern end of Dyckman Street unites with the Speedway at the foot of Fort George hill, cutting across the neck of "Sherman Creek," and forming the modern boundary on the south of the Dyckman Farm, or "The Great Meadow" of primeval times. The creek received the waters of the brook known as "The Run," that came from the vicinity of Fort Washington by way of the present Nagel Avenue, through the Kortright farm, while from the west, another brook meandered through the marsh land, which was long known as "Pieter Tuynier's Run," and the inner end of the creek into which the brook emptied was sometimes described as "Tuynier's Fall."

Peter the Gardener, thus nicknamed, was really Pierre Cresson, a member of a family of French Huguenots of Picard descent, whose ancestral home was near Abbeville, on the Somme River. With other refugees he fled to Holland, and there supported himself by working as a gardener in the employ of the Prince of Orange, whereby he became known to his neighbors as Pierre le Jardinier, and to his Haerlem fellow-immigrants by its Dutch equivalent, Pieter T'Uynier.

To him, as one of original patentees of New Haerlem, and one of its first magistrates, there was allotted a strip of marsh meadow, bounded by the little brook and north of the Kortright farm. Upon his removal from New Haerlem in 1677, Cresson sold the meadow, and twenty-eight years later it was purchased by Jan Kiersen, and was sold with his Morris property at 160th Street, to James Carroll in 1760. The "fall," or inner end of Sherman's Creek extended from Nagel Avenue near Academy Street, westward to the intersection of Sherman Avenue with Dyckman Street, across the blocks on either side of Post Avenue, now covered with large apartment
houses. Along the south side of this water course lay Tuynier's meadow. The brook from Broadway and Dyckman Street, as well as Tuynier's Run entered the Fall, the Run extending back to Seaman Avenue, where it was fed by a spring at 204th Street, and crossed Broadway half way between that street and Academy Street, and diagonally across the site of the new Inwood Public School. Until quite recently you could see some of the great willow trees that grew on the margin of the Run in the vacant land opposite old Public School Number 52.

Sherman's Creek, or "the Half-Kill," so called to distinguish it from the "Great Kill" or Harlem River, was a land-mark of importance in the early days of Colonial settlement, and formed a natural feature from which boundaries might readily be established.

Thus the first land-grant in the region, which was made by Governor Kieft in March, 1647, nine years before the establishment of the Township, was laid out from the point or "look," on the north side of the Half-Kill, on a line extending to the Little Sand Bay at Tubby Hook on the North River. This grant, which extended as far north as 211th Street, was issued to a couple of prospective settlers, Pieter Jansen and Huyck Aertsen.

Jansen was a Norwegian, commonly called "Pieter the Norman," and his partner in the ground-brief, was a native of Rossum at the mouth of the river Maas in Holland. Neither took any steps towards a settlement or cultivation of the tract, and after their decease their heirs sold their grant to John Archer, the proprietor of the Manor of Fordham, for the paltry sum of six hundred guilders. But the English Governor Nicolls refused to confirm this sale, rightly considering that their neglect had forfeited any proprietary rights, and also that the tract now formed an important part of the township, to whom his successor, Governor Lovelace awarded the ownership, on payment of three hundred guilders in seawant or wampum, for the payment of which the Township gave a bond in 1670.

The land included in the Jansen and Aertsen grant extended westward to an irregular line along the side of Inwood hill, about one hundred feet west of our present Seaman Avenue. Through the middle of the tract ran the Kingsway, curving east from Dyckman Street, where it crossed the brook, and reaching the banks of the Muscoota or Haerlem Kill near 209th Street, thence proceeding
along the river foreshore to 219th Street, where it is now buried under Broadway, and so round the east side of Marble Hill to the Wading Place or Ferry, where later the King's Bridge was erected.

In the division of 1691, the possession of this tract fell to Jan Dyckman, and he having married the widow of his friend and partner, Jan Nagel, the title was vested in both of those well-known families, whose possession of the upper end of the Island was continued to modern times, and has connected their names indissolubly with the district.

The "Round Meadow," which was that part of the flat lands nearest to the Half Kill, had been previously allotted to or acquired by Daniel Touneur, whose daughter Madeline was Dyckman's first wife.

Another piece of meadow land belonged to Resolved Waldron, a printer of old Amsterdam, who came to this country in 1654, rose to considerable eminence and influence in New Amsterdam, but on the establishment of the English government he retired, disgusted, to New Haerlem. His daughter married Jan Nagel. With his village property he had been allotted "a piece of meadow lying at the Round Meadow," which in 1690 his heirs released for four hundred guilders to Jan Dyckman, describing it as "a certain piece of land lying in the Round Meadow, next to the meadow of Conraet and Meyndert."

The point or "Hook" at Sherman's Creek, formed a ready means of connection with the Fordham side of the Harlem River, and during the war of the Revolution it was utilized as the landing place of "Holland's Ferry." This was a rope-drawn ferry-boat, hauled across the stream from side to side. Who Holland was is not known. The British established a camp on the Point to guard the ferry, which was attacked by American raiders in 1781, and the cable was cut and huts on the Bronx side of the river were burned.

When a little hillock on the Point was graded away by the construction of 201st Street, a brick floor and fireplace was disturbed, with military objects, which were supplemented about 1904 by many others found in a rubbish pit under the site of the great Power House of the United Electric Light and Power Company, which now covers the old "Hook."

For many years the place was known as "Bronson's Point,"
that being the name of an old resident who lived in a stranded barge alongside the point, where he provided fishing parties with tackle, bait, and many a good meal of fresh clams and oysters taken from the waters of the Kill. Bronson's quaint home is said to have inspired Frank Stockton's story of "Rudder Grange."

A little north of the Point, about 206th Street, another space of marsh meadow was allotted to Meynard Journee, a Flemish settler, the Dutch equivalent of whose name became Meyndert Maljaart, by which process his meadow land was known even till recent times as "Myndersche's Fly." He sold his property in March, 1676, to Delamater and Nagel, the latter of whom thus came to possess the Vly, though it lay within the area of the Dyckman farm.

The name of Sherman creek is frequently supposed to be connected with that of a famous General, but it had a much more humble origin in that of a local family. The Shermans probably occupied a little fisherman's dwelling which about 1815 was erected below Fort George hill on the margin of the creek, close to where Durando's Speedway hotel used to stand.

A family of the same name was living in 1807 in a little dwelling on the west side of the High Road about three hundred feet north of the present home of Charles Atkins, and nearly opposite the little old gas-holder which was erected about sixty years ago to meet the needs of Inwood hill and Tubby Hook village.
III

TUBBY HOOK

In primeval times the hollow between the heights of Fort Tryon and Inwood must have resembled the very similar physical condition at Manhattanville, where the glacial waters breaking eastward through the ridge, scoured an outlet to the level land and flooded out by the East River to the ocean. As the waters receded the space filled up till all that was left of the once overwhelming torrent was a little rivulet finding its way to the North River through grassy marsh lands, and another making its way eastward to the marshy indentation of the Harlem Creek.

Such was the state on a smaller scale of the hollow through which the present Dyckman Street which covers the old lane long known as "Inwood Street," now extends to Tubby Hook. At this point on the river bank a settlement of native fishermen was established, probably at a very early period of time, as evidenced by the large shell deposits that extend around the "Little Sand Bay," which until its recent filling-in made inwards from the North River, just south of the Hook.

Tubby Hook was a sufficiently prominent landmark to receive a designation from the early navigators of the great Mahican, the Mai-kan-e-tuk, the "river of ebb and flow." Its peculiar name has been the subject of some discussion. Riker attributes it to a corruption of the name of Peter Ubreght, a Brabanter who in 1713 married one of the Dyckman girls, and he thought that Peter's queer name was clipped to Upbro or Ubby, and a Dutch "The" prefixed, thus becoming "Tubby Hook."

If so, Ubreght must have been an occupant of the Point, for it was referred to as "Upbro's Hook below the hill," that is, the "Long Hill," in an order of the year 1711, for the construction of a road designed to extend to the Queen's Way. Whatever its origin the
TUBBY HOOK, NOW INWOOD. On the right the Mt. Washington Presbyterian Church, at left is Payson Avenue, the open space in centre is site of the Green hill camp of 1776-83. Page 173.

EXPLORING THE GREEN HILL CAMP. One of sixty-five hut sites opened by the Field Exploration Committee of the N. Y. Historical Society. Page 184. The "Manse" in centre, the house of the late Rev. George Payson, and beyond old P. S. 52 and the Inwood Public School.
old name has clung to the Point to these times, and for many years the little hamlet that grew up in the sheltered valley was known by the same title.

The Hook was a favorite fishing place of the successors of its one-time Indian owners, and an isolated rock at the mouth of the little Sand Bay was known as the “Fishing Rock” in 1808, when the will of William Nagel bequeathed to Hendrick Post “two lots of woodland, the one adjoining the Fishing Rock at the North River.”

On the north shore of the Bay a little group of fishermen’s huts which had collected there by 1819, gradually developed into the village of Tubby Hook, which took form upon the establishment of the Hudson River Railroad station in 1847. In 1867 the little community adopted the more pretentious title of “Kingsbridge Park,” and its post-office was for some time known by that name. But it did not satisfy the public taste, which about 1870 settled on “Inwood,” and this was officially fixed by the change of name of the railroad station.

The construction of Dyckman Street at a low level, on which the first asphalt paving in the borough was laid, developed the Dyckman tract rather at the expense of the village, whose rustic dwellings have been left high and dry on the rocks abutting the broad sidewalks, while enormous modern developments have proceeded east of Broadway, so that the place retains today many of its early characteristics, including the Robert Veitch’s Village Store, which for many years stood at the Hook, before its removal to its present site, and in which all the necessaries of existence were purchaseable, from pork to post-cards, and from mouse-traps to millinery.

The north boundary line of the Fourth Division of common lands of 1712, ran from the little bridge on Dyckman’s property, by which the High Road crossed the brook, at the intersection of Broadway and Riverside Drive, to “the little Sand Bay lying at the North River.” This brook passing midway between Dyckman Street and the Drive formed the south boundary of the lands of Nagel and Dyckman, which had been previously allotted to those pioneers, in a deed of 21st March, 1701, which ran thus:

“There is set off for Jan Dyckman and Jan Nagel, on account of 26 morgen and 2 erven” (constituting their prior holdings by
right of which they drew from the common lands) "a piece of land "upon the end of York Island north of the Round Meadow and the "Half Creek, commonly called Pieter Tuyniers Fall, till to the little "Sand Bay lying at the North River, all the Common Land north "of this above written boundary, also a suitable King's Way shall "remain over the said land."

The woodlands of Inwood hill included in the above were obtained by an exchange of other property in New Haerlem. By later purchases the Dyckman property was extended by the acquisition of the Kortright farm, and the Benson tract south of Dyckman Street, was acquired by that family. On the latter there was erected about 1805, the Black Horse Tavern, the ruined foundation of which can be traced in the meadow where Riverside Drive joins Broadway. The old building existed till the end of the last century, occupied as a farm dwelling for many years by Hugh Drennan.

A few feet north of the old boundary stands the quaint little "Mount Washington Presbyterian Church," in which for more than half a century has been unostentatiously carried on, the only religious work in the Dyckman district. For upwards of forty years its work was maintained and extended to meet the needs of the growing population under the ministry of one faithful Pastor and his devoted wife, the Reverend George S. Payson and Mrs. Sara Armour Payson. This interesting organization was established about 1860, chiefly by the efforts of Samuel Thomson, who was one of the earliest of those well-to-do residents who settled on the Inwood hillside overlooking the Hudson. The little building stands on the level of the old Kingsbridge Road at its intersection with Inwood Street, about seven feet below the present grade under which the old roadways lie buried. In front of its small grass plot there stood in those old days, two great willow trees, which formed a picturesque framing of the view of the church from the highway.

The wild woodlands of the hill north of Tubby Hook were divided between the Nagel and Dyckman heirs in 1744, in six lots, extending from the North River to the east, and taken alternately by the two families. As wood-lots they remained for seventy years, when the larger part of the hill was purchased by Curtis and John Bolton.

They planned a residential development of the picturesque
property, and laid out, and partly constructed the winding roadway which commenced at Inwood Street and the Kingsbridge Road, and ran diagonally up the side of the Hill. It still bears the name of the family. The "Bolton Road," or Inwood Hill Road, as it was sometimes called, extends along the top of the ridge to a point near the line of 214th Street. The River Road, or "Lower Bolton Road" extends from Tubby Hook along the foreshore of the River, through the estates of Messrs. Burns, Levy, and Kahlen, to the old Thomson or McCreery Place.

Curtis and John Bolton, sons of John Bolton of Chestertown, Maryland, were the young first cousins of Robert Bolton of Savannah, the great-grandfather of the writer of this historical record. They were brought up by him and were taken into his cotton-exporting and ship-owning business as junior partners, and after his death the entire management devolved upon them. The ravages of French Privateers and the war with Great Britain, inflicted heavy losses on the firm, whose vessels and cargoes of cotton were seized and confiscated, so that the business became so involved that it was wound up, and the two senior partners removed to New York, where they started afresh in the shipping business as the firm of John and Curtis Bolton.

John Bolton became Alderman of the Ninth Ward in 1834, in which year he was one of the Committee of the Board to report on the difficulties arising as to property lines, due to the laying out of the City plan on its present rectangular lines.

Curtis Bolton became the head of the firm of Bolton, Fox and Livingston which owned the fleet of clipper ships known as the "Union Line," sailing between New York and Havre; and he was one of the Charter members of the American Institute, the treasurer of the New York Institution for the Blind, and a director of the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb.

John Bolton passed away in 1838, and Curtis in 1851. Their property on Inwood Hill they exchanged about 1829, for lands up-State, and all that remains to remind the visitor of their one-time proprietorship is the name of the Bolton Road.

That portion of the old Bolton Road which extends between Broadway and Prescott Avenue is now disused, but its course can still be traced across the vacant lots north of Dyckman Street, by the large trees which bordered it. On its easterly side is an old
stone quarry on the property afterwards owned by George F. Gaudit, and at the side of the road there still bubbles out an ancient spring of water, that afforded refreshment to many a dry team before entering on the rough and steep haul up the hillside. On its way the old road passes some of the homes of early and later residents, such as the cottage in which, during the fifties, resided Captain William L. Flitner and his wife, Louise Cutts Flitner, some members of whose family still reside there, among them the esteemed Librarian of the old Dyckman Library, Miss Clara Flitner.

The Library has recently been authorized to change its name to Dyckman Institute, under which title it will enter upon a widened field of public usefulness in a building to be erected on 204th Street close to the old Dyckman house. The Dyckman Library which was organized in 1861 was the successor of the old Hamilton Free School.

High above this road is situated the present "House of Rest," which shelters so many helpless sufferers. Its buildings are the "Twin houses," of the families of Green and McDonald, who were related by marriage of two sisters. At a bend in the road above these buildings near the entrance to the "House of Mercy" is a frame cottage in which for some years resided Joseph Keppler, art editor of "Puck." The buildings once occupied by that great Institution of the Protestant Episcopal Church crown the summit of the hill, commanding a magnificent view of the River and Palisades. Under the management of a Board of Trustees, and in the direct care of the Sisters of the Convent of St. Mary at Peekskill, this Home which is now removed to Valhalla has benefited and educated hundreds of neglected girls and children committed to its care by the City courts.

A picturesque residence north of the House of Mercy, in Italian style, is owned by the family of the lamented Isidor Straus, who occupied it as a summer residence.

On the slope of the hillside below, facing the lordly Hudson, are several residences charmingly situated among fine trees and sloping lawns, all of which are now included in the west part of Inwood Hill Park. These include the old McCreery residence, which is the most northerly, the frame residence of Cornelius Kahlen, the ruins of the once picturesque home of Mitchell A. C. Levy, the home of Walter Burns, with others, and at the southern
boundary of the new Park near Dyckman Street, stands the great building of the Magdalen Benevolent Society, now the Jewish Memorial Hospital, the third institution which found a home on Inwood Hill.

Little Tubby Hook is now obliterated by the extension of Dyckman Street with its ferry-slips by which a vast number of automobiles and visitors find access to Palisades Park, of which it forms the entrance gate. The little station building at the Hudson River Railroad has done duty in its simple way for nearly sixty years, and the service of the “Dolly Varden” trains reduced to suit its changed conditions to three per diem, ran until 1917 to the “30th Street terminal.”

Between the bend of Riverside Drive on the south, and Dyckman Street, a considerable difference in level exists. This area is still in part covered with undergrowth, beneath which may be found the traces here and there, of Indian occupation in heaps of discarded shells.

The tract is intersected by several little cross streets, for which, strange to say in this historic neighborhood, no better names were found than the letters of the alphabet—A, B, C, and D, an excusable situation in some prairie or desert township, but at Tubby Hook constituted a reflection on the intelligence of the community. Since the Great War they have been renamed for men of the locality whose lives were sacrificed in that stupendous struggle.

No story of Tubby Hook would be complete without reference to its Public School, “Inwood School,” or old “Ward School Number Fifty-two.” It stands today, as it has stood since 1857, at the east side of the Kingsbridge Road, where it is intersected by Academy Street, and now overshadowed by its much larger modern addition. The needs of the little community for a local school were great. The old Hamilton Free School at Fort Washington, to which the boys and girls had trudged for two generations, was no more, and the nearest school was Ward School 31, our present Number 46, at 156th Street. So Isaac Michael Dyckman started the new institution with a gift of land out of the orchard which covered his property at that part of the vale, and upon it there was erected the red brick building which until quite recent times was the most conspicuous structure in the vicinity. Its construction was brought
about largely by the efforts of School Commissioner MacKean, and so much too large was it for the limited population of the village, which could only provide pupils enough to fill the ground floor, that it became known locally as “MacKean’s Folly.” But it amply justified its proportions when the swarm of modern residents invaded the Dyckman tract, whose children soon overcrowded its capacity. It was then widened on its Broadway front and has been painted white, but it otherwise remains much the same as it was when on April 22, 1858, it was formally dedicated in the presence of Commissioner MacKean, Mr. Hosea B. Perkins who was then School Inspector of the district, Isaac Michael Dyckman, and other residents, and commenced its career of usefulness under the direction of Gillespie Miller, its first principal.

Some of its graduates’ honored names are those of old-time residents of the Heights, many of whom have risen to positions of public trust and importance, such as Hon. John Whalen, Hon. Elijah Cutts, State Senator of Minnesota, the brothers Samuel and William Isham, and many others of the old families of Inwood.

The old school was eventually supplanted by the modern Inwood school but was found to be available for temporarily housing the first High School of Washington Heights while the great George Washington High School building was under construction. It certainly justified its existence thereby, and added to the obligations of the community to its founders.

Such are some of the remaining features of secluded Inwood, a little back-water of the hurrying tide of human progress in Manhattan, where until 1900, no sound of street-car broke the rustic silence, and where but a few years before that date the children were gathered and brought to school in an old Broadway Bus, and an excuse of the tardy school boy was still acceptable, that he had been detained to drive the cows to pasture.
IV

INWOOD HILL PARK

The hill now known as Inwood Hill was at the time of the Revolution known by the name of the "Cock Hill." This was sometimes written "Cox's" Hill, possibly a survival of the last syllable of its Indian name Shorakapkok, or some imagined resemblance of the abrupt hill to the conical pile of hay known as a hay-cock. Whatever its origin, George Washington used it in his diary in 1781. In the diary of von Krafft, the Saxon officer, quartered on the Heights during the Revolution, he refers to the locality as "a hill called in English Nord River Hill," and in 1780 he writes of changes "that made Nord River and Cox Hill an outpost." But the next year he records the names as interchangeable, "Cock's or North River Hill." It is probable that he was making an effort to describe the two spurs of the mount, one of which runs nearly east, and is divided at the northerly end from the main hill by a valley, known to the local settlers as "The Clove."

The Cock-Hill Fort was a small five-sided earthwork, situated on the extreme northerly summit of the hill, at a height of 214 feet above the creek which it overlooked and commanded. Its position was at the extreme end of the present upper Bolton Road, on the line of 216th Street. It was occupied by a small American force which was turned out of it on November 16, 1776, by Hessians under the command of Colonel Rall. Thereafter it was chiefly garrisoned by the British Royal Artillery, and was considered an exposed outpost, very inconveniently situated, especially in the winter season. It has been entirely demolished in modern times, and its stone walls used to make fences, and to support terraced gardens of private property near by.

The hill, as previously recorded, was acquired by the families
of Nagel and Dyckman, by means of Allotment Number Twenty-four, of the 1691 division, and by the deed of March, 1701.

The allotment took in the southeasterly end of the hill which is now intersected by Prescott Avenue, its boundary to the north being about on the line of 204th Street.

The sub-division of the whole hill between the Nagel and Dyckman heirs in 1744, left this tract in Dyckman possession, and the lands north of it, extending from 204th Street to the Creek, fell to the Nagels. This included the “Clove,” referred to, in the will of William Nagel in 1808, as “the Wood Lot,” which still retains its wooded character.

Nagel took the plot on the Hudson River, west of Number Twenty-four, which included fifteen hundred feet of river front north of the “Hook,” north of which was the Dyckman tract, seven hundred feet wide, extending to a slight bay or curve in the shore line known as “The Fishing Ground.”

Alternately-owned plots covered the rest of the hill to the creek, the beautiful extreme northerly portion owned by Nagel, which was later the Riggs property, was acquired by the City in 1914. A curiously curved promontory of marsh-land was known as the “Bell Pumpkin” probably from its odd shape, which turned the course of the creek over to the Westchester shore. This was cut away by the construction of the Ship Canal, with the exception of a little strip which was left as an island, close to the docks of the Johnson Iron Foundry. Another odd-shaped projection from the Westchester side was known as “The Barrick,” from its use for stacking salt hay. This long point was also cut through by the Canal which has left the extreme southerly end as an island.

A portion of the old Spuyten Duyvil Creek remains in its original shape around this deserted islet, and is now utilized as an anchorage for many small pleasure craft and houseboats.

The hollow under the precipitous east side of the Cock Hill is the ancient Indian “Shora-kap-kok,” a title which applied equally to the stream upon which it was situated. Abundant remains of ancient native occupation exist in this wild rocky dell, the shell beds of discarded oysters covering a large area especially around and behind the great Tulip tree, which stands at the foot of the hollow by the outlet of a little brook that in the springtime thaws drains the “Clove.” Across the bed of the brook under the bluff,
SPUYTEN DUYVIL CREEK. The Indian Shorakapkok, now the United States Ship Canal. At the left is Inwood Hill Park. Johnson foundry at right prior to its removal, 1924. Page 180.

THE HOME OF VALENTINE SEAMAN. Later owned by the Drake family, west of Broadway at 217th Street, commanding the beautiful view of the Creek and Palisades shown above. Page 199.
will be found several rock-shelters in which the Rechgawawanc
dwelt, the scorched and calcined rock showing where the cooking
was carried on, and the blackened soil beneath yielding bones and
cooking stones.

Most interesting of all is the aboriginal Cave-dwelling, a shelter
formed of vast masses of fallen rock from the precipice above, in
which were found numerous fragments of Indian pottery, some of
undoubted Algonquin type, indicating very ancient occupation,
together with tools and weapons of stone and flint.

At the foot of the great tree, the water of the “Spouting
Spring” is still running boxed in a stone well, the source of which
may be traced back to the rocks east of the hollow, where, in
primeval times it poured its unceasing supply, doubtless affording
to the local clan the greatest advantage of the locality. Above
this ancient outlet, a great slab of rock is exposed, in which are
formed, by a freak of nature, aided perhaps by some human labor,
three depressions which take the form of eyes and a beak or nose.
It has seemed possible that this marked the spring, which from its
peculiar abundance and continuous supply, may have had a super-
stitious character. The earliest Dutch reference to it is in the
ground-brief of Jansen and Aertsen in 1647, when it is described
as “the fonteyn against the high land.” The spring is considered
by some historians to have originated the queer name of the creek,
as a document of 1672 describes it as “Spuyten Duyvil alias the
Fresh Spring.”

The old story revived by Washington Irving in his fanciful
history, attributed the name to the boastful expression of Antony
Van Corlear, the messenger sent by Stuyvesant to the Indians of
Westchester, who determined in defiance of high tide and wind,
and in fact, “in spite of the Devil,” to cross the Wading Place
at Kingsbridge, and lost his life in the reckless attempt. This
story is at least as old as the period of the Revolution, for it is
recorded in a soldier’s diary of 1776, discovered by W. H. Shelton,
the Curator of Washington’s Headquarters. But it is more than
likely the story was made to fit the title, since it was applied as
early as 1652, as Adrian Van der Donck wrote to the directors of
the Dutch West India Company, that it was then “called by our
people, ‘In spite of the Dyvel.’”

Dr. Edward Hagaman Hall has pointed out that “duyvel,” as
all the older references are spelled, is in Dutch, a “meadow,” and with Spuyten prefixed, the words would indicate the peculiar feature of the spring spouting or bubbling up at the meadow land at the foot of the hill. As the name has been applied, it has been subject to many variations, due to mis-spelling—Spitton Devil in 1664—Spiten Devil, 1693, to the Spitting Devil of the British army maps, and von Krafft’s labored version Speight-den-duyvel.

In the hollow, which in recent years has gone by the name of “Cold Spring,” there is a little shabby cottage standing alongside the spring on the marshy margin of the creek. This was the one-time home of old Abraham Seeley, who made a home for many years on the banks of the Harlem, and supported himself by providing boating and fishing accommodations in the days of our predecessors.

The little path, now widened into a cart road, which leads from Cold Spring Hollow, through the Clove, around Nagel’s “Wood-lot,” crosses several shell-heaps where native camps once existed, on its way to Seaman Avenue at 207th Street. It was probably the trail connecting the Shora-kap-kok settlement with the native village which extended along the line of Seaman Avenue from Academy Street to 204th Street. That situation was desirable from several standpoints, especially the water supply of a spring at 204th Street, which flowed both ways, northwards to the Creek, and south into “Tuynier’s Run.”

The sandy soil, and the sheltering hillside, and proximity to the fishing places at Tubby Hook, and on the Harlem River, all formed inducements for the Rechgawawanc who made the place their home. Over this area many Indian objects have been discovered, tools, weapons, and fragments of red jasper, discarded in their manufacture. Here also were a number of shell-pockets or food-pits, filled with bushels of discarded oyster shells. The place has yielded several dog-burials, and some pits in which sturgeon-scales were buried, and to confirm these evidences of occupation, the first authentic human interment of a Manhattan Indian was found within Corbett’s garden between Seaman Avenue and Cooper Street, in 1908.

This was followed by several other similar discoveries, two of which were of peculiar interest as they were double burials, of a
woman and infant, and of a chief and squaw. These were on the west side of the Avenue on the line of 203rd Street.

The same attractions brought to this site in the war of the Revolution a large camp of the soldiery, known as the “Green Hill” or “North River” camp. It appears to have been commenced by the American troops on a small scale, and to have been considerably extended by British and Hessian corps quartered there each winter till the end of the war.

It extended eventually from below Academy Street, a little south of Rieff’s cottage on Payson (once Prescott) Avenue, to some distance north of 204th Street, directly in view of the Dyckman house. It appears to have comprised about one hundred and twenty huts, dug partly into the hillside, and partly exposed and roofed over. The sites of more than sixty have been located and explored, yielding abundant evidences of the soldiery that occupied them.

At the evacuation of the Island, the retiring troops must have burned the woodwork, and left the hillside cut into holes filled with rubbish and charred lumber. With much labor these were leveled by the Dyckman farm laborers, and in many of the depressions apple-trees were planted, making a fine orchard which existed until twenty years ago. Now only one or two survivors exist, notably the “granny apple tree,” immediately in the rear of the home of the late Reverend George B. Payson, from whose windows at one time could be seen seventy-five of these trees covered with blossoms, which made a springtime paradise of the picturesque hillside.
THE RONDE-VLY OR DYCKMAN FARM

The old dwelling of the Dyckman family, still standing on Broadway at 204th Street, directly connects our time with that of the settlement of the Dyckman valley, and affords the last visible evidence of the home life of the one-time settlers and farmers who owned and cultivated the Island of Manhattan.

Jan Dyckman was a native of Bentheim in Westphalia, who settled in New Haerlem about 1662, and eleven years later married Madelaine, the daughter of Daniel Tourneur. Her dower being a small piece of land on the Montanye tract between 110th and 120th Streets, near St. Nicholas Avenue, Dyckman there commenced his farming career, but soon began the acquisition of other land, a policy which eventually resulted in his own and descendants' ownership of hundreds of acres on the Island of Manhattan. He formed a sort of side-partnership with Jan Nagel, a fellow immigrant, and together they acquired, in 1677, nearly all the land lying along the Harlem River north of 211th Street, to the Spuyten Duyvil Creek, including part of Marble Hill.

This property, which afterwards became the Nagel farm, they leased for a period of twelve years.

Those who reside in the modern residences which now occupy sites upon the ancient marsh lands of the Rechgawawanc, and the farms of the Dutch settlers, will be interested in the conditions of the first lease of the land on which they reside, and may compare its moderate terms with those applying to the little space they now occupy out of the broad acres included in the lease, which was shrewdly devised to attract settlers willing for a nominal consideration to develop the land into cultivated farm property.

These pioneers were two friends, Michiel Bastiaenszen or Kortright who later settled on the farm of his family below Arden.
Street, and Hendrick Kiersen (the elder brother of Jan Kiersen), who had married the daughter of Bastiaensen.

Hendrick Kiersen, who was the son of a resident of the Manor of Fordham, across the Harlem River, had been tried, in 1674, before the Schout and Magistrate of New Haerlem, for the shooting of a hog on Manhattan Island, probably in the very district he was now to cultivate, opposite his home on the Fordham hills. He pleaded, that having been hunting on the island with his cousin, Ryer Michielsen, they had shot a deer, and had then spied the hog, which he had thought to be one of his own. Their explanations of their actions seem to have sufficed to get them out of the trouble, though their case led to the issuance of very strict orders by the Governor and Council “in regard to the offense of shooting hogs in the common lands of this island without the consent of the Harlem or City authorities.”

The first lease of the Nagel-Dyckman property ran as follows:

“On this date, 26th October, An. 1677, appeared before me, Hendrick Vander Vin, by the Honorable Mayor’s Court admitted Secretary, residing at the town of New Haerlem, and the aforementioned witnesses; the honest Jan Nagel and Jan Dyckman, on the one side, and Michiel Bastiaensen with Hendrick Kiersen on the other.”

Reciting thereafter the land and term of the lease, these lessees accepted the lease on the following conditions:

“To wit: The lessees shall possess and use the aforesaid lands and meadows the first seven years free, by paying as an acknowledgment, each one hen, every year; the three following years shall the lessees pay each a hundred and fifty guilders per year, and the last two years to pay each two hundred guilders in the year.”

To which terms this interesting and thrifty additional agreement was added:

“The lessors promise to furnish the lessees—in order upon the aforesaid lands, wherever the lessees decide, to place an orchard—with fifty fruit trees, both apple and pear,”

the predecessors of the ample orchards for which the Dyckman valley was afterwards noted, and of which some of the survivors have only in recent years disappeared.

Dyckman’s friend Nagel died in 1689, and his own wife having also died, he married in 1690, the widow of Nagel, and united the
estate of her children and his own, under the joint management of himself and their mother. By their marriage contract Rebecca Nagel assigned to her children all her own rights in the property.

In the great division of common lands in 1691, Dyckman drew for himself and the Nagel children the large tract, numbered Twenty-four which embraced nearly half of the valley of Inwood, south of the property acquired in 1677. This was described in the deed of consent by the other freeholders as, “A piece of land upon the end of York Island north of the Round Meadow and Half Creek commonly called Pieter Tuynier’s Fall till to the little Sand Bay lying at the North River (the cove south of Tubby Hook). All the common land north of this above-written boundary. Also a suitable King’s Way shall remain over the said land.”

This grant covered nearly one hundred and fifty acres, and by other exchanges, the joint estate, at Dyckman’s decease, had increased to three hundred acres, a remarkable result of the ability of this shrewd and energetic colonist, who passed away in 1715, followed by his widow in 1719.

The estate was left by their parents to the children of both families in equal shares, and in 1719 was divided between them. Gerrit, the eldest son, was already settled on the farm at 152nd Street, and his brother Jacobus Dyckman and step-brother Jan Nagel the second, bought out the other heirs, and thus came to own more than two hundred acres which they divided equally some years later, at the line of 211th Street.

The Dyckman farm thus came to comprise the so-called Round Meadow, the rolling meadow and marsh lands between Inwood hill and the Harlem River, extending north from Sherman Creek, to 211th Street, together with strips of woodland across Inwood hill.

Some years before his death, Jan Dyckman and his second wife had removed from New Haerlem to this large property, on which they erected a home that is referred to in the survey of the King’s Way in 1711, as “the house where the said Dyckman doth now live.” Its site was on the bank of the Harlem River on the north side of 210th Street, about three hundred and fifty feet east of Ninth Avenue. When the site was explored a number of objects were found, which attested by their age the occupation of the dwelling in Colonial times. Many of these things were scattered and no record of their ownership was kept. Alexander Chenoweth traced
what he considered to be the line of some sort of fortification or earthwork around the site, which might have been designed for its protection from Indian attacks, as other early and exposed farm homesteads were so protected.

There were also found around the site a number of evidences of its occupation by the troops in the Revolution, such as bar-shot, cannon-balls, bullets, and gun-flints, and the distinctive numbered buttons of officers and men of various British corps, such as the Twenty-third Welsh Fusiliers, the Seventieth Surrey Regiment, the Seventeenth Foot, and an officer's button of the Sixteenth or Queen’s Light Dragoons.

The most direct evidence of the antiquity of the house was found by digging rather deeply into the bank on the river side of the site. There W. L. Calver and the writer came upon a layer of rubbish of a very early period, in which were such a number of Dutch and Colonial clay pipe-bowls, some of much interest from their crude shapes and ancient trade-marks, as to bear testimony to the ample hospitality of the homestead, when taken in conjunction with the huge oyster shells and quantities of meat and bird bones, the broken bottles and earthenware with which the pipes were mingled.

Here lived and prospered Jan Dyckman till 1715, Rebecca until 1719, and their son Jacob Dyckman till his decease in 1772.

The visitor to the Dyckman tract will still see a few lingering survivors of one of the features of the Dyckman farms, the fruit trees, which once ornamented and covered a considerable portion of the Dyckman and Nagel farms. The cultivation of pear and apple trees seems to have been one of the chief interests of the early settlers.

Jacob Dyckman must have been quite an expert in tree planting, as appears, not only by the success with which his own property was conducted, but by the following letter which he addressed to Sir William Johnson, dated, King’s Bridge, March 22, 1765:

"Sir: I wrote you two letters last April about the trees I sent you but fear Were Miscarried thinking Otherwise I Would have had an answer, I Wrote you the Particulars about them.

I Before told you I would Come and see them safe up but your answer was you thought they would be taken
Proper care of which I fear they were not as Mr. Marsh told me they Pined very very much last summer.

I would Always be glad to answer your Request About Trees, Plants, etc. I Can now furnish you with 100 Grafted pippins and as many natural trees as you please.

Mr. Marsh told me (a Little before he Died) that Captain Johnson & Captain Closs were setting two new Plantations. If they Can think of Anything I Can Serve them In Their Orders Shall always be Received by me as a favour and Complied with if Possible. We have now a famous Breed of Sheep Amongst us. If you want a fine Ram I will send you One worth keeping of the right Old England Breed I Can also send you a Bull Calf of a Holland Bull Imported by Alderman Lawrence no more at present but Remain

Sir. Your Very Humble Servant.

Jacob Dyckman."

That Jacob Dyckman was actively interested in the improvement of his home locality is shown by his prominent share in the construction of the Farmers' Free Bridge, widely known as "Dyckman's Bridge," which crossed the Harlem and is now buried under 225th Street, by which relief was obtained for the farmers from the tolls exacted by the Philipse family at the King's Bridge. This bridge was opened in 1758 amid general rejoicing and local feasting, and it aided largely in the development of the district.

Just before the Revolution the successful and intelligent farmer died, and was probably buried in the little burying ground at 212th and 213th Streets, in which the remains of many of his family and kinsfolk afterwards found a resting-place. His third son William succeeded to possession of the farm, as his elder son Jacobus second, had become the proprietor of the well-known hostelry at McGown's Pass, now Central Park. Later he started an Inn at "The Free Bridge," which he conducted until the year 1772, and at the time of the Revolution was presumably a resident on the farm, with his large family of children.
THE BOLTON CANAL AND STONE-CUTTING MILL constructed on the Bolton property at 219th Street, where the U. S. Ship Canal now cuts the Island of Manhattan. Page 209.

A photograph of 1857 preserved by the N. Y. Historical Society.
VI

DYCKMAN HOMES

WILLIAM DYCKMAN built for himself a new dwelling on rising ground at 208th and 209th Streets, between Ninth and Tenth Avenues, which was burnt by the British troops during the Revolution. The site was dug away by contractors before it could be fully explored. The excavations however, left a space which had been part of the cellar of the building, which was found to be filled with the ashes of a fire, charred timber, molten glass, and burned ironwork, attesting the fierce character of the conflagration. The period of occupation was indicated by British coins bearing dates 1746, 1749, and 1756, with an Irish half-penny of date as late as 1780. Its existence during the actual events of the Revolution is still further attested by a number of iron grape-shot, which had been almost welded together by heat, and appeared to have been placed together, perhaps on the mantel of the old fireplace above the cellar.

The objects found on the site included hinges of double doors, locks, bolts, and hooks, quantities of forged iron nails, pottery and earthenware, farm tools, such as a scythe, and a crabnet frame, the ironwork of wagons, and, among personal objects, the brass frame of a pair of spectacles, all of which are now preserved in the Dyckman house museum. From all these evidences we conclude that this was the building which was burned by the British soldiery, out of revenge, it is said, for the active part taken in the patriotic cause by the family of William Dyckman, and that the older dwelling by the river at 210th Street, the remains of which did not show traces of fire, was utilized by the troops, and was probably neglected and abused by its occupants, so that it became uninhabitable.

The Revolution brought ruin and desolation to the unfortunate farmers of this region. Over the meadows and cultivated lands
the troops marched and the soldiers camped where they pleased, and every available shelter in the form of a dwelling, barn or outhouse, was occupied by officers, by the sick, or by the stores of the armies. The family of William Dyckman quitted their home, which left their property in the undisputed possession of the soldiers and the farm suffered severely at their hands. In a drawing of the locality made in 1779 and 1780 by von Krafft, of the Hessian army, he shows the houses in the vale with their surrounding orchards, of which he takes pains to record the fact that they were cut down to provide timber for the barricade between Fort George and Fort Tryon, a ruthless act which would hardly have been permitted had the owners been in possession, or had been in sympathy with the military occupants. The British headquarters' map of 1782 also shows the Dyckman farm traversed by several roads or tracks leading in various directions, without any apparent regard for the property.

On Dyckman land, under the shelter of the east side of Inwood hill, the large camp was formed, which extended from Cooper Street to Prescott Avenue, and from the Bolton Road to the Nagel boundary near 204th Street. Here many dug-out huts were constructed on the hillside for use in winter and about one hundred tents were pitched on the level ground below.

We can be very sure that but little of an edible nature on the farm was spared by the private soldiers of the various corps, which included some notoriously thievish commands.

While the timber lasted a “wood magazine” was maintained at this place, but one by one every tree on the property was felled for the huts, barracks, barricades, and for the camp fires of the soldiery, and the fine woods of the Cock Hill, as well as the orchards on the Dyckman farms were swept away.

The sons of William Dyckman, at the time of the arrival of the contending forces at the Heights, and the occupation of his farm lands as camp and battle ground, were Jacobus, the third of that name, Abraham, Michael, William and John, the latter of whom was a mere child when the cannonading of the battle of Fort Washington brought terror to their hearts, as the howling grape and bursting shell rained around their home.

There is historical record of the patriotism of William Dyckman and his family. During the war they removed to the home of
relatives at Peekskill. Abraham and Michael joined the American forces in Westchester, and became Lieutenants. They made themselves extremely valuable as guides in the various forays and surprised, which rendered the maintenance of the positions around Kingsbridge and Fordham so uncomfortable for the Hessian and British garrisons.

An expedition in May, 1780, seems to have been planned by Michael Dyckman, who learned by scouting close along the lines, that the British guards did not change their challenge and countersign, and he then went to work to capture one of De Lancey’s corps, from whom the countersign was obtained. A raid into Emmerich’s camp near the Kingsbridge Road on Heath Avenue was thus made with great effect, and more than forty of the corps were captured or killed. Abraham actually arrested Captain Ogden in his quarters, while a British sentry was pacing the Farmers’ Bridge just across the marsh which is now crossed by Bailey Avenue.

Michael also led on March 26, 1782, a little band of thirteen horsemen upon another foray on De Lancey’s corps, taking five prisoners, and when pursued, the little party faced about and charged their pursuers, taking another prisoner and putting the rest to flight.

Abraham was killed on the 4th of March, 1782, in the attack which was made under the direction of Major Woodbridge and Captain Hunneywell, upon De Lancey’s camp at the foot of the hill below the University.

Even William, who was but fourteen years of age when the war broke out, entered the service of the guides and saw active service in the debatable land, and long survived the eventful period. It is possible that information as to Abraham’s and Michael’s share in this fighting brought about the destruction of their parent’s home, for the British headquarters’ map of 1782, while clearly showing the Nagel buildings, does not indicate any Dyckman house.

Returning to his farm after the war, William Dyckman found his home in ruins, his orchards destroyed, and a new road, now Broadway, laid out or roughly opened by military use, cutting across his lands north of Dyckman Street to the present ship canal. Upon this road, at what is now 204th Street, he rebuilt his home. It seems probable from the close inspection of the building, as it was recently undergoing repair, that much of the old material in

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the ruined homes was utilized in its construction, and its general style no doubt very closely followed that of the original dwellings, and strongly resembles in general proportions, other New Haerlem homesteads. In this building William Dyckman ended his career on August 10, 1787, and here his family continued to reside, utilizing the broad acres which spread before the homestead as grazing land for the cattle driven to New York.

Jacobus Dyckman, the third, the eldest son of William, who became the proprietor of the farm after his father's death, seems to have had much of the acquisitive ability of his forbears. During his long occupancy of fifty years he added considerably to the property, by purchase, north and south, including the Kortright farm south of Sherman Creek or the Half-Kill, and land north of his homestead, including Marble Hill. He was highly esteemed by his neighbors and friends, who sought his advice on matters of property, farming and politics. His family became quite the most influential and well-known in this region.

Upon his decease in 1837, the property passed to his two younger sons, Isaac and Michael Dyckman. They inherited the ability of their forefathers, and developed their property from a productive and profitable standpoint. The growth of traffic along the Post Road, particularly in the transit of cattle, made the farm a favorite resting place for the herds, the drivers of which so crowded the accommodations of the old homestead that the family were compelled to move out and seek quieter surroundings in the little house on the south side of Marble Hill which had been the home of Edwin Hamilton Bolton. Here Isaac Dyckman the surviving brother died in 1868, leaving the northern part of the farm, consisting of about eighty acres, to his nephew, the son of his sister Hannah, who had married Mr. Caleb Smith of Yonkers. The heir, by a special act of the Legislature, adopted the names of his uncles, and became the familiar and esteemed Isaac Michael Dyckman of our times. He had inherited the family abilities and was in all respects a worthy successor of his capable ancestors. The lower part of the property was sold and the proceeds divided among other near relatives of Isaac Dyckman.

Mr. Isaac Michael Dyckman, who was born in 1813, lived with his uncles in their old home at 204th Street, until their removal to the Bolton dwelling, and after he married his relative, Fannie, the
daughter of Benjamin Brown of Yonkers, who was also a Dyckman by descent, they built and occupied the charming residence which still stands in part of its picturesque surroundings at 218th Street, a few hundred feet west of Broadway. Here he lived until his decease in 1899. He and Mrs. Dyckman were prominent in all matters of benefit to the district, actively interested in the work of Mount Washington Presbyterian Church, the old Public School No. 52, the Dyckman Library, and other benevolent and charitable movements. Their daughters, inheriting the same traits of generosity and interest in the home locality of their family, bought back in 1915 the old dwelling at 204th Street, and exchanged for additional land surrounding it, some of the ancient property of the family, which still continued in their possession after two centuries of continuous ownership.

This old house, the last of its kind on the Island of Manhattan, they presented in 1916 to the City of New York, and, completely restored and filled with the treasured family furniture and belongings, surrounded by an artistic garden-park, it now forms the historic centre of attraction in the Dyckman valley. From the porch of the old dwelling thus saved by the gracious gift from its impending ruin, the interested visitor may still view some part of the broad acres of the Round Meadow, intersected by newly graded avenues, its hills leveled, and its fertile lands covered in great part with a mushroom growth of modern apartment buildings.

In the pleasant rooms of the well-kept home, now happily restored to its original condition, the hand-hewn rafters, the broad floor boards, the home-like furnishings, and the wide-throated hearths tell of bygone days when the members of the family sat with their neighbors and visitors and exchanged stories of their experiences in the exciting times of war, the very theatre of which spread before them, and of which many visible evidences of its effects and many a reminder of its losses lay in sight in the rough head-stones of the graveyard, the charred ruins of the log-houses, and the frowning ramparts of the fortifications on the heights of Fordham, Laurel Hill and Mount Washington.
VII

TOBIAS'S BOUWERIE

In the year 1907 the last traces disappeared of one of the oldest and most interesting homes of the early settlers, the Nagel homestead or the "Century house," which existed until 1903, at 213th Street on the bank of the Harlem River. For several years prior to the grading away of the site, practically every part around the ruins of the house had been dug over and explored, with the result that a large number of objects were recovered, illustrating its career. These relics are preserved at the Dyckman House, and at the Washington Headquarters museum in Roger Morris Park at 162nd Street.

The little knoll on which the old farmhouse was erected in 1735, was evidently, long prior to the advent of the settler, a favorite haunt of his red predecessors, and the variety of Indian objects found there indicates its use as a residence and a fishing place and the scene of ceremonial events.

A little pebble paint-cup and a piece of paint stone found close by, with a beautiful "pick-axe" ceremonial or banner-stone, point to the latter use. A fine stone tomahawk and sundry hunting and war-arrow heads show that the warriors of the Reckgawawanc were, at some remote period, lolling about the grassy bank, while their womenkind were working the corn with the rubbing stone, opening the oysters with the hammer stones, and making nets with the bone needles found at the same place.

The site was particularly favored by nature. Sheltered from the north by the high grounds of the Seaman and Isham properties, it is equally protected from the east by the hills of the Manor of Fordham. The grassy river bank sloped gently to the tide level, and at the south a winding creek led inwards to meet a little freshwater run, which formed a pond to the southwest. The Indian
trail came from Broadway at Dyckman Street, and crossing the companion knoll about three blocks south, whereon the Dyckman dwelling was erected, it dipped into the creek at a shallow place on 211th Street, and wound by the hillock on its way to the Wadding-place.

The pioneer settler of this land and probably the first occupant of this site was Tobias Teunissen, a native of Leyden, and a wool-washer by trade, who had emigrated to New Amsterdam in 1636, and became farm assistant to Dr. de la Montagne, the first settler in the New Haerlem district. In 1640 Tobias obtained some sort of grant or lease of land lying north of 211th Street, afterwards included in the Nagel farm, and this he proceeded to occupy, though he was the only white man among the savage tribe whose village sites and camps surrounded the locality. In 1642 he was guide to the military expedition which the Dutch authorities sent against the Weckquaesgeek Indians of Dobbs Ferry, and was thereafter to the red men a marked man. In 1649 he married the widow Jannetje Lewisen and brought her and her three children to his bouwerie in this exposed situation. Three more children were added to their family, the first white children born on Washington Heights, of whom but one boy, named Teenis, survived when, on the fatal September 15, 1655, the Indians started on their mission of murder, and wiped out the settlements to the gate of New Amsterdam. Tobias fell an early victim to the raid, and his wife and child were held prisoners by the Weckquaesgeek for several weeks.

Their humble home was, in all probability, one of those rude half dug-out log-cabins which the earliest settlers learned to construct, and the remains of a little building discovered in 1906 in front of the "Century house" was possibly the Teunissen dwelling, which was certainly in that vicinity, and was the earliest residence of the white man in our locality. In digging in front of the old building, the spade struck the top step of a small flight of rough stone stairs which led down to an abandoned building, the floor of which was about four feet below the surface. The steps were about three feet long, and about a foot wide; at the base lay a stone slab about four by three feet. The little room had been about thirteen feet by sixteen feet, and on the east side was a small fireplace three feet by two feet, built and paved with old red brick.
The rest of the walls were of stone, and at intervals on the floor bricks were laid which at one time had formed part of the floor surface.

Quite a harvest of relics of its use during the Revolution lay within the space. A quantity of old barrel-hoops, which had held together barrels of liquor, powder and flour, lay around, and among them two bayonets and the hammers of flintlock muskets. In the fire-place were two British sixteen-pound navy barshot, which had evidently been utilized as fire-dogs, with the charcoal of the last fire kindled about them.

While the Indian difficulties continued, and for some time after the establishment of the township of New Haerlem, the lands once tilled by Teunissen lay abandoned, and it was not until 1677 that a new allotment was made to five settlers, of whom two, Jan Dyckman and Jan Nagel, bought out the rest and so became owners of the land that had formed “Teunissen’s bouwerie.”

Jan Nagel the first (pronounced and sometimes written Naugle), was a native of Westphalia, whence he is thought to have come with his friend Dyckman. He was for some time a member of the military corps of the Dutch West India Company, but on its supercession by the British rule, he quit military life and came to New Haerlem, where he became constable and was elected a Deacon of the Dutch Reformed Church. In 1670 he married Rebecca Waldron, who was quite a belle and somewhat of an heiress too, and they had a good-sized family of thirteen, of whom, however, as was so much the case in those days, infant diseases carried off four.

In 1677 he began to add to his possessions in Haerlem, lands granted at Inwood, and, by the time of his death in 1689, had in all probability, settled his elder sons on the newly acquired territory.

His eldest surviving son, at his death, acquired from his brothers and sisters by 1719, all their interest in the farm, his brothers Barent and Resolved emigrating to Tappan, and his sisters marrying off into local families.

Jan Nagel the second, who had been taught the art of weaving, married in 1708, Magdalena Dyckman, thus forming a close family alliance with his friend and neighbor. The couple were blessed
THE DYCKMAN HOUSE BEFORE RESTORATION

WILLIAM DYCKMAN'S HOME, 1787
AT 204TH STREET AND BROADWAY
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AFTER RESTORATION, and presentation to the City of New York, by the daughters of Isaac Michael Dyckman.
with a family of seven, three of whom were sons, John, Jacob, and William.

Of their daughters, Magdalena married her cousin, Jan Nagel, of Rockland County; Deborah married Benjamin Waldron, and Rebecca married Hendrik Post, of Kingsbridge, and had sons and daughters, into whose possession the farm eventually came.

At the time of the Revolution Jan Nagel had been dead thirteen years, and the old house was occupied by his three sons, all of whom were bachelors and remained so to their respective deceases, which took place in 1786, 1806, and 1808.

We may conclude that the family remained at their home during that ruthless period, and, probably by reason that officers were quartered there, managed to preserve their property from the destruction that befell others. It is stated that, prior to the fall of Fort Washington, General William Heath made the farm house his headquarters, and, as the Nagel brothers appear to have been prosperous people, their home probably presented more chance of comfort than the inns along the King's Way, and was, therefore, utilized as the quarters of some of the superior officers who were stationed at this rather exposed part of the island.

William, the survivor of the three brothers, by an interesting will, which gave many details of the lands he possessed and their local nomenclature, devised all the property to his nephews and nieces, the old homestead and its immediate surroundings going to Dennis Post, and other tracts to Hendrik Post, and to Henry Tison, husband of Elizabeth Post.

The old homestead thus came to be known during the past century as the Post house, and in recent time as the Century house, and remained in the possession of that family till it passed, by sale, to strangers, and so came to its final destruction by fire in 1903.

On the west side of Broadway the Bouwery of Tobias Teunissen included the rising ground which in modern times became the estates of Isham, Seaman, and of Isaac Dyckman.

The Isham estate comprised twenty-three acres of land extending along the Kingsbridge Road from 211th to 214th Streets, and northwestward to the Spuyten Duyvil Creek. This property in 1860 came into the possession of the Ferris family, whose residence was erected upon the summit of the hill. The estate was purchased
in 1864 by William B. Isham, who resided there until his death. His daughter, Mrs. Julia Isham Taylor, gave her inheritance of part of this property to the City of New York as a public park, and has generously increased the gift by other additions which have extended the park along Broadway to 214th Street, and along Seaman Avenue from Isham Avenue to the same street line. The house is thus fortunately preserved and is utilized as a park building for the use and convenience of the public. It is an interesting brick and frame building of peculiar shape, having a spacious central hall with a winding staircase and gallery from which the rooms extend in three wings.

The magnificent view from the house towards the west has been protected by a gift by Miss Julia Isham, of a strip of the old property extending to the Creek.

The park was the scene of military activity in 1776, when the advancing Hessian forces built earthworks on the hill, and left many reminders of their occupation which were turned up when the grounds were graded and its beautiful lawns and gardens laid out.

Next north of the Ishams, their neighbors the Seaman family owned an estate of twenty-five acres lying between 214th and 217th Streets, and extending from the Kingsbridge Road to the Creek. This property was purchased by John Seaman, son of Dr. Valentine Seaman, a well-known physician of New York in the eighteenth century. He was descended from Captain John Seaman of Hempstead, Long Island, who settled there in 1653.

On the summit of the hill now intersected by Park Terrace east and west, the Seaman residence was erected by Valentine Seaman, brother of John Seaman. It still remains, though in a rather disfigured condition, its domed tower having been changed to a square form, and its spacious rooms modernized and re-decorated. The house is built of local “marble” quarried on the property. The grounds of the estate, which afterwards came into the possession of the Drake family, were laid out with charming walks and shrubbery, and adorned with arbors and statuary. The main entrance, on the Kingsbridge Road, was provided with an imposing marble archway, which is now disfigured with brick additions, and hidden behind commercial buildings.

The old Bouwery of Tobias has thus completely lost its ancient
aspect. Through its heart pours the traffic of Broadway, and the subway trains rush overhead. Its water-front is lined with boat yards and coal docks, and in its centre are the great Car-Barns and the towering Power Station of the Third Avenue Railroad system.
VIII

THE CENTURY HOUSE

Before 1707 Dyckman had built himself a home on part of the jointly-owned land at 210th Street, and probably about the same time Nagel's son built the dwelling at the 213th Street site, of which we think a square stone basement set in the side of the river bank, close to and incorporated with the abandoned Teunissen home was probably the lower part. It extended about thirty feet north and south and about twenty feet east and west, and existed, in part to recent times, as it is marked on Randel's survey of 1819, and was found to be filled with layers of rubbish of various periods.

The sons of the two original owners, Jacob Dyckman and Jan Nagel the second, continued the joint ownership of their lands and homesteads, until 1729, when they decided upon exchanging deeds for the latter, and in 1744 divided up the lands into their respective farms.

In 1736 Jan Nagel the second had so prospered that he commenced the erection of the Century house, and ere its completion he placed above the entrance a stone bearing the legend, "J. N., May 23, 1736"; probably the date of the completion of its erection.

This stone was preserved by Thomas O'Callaghan, and by him has been placed in the Dyckman house.

The old building, which was burned down while unoccupied, in 1903, was a fine specimen of a Colonial homestead. It faced south, a broad piazza extending across the front, and had two floors, the upper one a half-attic with a row of little windows looking out under the eaves. The interior was about thirty-six feet wide by eighteen feet deep. An old "L," was used as the kitchen, and a more modern lean-to stood at the northwest corner. It had a half cellar under the west end, with a flight of steps
leading down to it at the west side. Another opening to the cellar had been walled up on the south side. The massive walls were about two and a half feet thick, built of local rock and an occasional brick, laid up with mortar made of oyster shell lime, mixed in with which were found pieces of animals' bones and lobsters' claws.

The parlor on the west had no special feature, but that on the east contained a great chimney breast built up of stone and Dutch brick. How many a cold winter’s evening was spent by the family and their friends before the log fires in the old fireplace, long ere the officers of the contending armies made themselves at home before it.

The kitchen fireplace was nearly as generous in size, and had, besides, an oval bake-oven at the south side, lined with small bricks, and black with the smoke of many a baking.

A winding stairway in the centre of the building led to the attic, and enclosed a small space to which access was only obtainable by lifting a circular portion of the flooring on the half-landing. In this space the story goes among old residents that a noted prize-fighter was once concealed, who was engaged upon a breach of the peace with some other bruiser, under the shelter of the Inwood hills.

The attic was spacious on the floor, but far less so above. The solid walls extended up about two feet, forming a sort of seat or shelf all round the room, and above it the little windows opened out through a wooden-frame-work. Above the windows was laid a massive sill of oak, supporting the roof, the hand-hewn rafters of which bore many a mark of the axe and adze, and were secured by hand-forged nails of substantial size.

The doors and shutters were of chestnut, hung on heavy forged hinges, and secured by latches made to be lifted by sturdy fingers. The floor boards were a foot and a half wide, polished smooth by generations of scrubbers. An old musket and a couple of swords were found in the cellar at one time, of which one of the latter was preserved.

A long period of use in recent times by negligent tenants left the old house bare and dilapidated, but it was a matter of deep regret when its destruction took place, for it was in every respect an admirable example of a Colonial farm dwelling, of plan and
proportions varying from that of the Dyckman house in many particulars.

The house was reached from the west, prior to the Revolution, by the old King's Way. This famous High Road crossed the creek south of the house over a little culvert, and passed northward through the Nagel farm-yard, on the west side of the homestead, dividing it from the well, which was alongside the High Road on its west side, where it exists to this date, though filled in with stones and modern rubbish. The farm-yard pond was also on the other side of the road, and the barn stood at 213th Street, close to the present Ninth Avenue.

The settlers of the upper end of Manhattan must have found need for a burying place for their departed ones' remains, at an early stage of the settlement of the district. Death was busy in those days in every family, for hardship and privation, with the dangers of accident in the rough life of the settler, were always part of their experiences, while the red men and the wild beasts not infrequently claimed their victims. So it is natural to find an ancient place of interment in the vicinity of all such settlements, and the Dyckman and Nagel families united in the use of a suitable spot, which was located not far from their two dwellings.

The ground at 212th to 213th Streets, east of the Nagel homestead, was favorably situated for such a purpose, as it consisted of a mound of clear sand, well drained towards the east, on which side ran the old Post Road. Part of this little burying ground may still be seen, in a deplorably neglected and disgracefully abused condition, its headstones and monuments wilfully uprooted and broken in pieces by boys educated in our public schools.

Efforts were made years ago by the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society to secure this little God's acre from destruction, and to preserve it as a small park. But the numerous heirs of the original grantees could not agree upon this course, and so the place has been left to neglect and ruin.

The title to the land, which was part of the Nagel farm, is derived from a deed of trust, executed on the sixth of June, 1806, by William Nagel, the surviving brother of the family, in which he conveys to Jacobus Dyckman and Thomas Vermilya the little plot which the deed recites had been used as a burying place "for ages past," to be so continued "for the benefit of my family, conne-

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tions and friends." The witnesses to this deed were Doctor John Creiger of Kingsbridge, and Henry Thilson or Tison, the son-in-law of Nagel.

In his will two years later, William Nagel expressly excepts the plot from his own holdings, and provides that it shall have "free access from the road to the same for interments."

The terms of these deeds might appear to very plainly preclude the use of the ground for any other purpose than its ancient intention, but doubtless some "legal" twist of the wording of the trust will be found which will be held to justify the desecration of the place.

The burying-ground originally extended on its south side over about one-half of 212th Street, so that a part with a number of graves was graded away on the opening of that street. It was reached from Broadway by the little lane, bordered with apple trees, which extended to the Century house, nearly on the south line of 213th Street. The older portion of the cemetery is its easterly end where the old interments were made in rows, about nine feet apart, running due north and south, and marked only by small rough blocks of local rock, set at head and foot of each grave, without any names or dates thereon. Local tradition asserted that the remains of Hessian soldiers were buried there during the Revolution, and such burials would have been probable, but no record of them remains. Only one of these small stones had any marking, and that was the plain and commonplace name of "E. Jones."

In order to determine the fact of these stones marking graves, and the nature of the interment, we recently opened one of the most easterly graves, and found confirmation of the facts, in a skeleton buried about five feet below the surface, with fragments of a cedar coffin and heavy forged nails, indicating an early Colonial interment.

The western portion of the ground had been nearly filled with graves of members of local families, notably those of the Dyckmans, since removed, and of the Vermilyes, Ryers, Hadleys, and others, but none among them bore the name of a Nagel or a Post. The oldest inscribed stone was that of Augustus Siemon, who died in 1798, and the next that of the infant daughter of Staats Morris Dyckman in 1800, while as late as 1881, William Sherman, a Civil
war veteran was buried in that part of the ground cut away by 212th Street.

A complete list of all inscriptions was made before any disturbance took place, by John Neafie, a painstaking antiquarian, who thus preserved an invaluable record.

Across the line of Tenth Avenue, over which the subway now runs as an elevated structure, west of the Nagel graveyard, was a little hillock, on which was grouped a picturesque clump of trees. This was leveled in 1904, and a number of human remains were brought to light, which on examination, proved to be those of negroes. There were about thirty-six in all, and they were found to be disposed in rows and to be marked, as in the older portion of the Nagel burying-ground, by rough stones, which had sunken so far into the turf as to be almost lost to view. Enough evidence was secured from the hasty disinterments by the contractors' workmen, to prove that they had been buried in coffins, put together with large hand-forged nails. A child's skeleton was found, with a little bead necklace, which had been we may suppose its cherished treasure.

The remains of these humble workers of the past reminds us of the time when, even in this neighborhood, the practice of slavery was customary. Perhaps no other relic of the past could more decidedly mark the difference between the past and the present than the bones of these poor unwilling immigrants, whose labors cleared the primeval forest, cultivated the unturned sods, and prepared the way for the civilization which followed, and the tide of which has overwhelmed and swept away nearly all traces of the old Nagel farm.

The ancient boundary boulder fence, the line of the Jansen and Aertsen grant, which divided the Nagel and Dyckman farms, is buried under 211th Street, and the little lane to the Century house is replaced by the modern 213th Street. Of the well-known family little trace remains, save the title of Nagel Avenue, which by a strange misapplication is that which does not extend onto the Nagel farm.

At the rear of the old house an extensive orchard of apple and pear trees was planted, which covered the ground to 214th Street. These trees all died out in 1905. The old farm house commanded a splendid view down the Harlem, between the heights of Fordham
OLD FARM DWELLING ON THE VERMILYEA TRACT at 218th Street. Page 210.

THE NAGEL FARMHOUSE. Built 1736, and known as the Century House, with the ancient sycamore shading its porch. Its story is told on page 195.
and Fort George, which is interesting even under the present changed conditions, and must, in those early days, have been charmingly rural and picturesque. Hard by was the almost tideless river, teeming with great oysters, clams and fish, and broad fields of grain spread to the west, to the hillsides of the present Isham Park, planted with fruit trees. Over this pastoral area the subway trains roar their way to and from 215th Street station, and the abandoned King's Way knows its one-time traffic no more.
IX

MARBLE HILL

"MARBLE HILL" is the modern title of the mount or hill which forms the extremity of the Island of Manhattan, and extends from the present Ship Canal to Kingsbridge, or from 224th to 230th Streets. The name was conceived by the late Darius C. Crosby, in 1891, and was applied at first only to the southern part of the high ground, then being laid out for residential developments.

Since its physical separation in 1895 by the excavation of the Canal, and the complete disappearance of the old Creek, which since glacial times divided it from the main land, it is by many who now view it, supposed to be a part of the Bronx, whereas it is still part of the Borough of Manhattan.

There is no part of our district of the Heights around which cluster more interesting reminiscences, nor had any part a larger share in the development of the great City, for which during a long period of time it provided the only means of land communication.

Around this hill the Spuyten Duyvil Creek made its sinuous way, connecting with the two streams that emptied into it on either side of Kingsbridge. That on the east was but a small brook, while the Mosholu on the west received the main supply of water coming from the Van Cortlandt lake and mill-pond. The two streams thus made of Kingsbridge or the Indian "Papirinemin" an island, and a most desirable spot for Indian occupation, protected by the waters, sheltered by the hills, fertile of soil, with abundant opportunity for fishing and oystering.

The name of the island was customarily applied to the waters contiguous to it, and so that part of the creek around Marble Hill is also described as "Paparinemin." The colonists sometimes

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referred to the island as a "hummock," and thus it was described as "Humock Island." The name of the Creek had become "Spuyten Duyvil" by 1653, as a document of that date says "Paprinemin hyde onse speit denduyvil geseght," i.e., "by our people called Spuyten Duyvil."

The Nicolls' Patent makes a distinction between "the Kill-Shorakkapoch" that portion of the creek near the Hudson, and the easterly windings extending "then to Paprinemin." The Royal Charter to Philipse, describing the Kingsbridge island, bounds it by "a creek or kill called Papparinemo which divides York Island from the main, and so along said creek or kill as it runs to Hudson's River, which part of the said creek is called by ye Indians Shorackhappok."

Governor Kieft on 18th August, 1646, issued a ground-brief to Matthys Jansen von Keulen and Huyck Aertsen, of land at Paparinemin, which comprised practically the whole of the modern Marble Hill. This concession preceded the grant of the Dyckman tract. Of neither property did these proprietors attempt any development, though the space between the two tracts was occupied and doubtless in part cultivated by Tenissen until his death. So in the year 1677, the freeholders of New Haerlem began the partition of unoccupied lands within the area of the Township, by a survey and division of land upon the extreme end of the island, now Marble Hill. A survey had been made in 1676 by Robert Ryder, a surveyor, and five plots were laid out for allotment south of the line of 225th Street.

North of that line the land was reserved by the Township, for use in connection with the Ferry to be established there, and the tract afterwards became known as "The Town Lot." It included all the north part of Marble Hill, from a line extending north of the south side of West 225th Street. South of this line the first allotment of the year 1677, was made to Johannes Vermilye. It extended southward to a line touching our present Broadway, a little north of 219th Street, covering the south part of Marble Hill and the ravine now occupied by the United States Ship Canal.

This allotment was purchased by Jan Nagel, and included in the Nagel farm, until 1817, when it was bought from the Nagel heirs by Curtis and John Bolton, who acquired other tracts in the locality. Their property thus included the narrowest part of the
Island of Manhattan, the low and marshy strip through which the Ship Canal is now constructed, extending between the east and west bends of the Spuyten Duyvil.

The old Post Road crossed this space a hundred feet west of the present Broadway swing-bridge, and a military road during the Revolution joined it in the centre of the present Canal, coming from the southwest, where a pontoon-bridge had been established across the creek just east of the Johnson Foundry.

Through this low land two little brooks made their way east and west, and these were enlarged by the Boltons into a little canal, the predecessor of the present great water-way. It was only about twenty feet wide, but it had sufficient tide movement through it to operate a stone saw mill which was erected at a point about the middle of its length. The Boltons paid Robert Macomb seven hundred dollars a year for the privilege of the use of water thus diverted from his mill at the Kingsbridge. They were the pioneers in the marble industry, and alongside the High Road, opposite their dwelling, they opened a marble quarry, still visible on the west side of Broadway, just south of the Swing Bridge, where an experimental tunneling machine was for some years operated on the face of the old workings.

The home of the Bolton family was a small stone and frame building, situated on the south side of Marble Hill, three hundred and fifty feet east of Broadway, on the steep hillside now cut away by the widening of the tracks of the New York Central Railroad alongside the Canal. This building is said to have been erected in 1810, and was therefore, built by the heirs of William Nagel, who died in 1808, probably by the Post or Tison families.

The house bore a strong resemblance to the William Dyckman house at 204th Street, but it had a two-story frame addition on its east end, of later construction. To this dwelling the Dyckman family removed in 1850, and in it Isaac Dyckman passed away in 1868.

In recent times it fell into another class of occupancy, and was known as “The Old Homestead Boarding House.” In this dwelling Edwin Hamilton Bolton, the nephew of John and Curtis Bolton, took up his abode. His wife was Mary Douglass of New London, whom he married in 1808. He lived there until 1824, when he removed to Ogdensburg to superintend his uncles’ property there,
for which they had exchanged their Dyckman estates. Edwin Hamilton Booth had several children, of whom his sixth child, Frances, was born in the old house, and died there in infancy in 1819, and was buried in the now neglected Nagel burying-ground at 213th Street, where the little stone that marks her grave lies broken and trampled into the soil.

The Bolton tract was not the only property on the island drawn by the Vermilyea family. A plot of meadow land on the margin of the creek, on the west side of Marble Hill, was also allotted in the 1677 division to Johannes Vermilyea. This interesting family, long identified with the district, included kinsfolk of the Dyckmans, and many of its members' remains lie buried in the Nagel burying-ground on its 213th Street side.

Isaac Vermeille, a French Huguenot refugee of Leyden, who with his family arrived in New Amsterdam in the ship “Purmelander Kerck” in 1663, settled in New Haerlem, and served twice as Magistrate of the Township. Johannes “Vermilye,” his son, became one of the patentees of New Haerlem, and succeeded to his father’s property in 1677. His home was situated midway between our present First and Second Avenues, and 122nd and 123rd Streets. He married Aeltje, a daughter of Resolved Waldron, and took an active part in Leisler’s government, was imprisoned nearly a year and a half, but was pardoned by the King in 1693. His son, John Vermilye, born 1688, lived to a great age, and purchased considerable farm properties around Kingsbridge. His brother Isaac married the daughter of Joost Van Oblinus in 1707, and their son, John Vermilye of Kingsbridge, married Charity, the daughter of Jacob Dyckman. Jacob their son married twice, in 1766, and in 1773, to Dyckman girls, so that the two well-known families became not only neighbors, but relatives. It was Vermilye, who with Dyckman, gave the land necessary for the building of the Free Bridge, on the Fordham and Marble-Hill sides of the Harlem.

Upon the summit of Marble Hill, there was constructed in 1776, a military work afterwards known as Fort “Prince Charles,” a square redoubt, with four bastions, occupying the high ground directly south of the Kings Bridge in the angle between the present Van Corlear Place and West 227th Street. There was also a small lunette or redoubt on the side of the hill, below and just east of the Fort, the site of which was in the middle of the present Kings
bridge Avenue, north of the line of 226th Street. It overlooked the
Dyckman Tavern on the old Post Road.

This fortification had been constructed by the American forces
in 1776, for the purpose of controlling the passage of the Bridge.
It was, however, commanded from both the higher hills east and
west, and when the works at Fort Independence were abandoned,
on the advance of the Hessian army, by the Pennsylvania garrison,
it became necessary to leave the Bridge to its fate. The Bridge
was hastily broken up, and in the early days of November the
Hessians effected a crossing of the creek and took possession of the
Fort, which they named in honor of the Prince of Brunswick, the

In January, 1777, an attack was made on the locality by an
American force under General William Heath, part of which made
its way across Kingsbridge Heights, south of Fort Independence,
and brought several small pieces of field artillery to bear on Fort
Prince Charles. A regiment of Hessians was forming on the hill-
side for the purpose of advancing to relieve the Fort, and the first
shots dispersed them, the men ducking down as the round shot
whistled near their heads. They scattered as they retreated on the
hill to the shelter of its west side, and meantime, the garrison of
the Fort brought its heavier guns into action, and under their fire
the American field pieces were withdrawn.

During the Hessian occupation of the hill until 1783, the
Tavern at the Cross-road to the Free Bridge was used by them as a
guard-house. This was the Dyckman Tavern, which stood on the
west side of Broadway, opposite the line of 226th Street, or exactly
across the road from its successor, the Kingsbridge Hotel, only
recently razed. In 1772 it had been purchased from Dyckman by
Caleb Hyatt, who also bought of Dyckman the next year, the old
"Town Lot." Hyatt's son, Jacob, continued the business after the
Revolution, and was succeeded by a proprietor named Devoe. In
1819, the latter had built a new inn building on the east side of the
road, right in the middle of the present Broadway, which in turn
was succeeded by the late Kingsbridge Hotel, when Broadway was
laid out, leaving the old high road buried in the lots on its west
side, at the foot of the hill.
THE KING’S BRIDGE

GOVERNOR Richard Nicolls, by charter of 11th October, 1667, empowered the Township of New Haerlem to establish a ferry at the end of its village street, and to take tolls for the traffic to and from the main land. The main line of travel had followed the old Indian trail to the extreme end of the island where it was possible to cross the Spuyten Duyvil Creek at a shallow place, without the necessity of a ferry. So in order to direct the traffic to this ferry, authority was given to stop the use of the old Indian "Wading Place" at 230th Street, and fences were built to block travelers and cattle from crossing there. But the growing number of travelers, and particularly the settlers and farmers who had horses or cattle to drive to market, in order to evade the tolls broke down the fences and continued to use the "Wading Place." It became evident that the travel could not be driven from the ancient route, and in 1669, the ferryman asked that he might be permitted to "keep the said passage," as well as his Harlem ferry, but later it was decided to remove the ferry entirely to Spuyten Duyvil. The "Wading Place" was at the end of the present Marble Hill, probably on the line of the present Broadway, where the tides from the Hudson and East River met and the water was shallowest. The crossing at this place, however, involved some difficulty of access on the north side, because the traffic landed on and had to make its way to and from an island, the present Kingsbridge, or the Indian "Paparinemin." This island was formed by the Mosholu Creek or Tippett’s Brook on its west side, and a brook on the east, both extending from Van Cortlandt Park. The first step necessary, therefore, was to construct some sort of roadway across the marsh laying east of our present Broadway.

The ferry franchise at New Haerlem had been granted to one
Johannes Verveelen, and he was persuaded to transfer his privilege to the Spuyten Duyvil, and to undertake to build the necessary road or causeway to connect it to the mainland, by a grant of land which should protect the crossing and the later ferry-landings, also providing space for a dwelling or tavern, land for farm purposes, and for the proposed roadway. Thus his lease included that tract on Marble Hill, extending about half-way over its area, over which the township had maintained its ownership, and which came to be known in later years as “The Town Lot.” He was also granted by the Council of the Colony, the whole of the island of Paparinemin, now Kingsbridge, as a farm and a site for his house, and this included some of the marsh land between the island and the hillside on the east, which was part of the Manor of Fordham.

John Archer, the owner of the manorial rights of Fordham, promptly entered protest against the grant of the island which he claimed to be included in his manor. After a great deal of discussion, he executed a conveyance, January 1, 1678-9, of the “neck of land, hummock, or island commonly called Papiriman,” to the Crown authorities, but he reserved his manorial rights over the area, to be recognized by the payment to him yearly of one “fatt capon.”

Verveelen’s petition asked that “the passage at Spuyten Duyvil” might be “fitted and kept for passengers going to and from this Island to the Main, as also for a Drift for Cattle and Horses.” The warrant issued to him authorized him “to repair to the said place at Spuyten Duyvel, and to cause a fence to be made for keeping all manner of cattle from going or coming to or fro the said Passage without leave or paying therefor,” and further, “at his best convenience to lay out a place upon that piece of land called Paparinamin on the main side, near unto the said Passage, for his habitation and accommodation of travelers.”

The lease for the ferry for eleven years, stipulated that he should make two scales of charges, one for passage, and one for ferrying. The latter was probably necessary only at high tide, for there was evidently a semi-dry place or “drift” at low tide, as it was directed “that the Ferryman cause the Pass upon the said island, near unto Spuyten Duyvel, to be sufficiently fenced in with a gate to be kept locked, that no person may pass in or out without his permission.” The rates thus took the following form:

“The Ferryman shall take and receive of all passengers, whether
GENERAL ROBERT MACOMB'S HOME. Later known as the Godwin house, occupying the site of the ferryman Verveelen's Tavern, and its successor Cox's tavern. Razed in 1917. Pages 80 and 217.

THE STRAUS RESIDENCE on the Bolton Road, Inwood hill. Page 177.
alone or whether on horseback, drift of horses or cattle, for lodg-
ing, diet, feeding, passage or ferrying, according to the Rates in a
Table to that end directed and set forth:

YE FERRYMAN HIS RATES

For lodging any person, 8 pence per night, in case they
have a bed with sheets, and without sheets 2 pence in
silver.

For transportation of a man and horse, 7 pence in
silver.

For a single horse, 6 pence.

For a turn with his boat, for 2 horses 10 pence, and
for any more, 4 pence apiece; and if they be driven over,
half as much.

For single cattle, as much as a horse.

For a boat loading of cattle, as he hath for horses.

For droves of cattle to be driven over, and opening
ye gates, 2 pence per piece.

For feeding of cattle, 3 pence in silver.

For feeding a horse one day or night with hay or
grasse, 6 pence.”

Johannes Verveelen, whose name is thus associated with the
development of the chief line of travel through our locality, was
of German descent, his family having come from Cologne to Amster-
dam, whence he with his wife, Anna Jaarsvett, proceeded to New
Amsterdam in 1657. They settled in New Haerlem in 1661, and he
became a Magistrate, and in 1667 was named as one of the patentees
of the Township.

He was soon established in a house which he proceeded to build
upon the island of Paparinemin. It was located under or close to
the site of the Macomb-Godwin residence at 230th Street and Broad-
way, and it afterwards became Cox’s Tavern at the time of the
Revolution.

The roadway from the “Wading Place” passing in front of the
Tavern, turned northwards on the line of Broadway, alongside a
part of the Creek as far as a narrow part of the marsh at 231st
Street. There a “Causey” was constructed turning east at a sharp
angle and reaching the Fordham hillside at the old Westchester
Path which there divided into three parts, one turning northwards,
another to the south which became the later Boston Post Road. A
third branch, the original Westchester Path, joined the present
Kingsbridge Road at or near 225th Street. Thus the Passage
afforded means of communication to either Westchester, to Boston
or Albany, and its position became one of extreme importance as a means of communication with the city on Manhattan Island. Verveelen continued, by successive renewals of his privilege, to act as Ferryman, as well as the Constable of Fordham, for many years, keeping up a perpetual disagreement with Archer as to his manorial rights over the land he occupied. After long years of service as Ferryman, the disputes as to the manorial rights and title to Paparinamin came to a head in 1692, by a compromise between the King's Council and Frederick Philipse, as the successor of Van der Donck's and Archer's rights, whereby the manorial rights were recognized in a new patent, the ferry was abandoned, and Philipse undertook to construct across the creek, at his own expense, a permanent bridge.

After the discontinuance of the Ferry, Verveelen continued to reside in the vicinity, perhaps in his old tavern, to a great age, and passed away in the second year of the eighteenth century.

When Frederick Philipse thus undertook to erect and maintain the King's Bridge, he was granted an unusual privilege, for it controlled practically all the traffic of the growing city.

At the same time the public credit was insufficient to permit of the building of the bridge, as had been recommended by Governor Fletcher, and the franchise, which ran for ninety-nine years, was a means of securing the much-needed convenience. So the Mayor, Aldermen, and Assistants of the City of New York petitioned the Governor to grant the franchise, if Philipse would undertake to build within one year's time, "a good and convenient draw-bridge for the passage of all travellers, droves of cattle, and passage of carts and wagons, for the toll of one penny for every neat cattle, and two pence for each man and horse," &c.

This developed into the royal grant in 1693, to Philipse, confirming the original manorial rights, and enlarging them into a new Manor of "Phillipsborough," in which was included the "privilege to erect and build a dam bridge upon the aforesaid ferry of Spitten-devil or Paparinemio and to receive rates and tolls." The bridge was to be known as the King's Bridge, in honor of King William the Third, the grantor of the privilege.

The rates authorized were much higher than the citizens had suggested, being three pence for each man and horse, 3 pence for each head of neat cattle, and other charges in proportion, with
double rates after sunset. It was these high tolls that led half a century later to the building of the Free Bridge, which brought about the eventual abandonment of the Bridge tolls after the Revolution, when the Philipse estates and properties were forfeited to the State.

In 1702, Frederick Philipse, by his will, devised to his grandson, Frederick, “the island of Papirinemin with the meadows, ye toll and all ye lands and meadows called the Yonkers plantation.” Not long thereafter the effects of weather and water upon the bridge led to its reconstruction, and an Act of the General Assembly of July 1, 1713, provided:

“Whereas, by means of spring-tides, not only the causey (causeway) leading through a meadow from Manhattan or York Island to the bridge—but likewise the bridge itself is often difficult and unfit for travellers to pass—it shall—be lawful for Frederick Phillipse, a Minor—to erect and build another good and sufficient drawbridge between the neck, or Island of Papparinemo, and York or Manhattan Island, at such place or places to the westward of the present bridge as to him—shall be thought most proper and convenient—and to pull down the bridge heretofore built.”

The new bridge was thereafter erected at the place occupied by it and its successor to modern times, recently submerged under the regrading of the present Kingsbridge Avenue. The site of the original bridge was probably about halfway between that avenue and Broadway.

The bridge did not preclude the use of the rapid tide-movement in the creek for mill operations, for in 1700 one Jasper Nessepott petitioned the Common Council for a permit to operate a grist-mill on the stream, which had been contrived and already erected there by one John Marsh, a mill-wright. This privilege was granted in 1701, including “the ground whereon the said mill or mills doth stand,” on condition that when a boat was to pass “he is to shut his sluices, and on the other side of the bridge to erect a post in the water and have a rope ready to assist them in passing.”

The Nessepott mill was erected on the north side of the Creek, which on the west of the Bridge was divided into two passages, leaving a strip of land in the middle, forming a narrow island. A century later there was a small mill at that point, but it was then
devoted to the purpose of sawing marble taken from a quarry just under the east side of Fort Prince Charles.

The Nessepott Grist mill was the predecessor of that which was erected nearly a hundred years later, which stood across the southern branch of the creek and was a much larger affair.

Alexander Macomb of New York City, purchased about 1789, the old Cox Inn, at that date kept by a proprietor of the name of Halsey, the owners at the time being the heirs of Eden Metcalf. His purchase extended to the whole island of Kingsbridge, thereafter known as the "Island Farm." He replaced the old Tavern, which was probably too small or dilapidated for his purposes, by a square stone and brick residence, which remained in the possession of his son and his family till 1848.

The Macomb family was of Irish descent, their original home being Dunturkey in the County of Antrim. John Macomb came from that place in the year 1755, and settled at Albany. His son, Alexander, the purchaser of the Kingsbridge estate, became a merchant in New York City, and married Catherine de Navarre, a descendant of an ancient French family of Detroit. Their son, John Navarre Macomb, was killed in action at sea, but left a numerous family, including two sons, Alexander, who became a Major-General in the United States Army, and Robert, who also became a General in the New York State Militia. The Kingsbridge estate was inherited by Robert Macomb, together with the mansion at 230th Street, and such rights and privileges in the water courses as might be attached to the ownership of the old Philipse grant of Paparinemo.

In the year 1800 Mr. Alexander Macomb constructed a dam across the Creek west of the Kingsbridge. This probably blocked only the wider part of the stream on the south of the island, and so increased the flow of tide in the other channel, sometimes known as "Dyckman's Cut", thus operating to better advantage the Marble Saw-mill there established, and at that time operated by Perkins Nicholls.

When Robert Macomb succeeded his grandfather in possession of the property in 1810, he entered upon a more ambitious project, by erecting a large grist-mill across the south channel.

A description of the mill has been recently found among papers presented to the New York Historical Society, by Mr. Macomb G.
Foster, which were written by General Robert Macomb about 1818, in which he states that the mill is known as "The Newyork-City-Mills."

"It is 85 feet by 45 feet 5 stories high, with nine run of stones, and all the modern patent labor-saving machinery, all in perfect order. The mill extends across Haerlem River; and is on navigable water; the mill boat of 45 tons coming directly under her elevators. By means of machinery, the mill dispenses almost wholly with manual labor, one man being capable of attending her when in full operation. The mill discharges the boat, transports the grain, feeds the stones, transports the meal, etc. It cost upwards of $30,000 and is now worth that sum, at least, agreeably to a written estimate made by Saml. Mott, and Mr. Redmond, flour-merchants, and Wm. Thom then flour-inspector of Newyork, which estimate was made for the insurance companies. From the peculiar advantages of this mill lying wholly in the city of Newyork, it is devoted exclusively to the domestic business of the city, and is now employed in grinding for certain respectable distillers, who allow 8 cents clear profit, on every bushel ground and delivered, the mill averaging throughout the year between 300 and 400 bushels per day; although frequently grinding 1,000 bushels per day. All things taken into view, the excellence of this mill and her machinery, its proximity to our metropolis, her great capacity, the extent of her waterpower, comprising 5 miles of Haerlem river (all of which is in the city of Newyork) the excellence of the navigation by means of Hudson River, this mill may be pronounced safely, among the most valuable in the state of Newyork."

Robert Macomb was a man of very enterprising character, as well as superior intelligence. He conceived the idea of developing the tidal movement of the two branches of the waters connecting the North and East Rivers, and secured from the Legislature the privilege of constructing a dam to impound the water at high tide, and cause it to flow past the Kingsbridge under his grist mill. He also secured in 1815, the right to build a dam and bridge across Moshoulu Creek or Tibbetts' Brook, or the "Yonkers River," as it was then called. He constructed at heavy expense, the well-known Macomb's Dam at 155th Street, which stirred up a good deal of opposition from property owners who found it an obstruction to navigation. He planned and proposed to the City, a very well-
devised scheme for a water-supply by diverting the Bronx River so as to lead the water to the Dam and there conduct it across the Harlem in pipes, using the tide-water fall for pumping it to a level sufficient to reach the city.

But the heavy investments in the water-power and mill proved unremunerative, and both were eventually abandoned. The mill building existed in a ruinous condition as late as 1858, when it collapsed in a windstorm, and the dam was broken open to allow boat traffic to be resumed.

The old home continued to be occupied by his family after his decease, and was sold in 1848, by his daughter and her husband, Mr. William G. Foster, who later made their home in a residence in Audubon Park, near Riverside Drive at 159th Street.

The house was purchased by Joseph H. Godwin, who added the upper story and cupola, also the extension on the north side, and made extensive interior changes. The property remained in his possession and that of his family till 1917, when the estate was sold in partition, and the house went with a parcel of lots on the corner of Broadway and 230th Street. Prior to this the street had been regraded and widened, cutting off the front approach to the house. The creek was also filled in, and the coach house at the rear, the greenhouse, stable, and other buildings were all destroyed.

Today all traces of the old winding creek has disappeared, and the area is sold off and cut into building plots, as authorized by the Legislature in 1904, under a fill of ashes, garbage, rock and rubbish—the old Bridge, and the Mill sites are buried, and the old “Free Bridge” at the opening of which the entire population of New York rejoiced, and the public feasted at a barbecue on New Years Day, 1759, is now completely lost to sight under 225th Street, after serving the public needs effectively for more than a century and a half.
BOOK REFERENCES


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The Battle of Fort Washington,
November 16, 1776.

Copy of
a map prepared by order of Lieut. General Earl Percy immediately after the battle, and published 1777.

A. 1st Attack under Gen'l Knyphausen.
B. 2nd Attack under Brig.-Gen'l Matthews, supported by reserve under Lord Cornwallis.
C. 3rd Attack, "intended as a feint," under Lieut.-Col. Stirling.
D. 4th Attack under Earl Percy.
I

THE MILITARY POSITIONS ON THE HEIGHTS

It was in the early days of the year 1776, a year destined to become one of so much exciting incident to the City of New York, that General Washington, whose anxious forethought had predicated the plans of the British authorities for the seizure of the town as the base of their future operations, took the first definite steps towards placing the threatened locality in some state of anticipatory defence. On January 10th he wrote to Colonel the Earl of Stirling, then in command of such American forces as were in the neighborhood of New York, informing him that Major-General Charles Lee had been despatched from Boston "with orders to repair to New York with such volunteers as he can raise on his way, to put the city and the fortifications up the river in the best posture of defence the season and situation of affairs will admit of."

The city was under the nominal control of Governor Tryon, whose undermined authority was only backed by the presence in the bay of the warships "Asia" and "Phenix," to the former of which he retired in the second week of February.

It appears that the general scheme of the defenses of Manhattan, or York Island, as it was then commonly called, was due to the versatile, but somewhat unreliable, Lee, whose scheme was, in due course, submitted to the commander-in-chief and received his approval, as he wrote to Stirling on March 14th: "The plan of defenses formed by General Lee, is, from what little I know of the place, a very judicious one." Stirling was specially occupied in prosecuting the work, "fortifying," he says, "every advantageous spot" near New York, and "laboring at the completion of the works."

The construction of Fort Washington and Fort Constitution, on opposite sides of the Hudson River, was certainly due to these
two officers, and the titles by which the forts were thereafter known were probably Lee's conceptions. After his departure to take charge of the successful defense of Charleston, the Jersey fort was, on or about March 27th, given the name of Fort Lee, by Stirling, who held command for a short period in his absence, by which name it has been known ever since.

On the 29th of March the commander-in-chief detailed General Israel Putnam to assume the command at New York, and having become by that time assured of the intentions of the British to make this locality the scene of their next attempts, he directed him specially to "proceed in continuing to execute the plan proposed by Major General Lee for fortifying that city and securing the passes of the East and North Rivers." His own arrival with the forces under his command followed on April 14th.

Among those earnest men on whom, in that time of anxiety Washington leaned was Colonel Henry Knox, acting as chief of artillery, a branch in which the needs were more sorely felt than in others, and him the commander called to the city in order to lay on him the duty of providing the guns, without which the fortifications were of little use. He proceeded to organize companies of artillerymen, artificers, sappers, smiths, engineers and wheelwrights, which could be sorted out of the heterogeneous collection of civilians who had come together to the support of the cause of liberty. On June 10th he reported that he could command 121 cannon of all kinds, light and heavy, old and new, in and around New York, for the handling of which his entire force consisted of only 520 men and officers, a work which would have required, if effectively carried out, fully 1,200 men.

Colonel Knox was a particular friend of General Nathanael Greene, who at the end of May, took up with him and other leading officers the question of the extension of the system of fortifications in the upper part of the island of Manhattan. "I am obliged to defer going up to Kingsbridge till another day," he wrote to Knox on the 29th of May. "I will endeavor to see you this afternoon, and fix upon some other time for reconnoitering the ground up and about Kingsbridge." Knox was occupied as engineer at this time, in selecting sites, and Greene, Heath and Putnam in advising and determining on their use.

As time had passed on a scattered line of farmhouses existed
along the Heights at that period of unrest, when the principles for which the Revolution was begun were in agitation in every home.

In his trips along the post-road to visit his friends the Phillipse family at Yonkers, the beauties of the position had attracted the attention of a well-to-do gentleman, and Roger Morris had erected in 1765 a handsome dwelling, which was later to figure for many an eventful month as the centre and shelter of military authority, and beneath whose roof affairs of international importance were destined to be transacted.

Hard by was the White House, part farmhouse, part place of refreshment, which afterwards figured in events of interest. At 152nd Street, the Gerrit Dykman farmhouse sheltered the nearest neighboring family.

The post-road even boasted a fullblown inn, in front of which at the head of the long steep rise from Inwood, swung the sign of the Blue Bell.

The Oblienis family was still represented on part of its original holdings, by John and Mary Oblienis and Hendrick, their son, to whom the parents had recently assigned the major part of their farm. They had sold a hundred acres to Blazius Moore, a merchant in tobacco, of Broadway and John Street. His sister Rosannah was married to Barnard Bowers, and lived on the Post Road at 181st Street. Further north the families of Cortright, Dyckman and Nagel farmed the low-lands of the Inwood Valley. Such was the state of this interesting locality at the beginning of the Revolution.

On June 7th, Greene returned from his duties in Brooklyn, and entered into this matter with the three officers. During their expeditions they visited Washington Heights, then commonly known as the Heights of Harlem, and by one or other, “the commanding height near Morris house” was pointed out “as a position which, if properly fortified, would be nearly impregnable.”

We may imagine the group examining the scene from the valley below the precipitous bluffs, out of the woody steeps of which the portico of Colonel Roger Morris’ residence peeped from among the surrounding trees, or riding along the post-road and thence examining the deep declivities of Audubon Park, and extending their rides through the woods to the crowning summit on the Oblienis farm. We can feel confident that the party must have taken rest and refreshment at the inns along the heights, resting at the White House,
at 160th Street, where the merits of proposed positions for the batteries destined to be constructed along the narrow line of bluff were perhaps discussed, and doubtless at the "Blue Bell," at 181st Street, where the outlines of Fort Washington and its entrenchments were talked over and developed.

There was some divergence of opinion, the more cautious Greene and Heath insisting that even if the whole system were made "as strong as Gibraltar," it would be but "a mere trap from which it would be impossible for the army to extricate itself, unless the high grounds above the bridge (that is around Fordham and Riverdale) were occupied at the same time."

Alas, that this sound judgment was not remembered by one of them after those same high grounds were in the actual possession of the enemy. But for the time being it prevailed, and it was decided not only to complete the extensive defenses of Fort Washington, but to lay out a chain of forts outside the island's limits, on the high points beyond the Harlem River, extending from Riverdale to Morrisania, and across the Hudson on the line of its narrowest width, to complete the companion fortress which with the Manhattan works should command the passage of the noble estuary.

It is evident that the rugged features of this locality captivated the imagination of all, as a secure fastness which should, in due course, defy the efforts of the enemy on land and water. Its distinct importance as the key of the lower Hudson no doubt operated in deciding its title, for it was about this time that the Long Hill, as well as its fort, became known by the familiar name of their beloved commander, and in all future references was known as Mount Washington.

For carrying out the executive work, Colonel Rufus Putnam was detailed as chief engineer, charged, he tells us, "with laying out and overseeing the works," at Fort Washington, "a service of much fatigue, for my whole time was taken up, from daylight in the morning until night in the business, besides sometimes going in the night by water from New York to Fort Washington."

In the early summer days the arrival of a British fleet was imminent, and on July 12th the advance guard of their armada lay at anchor in the lower bay. Washington's expectation that the British would make the Hudson River their ultimate point of at-
WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS

The dignified portico of the old Mansion which has welcomed so many great personages, and has passed through so many changes, since 1765.

Now the property of the City of New York. The beautiful old box hedge planted by Betty Jumel was killed by frost in 1918.

For its share in military events see Pages 223, 250, 257-289-300-330.
tack was immediately demonstrated, as that very day the frigates "Phenix" and "Rose" boldly rushed their way past the batteries of the Heights, and their success caused anxious inquiry as to the possibilities of obstructing their return passage, and the advance of others that might make similar attempts in order to join them.

General Putnam, with his friend, Brigadier General Mifflin, undertook preliminary steps in that direction. The narrow passage at Jeffreys Hook offered the only practicable opportunity, and they began a survey of the river's depth at that point.

They had finished this work by July 21st, when, as William Duer wrote, they had found "the depth in no part exceeds seven fathoms. The width, however, of the channel (which is from three to seven fathoms) is not much less than 1,800 yards, the shallow part of the river running in an oblique direction," as it does now from the same point west by south to the Jersey shore. Standing on either side at those points the magnitude of the work which those anxious yet determined men contemplated, strikes the observer in a manner more illustrative than the observation of any other of the operations of the men of '76.

It was Israel Putnam to whose fertile mind was due the scheme which Mifflin proceeded to carry out. The latter was just the man for the purpose. An educated man of cultivated and animated manners, he was full of activity and fire, though described as being "rather too much of a bustler, harassing his men unnecessarily," with a great talent for haranguing. He commanded the best continental troops from Pennsylvania, including the battalions of Shee, St. Clair, Wayne and Magaw, of which the first was composed largely of aristocratic Philadelphians, and the last was the Fifth Regiment, composed of the hardy frontiersmen of the Cumberland Valley, men to whom the labors of the field and the wood presented no novelty.

These troops were encamped around Kingsbridge, a term which may be taken then to have included the upper part of the Heights, as the divisional general's headquarters alternated between Cox's Tavern at Kingsbridge, and the Blue Bell on Mount Washington. For many a week of that summer they made the wood ring with their axes and their songs, as they plied shovel, mattock and crowbar in the erection of those substantial mounds whose features the wear and tear of a hundred and fifty seasons were unable entirely
to efface. It is sad to think of the high hopes with which they toiled at making what was to become to many of them a trap to land them in the sufferings of prison martyrdom, malignant disease and early death.

The work of obtaining, preparing, chaining and sinking vessels in the Hudson River went on, until on August the third the first set of three were sunk, and with their spars protruding above the tide-level they must have presented a formidable appearance to a navigator. Then followed the disasters of Brooklyn, and of Kips Bay, and the concentration of the American forces upon the heights, where in Roger Morris' residence the commander-in-chief established himself on September 14th.
II

THE BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS

THE abandonment of New York City and its evacuation on the 13th to the 15th of September, brought to the Heights a stream of troops, artillery, stores and refugees, whose advent quickened in haste on Sunday the 15th, when the roar of the guns of the British frigates at Kips Bay made known the descent of the royal army upon our island. Their overwhelming forces soon drove back in disorder, resembling a rout, the thin line of defenders, who with the rearguard from the city just escaped the onrush of their enemies, and swarmed up the hillside above Manhattanville to the protection of the American army encamped along our rocky hilltops.

Thus the morning of Monday, September 16th, broke upon a weary and dispirited body of patriots bivouacked along the wooded hillsides where now the convent of the Sacred Heart and the Hebrew Orphan Asylum are engaged in their beneficent work.

The British forces had advanced on the west side of the island to Morningside Heights, then known as Vandewater's Heights, the farm of Herman Vandewater, whose homestead was situated on the north side of the site of St. Luke's Hospital. South of the Vandewater property was Jones's farm, whose dwelling was situated at 105th Street on the west side of the old Bloomingdale Road, now merged in Broadway.

About dawn on the 16th of September, Washington rode out to a point of observation at Convent Avenue near 128th Street, known as "The Point of Rocks," from which he could observe the situation.

A small reconnoitering force was sent forward and struck the enemy's outposts near the Jones's farmhouse. This advance party was that battalion of Connecticut sharpshooters known as the American Rangers, which had been organized by Col. Thomas Knowlton, a New England man of tried capacity and courage.
A skirmish took place, the Americans holding their ground for fully half an hour, the woods meanwhile echoing the shots from both sides, as British and Hessian reinforcements were hurried up. Forcing the detachment before them, the invading troops, consisting of men of the Second and Third Light Infantry, and of the famous Black Watch or Forty-second Highland Regiment, came out upon the Claremont hillside, and as their opponents retreated carrying their dead and wounded with them to the woods on the northern hillside, one of the buglers blew, probably by orders of some officer, the contemptuous view-halloo of the fox chase.

The insulting challenge was very promptly accepted.

Washington, from his post of observation, ordered about a thousand men of Nixon's brigade, with an advance guard of men of Hitchcock's Rhode Island Regiment, to oppose any further advance by the enemy, while he sent out a flanking force of the Connecticut Rangers, commanded by Col. Thomas Knowlton, with three companies of the Third Virginia Regiment, under Major Andrew Leitch. Stealing down through the woods near St. Nicholas Avenue these men made their way to the rocky hillside forming the northerly end of Morningside Park and clambered up its rocks and slopes near 124th Street, where now the old 1812 blockhouse stands to mark the scene.

Gaining the summit close to Columbia University, they struck the British forces in the flank but were exposed to a fierce fire as they advanced over the crest of the hill. Leitch, who led the advance, was shot and almost ere he fell, a second and a third bullet wounded him, while Knowlton exposing himself in turning to urge his men forward, received a fatal wound in his back. Still calmly conscious, however, he ordered Captain Brown to continue the advance, and as he gasped out his life an hour or so later at the old house on the highroad at 160th Street, to which he had been borne, his only concern was for the success of the action and his country's good. Poor Leitch lingered longer at the Blue Bell tavern at 181st Street, but his last days were comforted by the knowledge of the victory his men had won.

Taken by surprise, the opposing infantry retreated over a buckwheat field which is now the site of Barnard College, among the waving foliage of which many a bright uniformed Highlander went down to die. The advancing Americans were soon joined by others
of the Maryland Regiment and the Pennsylvania Volunteers of the Flying Camp, till eighteen hundred men were engaged, and the British, thoroughly alarmed, ordered up artillery to resist their advance.

The British artillerymen, lacking horses, hauled their field guns by hand from McGown’s Pass to the hillside, and Hessian Yagers and grenadiers were brought up as a support, while the guns of the British frigates Asia, Renown, Repulse and Pearl were awakened and their heavy shot screeched over the woods.

By the time the recall was sounded, the patriots had pushed their enemies back nearly to 105th Street, and before retiring they united in a general hurrah, a spirited retort for the insult they had received in the earlier part of the gallant fight.

The value of the exhibition of American spirit and intrepidity on this occasion was very great, occurring as it did at a period of the most acute discouragement to the cause of liberty. After the fight, the dead of the American forces were brought back to the Heights for burial. General Clinton reported 17 killed, a number probably increased by the death of wounded men. Colonel Knowlton’s body with that of Major Leitch, Captain Gleason and Lieutenant Allen was buried by orders of General Heath “below the hill where the redoubt is thrown up on the road.” This hill was Breakneck Hill on St. Nicholas Avenue the foot of which was at 143rd Street near Edgecombe Avenue. Here the steep hillside on which Hamilton Terrace is now perched formed a shelter for a sloping space, on part of which St. Nicholas Avenue was laid out. Here with military honors these brave men’s remains were laid. No memorial marks the spot. In his native city of Hartford, Connecticut, a handsome statue of Knowlton bears witness to his fine character and devotion, but there is nothing to mark the place of burial within the City of New York of those brave men whose last sacrifice was made in its defence.
III

HOLDING THE LINE

A LONG course of comparative inaction on the part of the British forces succeeded their repulse on Morningside Heights, and gave time for the strengthening of the American positions, but also led to great anxiety on the part of their commanders as to the next move to be expected. The only apparent operation was the advance of a large part of the British floating force into the East River in the first week of October, and their landing on Montresor's Island, indicating an intention of an attack on the flank by way of Harlem or Morrisania, the latter of which, with the Harlem River extending between them, was not much to be feared by the American commanders.

Work was feverishly pushed on the completion of the Hudson River obstruction. If this work could be effectively completed, it was felt that the great danger of an incursion up the Hudson by the British fleet in force could be averted, and on this important position, and its command by the fortifications on the Mount, the attention of the whole force was therefore largely concentrated.

It appears somewhat inexplicable why the British authorities did not advance their naval force during the period of incomplete construction of this resistance to their passage.

The plans of William Howe appear, however, to have been laid rather with a view to the capture at one swoop of his watchful enemy and his whole force, than to any attempt merely to defeat him. While remembering the achievement of the retreat from Long Island, he probably conceived it quite impossible that Washington had the means to remove his force across the great Hudson estuary, and he preferred to wait until his land force should be reinforced by the second division of Hessian mercenaries and he should control the number of men sufficient to draw a line across Westchester
county and bag the "Old Fox," with all his belongings in his rocky lair and thus end the revolution at one blow.

That he was also impelled by a desire to effect this result by his own land forces, rather than to allow the credit of the result to be gained by the Navy, is not to be wondered at in view of the jealousy often established between those forces, and the general subordination of the marine to the land forces in the British military system.

The great fleet in the Bay and East River was largely composed of transports on which the Hessian troops were held almost prisoners, until the time for a movement to be effected with least disturbance of the suspicions of the patriots. The latter were therefore occupied by reconnaissances on their southerly front, which extended down to the flat lands of Harlem, and along which sentries were so close at times as to exchange remarks.

The line of their advanced intrenchments extended nearly north and south along the little hillocks which then existed on the Harlem west bank from 155th Street to 145th Street, most of which have been leveled by city improvement, except at the northern part.

The next step was to occupy their attention in a direction in which no real attack was desired. So on October 9th, three frigates, the "Phoenix," "Roebuck" and "Tartar," with their tenders, which had been moored off Bloomingdale, hove anchor and headed for the river obstructions.

They were probably ordered forward on this particular date because their commanders had learned of preparations for the sinking in the river within a few hours of several more hulks, which would have completed the barrier.

This sudden incursion took the American forces at Fort Washing-ton Point by surprise, and the crews of the various little vessels which were busy at the work, slipped their moorings and ran before the oncoming warships, while the batteries of the Mount and that upon the Point opened a furious fire upon the squadron. Favor ed by wind and tide, and probably guided by treacherous information, the frigates passed around the obstruction so far as it was completed, losing only three officers and six men killed and eighteen wounded.

Overhauling the American craft, their leading vessel captured
a trading schooner partly laden with supplies, and a rowgalley, and
the squadron eventually came to anchor off Dobbs Ferry.

The failure of the obstruction to stop this raid demonstrated
its inefficacy and the presence of the ships in the rear of the Amer-
ican position, with, as it was supposed, troops on board, caused
great alarm for the safety of the American line of retreat.

Three days later Howe embarked his men in the flatboats which
had done so much service previously in placing his troops in un-
expected positions, and a friendly fog covered the movement of the
expedition through the turbulent waters of Hell Gate. It was prob-
ably the same fog, however, which aided in the blunder of their
landing on Throgs Neck, whence they were unable to emerge against
Prescott’s small force, and thus the British scheme of attack lost
several invaluable days and afforded time for the American army
to get away from the Heights.

Upon the news reaching Washington, he rode out to West-
chester, and on the 14th, Charles Lee was placed in command of a
force composed of the “Flower of our Army,” to oppose the British
advance, the intention of which had become apparent. At a council
of war held on the 16th of October, it was decided to withdraw the
main forces into Westchester county, leaving only a garrison in
Fort Washington.

The withdrawal was well timed, but with the stores and baggage
handled by insufficient transport, and by inexperienced men, it was
a laborious and slow process, and was so far incomplete that when,
on the 18th, the British, having transferred their forces to Pell’s
Point, at length got into motion on their proposed line of march,
only the delay effected by the stout resistance of the amphibious
heroes of Glover’s Massachusetts regiment, sufficed to enable Wash-
ington’s forces to escape the closing jaw of the trap.
IV

THE DEFENDERS OF THE HEIGHTS

COLONEL Robert Magaw, who was placed in command of the entire post included in the term Fort Washington, covering the Heights from 135th Street to Marble Hill, was Colonel of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment. He was of Scotch-Irish extraction, a native of the town of Carlisle in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, in which district he had recruited the men of his regiment in the beginning of the year 1776. He had been in good practice as a lawyer in his native town, and had acted as Attorney for the Crown on many occasions, but on the commencement of the agitations which culminated in the Revolution, warmly adopting the cause of liberty, he was selected as a member of the County Committee formed to take action upon “the great objects of the public attention.” Less than a year later he entered into active service, as Major of Thompson’s battalion, with which he marched from Pennsylvania to Cambridge and took part in the siege of Boston.

At the critical period following the Battle of Long Island, he brought his fine regiment opportune ly to the aid of his compatriots, and was given the dangerous duty of protecting the embarkation of the revolutionary troops.

During the period of occupation of Washington Heights, his legal knowledge was engaged in several courts-martial, and the dependence placed on his active exertions is demonstrated by the fact that he was not only maintained in command of the central fortification all that time, but was in charge of the operations of blocking the tideway, and was finally selected by the Commander-in-Chief as the man in whose authority the entire post was left, and was personally charged to defend it to the last extremity.

His second in this local command was Lambert Cadwalader, a man of only thirty-three years of age, who was a native of Trenton,
New Jersey, and held, as Lieutenant-Colonel, the acting colonelcy of the Third Pennsylvanian Regiment, which was largely composed of young men of good family of Philadelphia, among whom were David Lennox, Alexander Graydon, and a number of others of Scotch extraction. The regiment, which numbered about eight hundred men, had been commanded by Colonel Shea, who had however abandoned the command and resigned his commission while on leave of absence.

A combination of volunteers in service at Fort Washington was known as "The Flying Camp." This was a body of Pennsylvanians, chiefly men of Scotch-Irish birth, descendants of the frontiersmen of Bucks, York, and Lancaster Counties, sturdy Presbyterians to whom the principles of the struggle strongly appealed, and whose aid in the emergency of the demand for troops had been spontaneously offered.

Under the general command of William Baxter, a Bucks County man, seconded by Lieutenant-Colonel Michael Swope, the force included detachments known as Watts and McAllister's battalions, and later in the fall a reinforcement from part of the same organization, which had been quartered on the Jersey side of the river, was added, in a battalion known as Montgomery's, but which was actually commanded by its Lieutenant-Colonel, Thomas Bull.

Among the officers were many men of education and position. Robert Darlington, a lieutenant in Watt's force, was "a ripe scholar" and "a polite gentleman," whose care in captivity received the attention of Washington, and Samuel Culbertson, a Captain of Bull's force is described as a man "of fine literary abilities."

A small force of about two hundred and fifty Connecticut men of Bradley's regiment formed part of the garrison, and the remnants of Miles and Atlee's "Connecticut Rangers" formed a single battalion out of the two commands after their disaster in the Battle of Brooklyn, and did constant service as scouts, to the value of which the post commander testified when their removal was at one time contemplated.

The most aristocratic and best equipped body of men which garrisoned the Heights came from the South, and was composed of Colonel Haslett's Delaware boys, who did much duty around the fort. At the time of the final assault, the South was also represented by a regiment composed of the remnants of the two corps
My dear sir,

Mount Washington 5th August 1776

The vessel was built from lumber at
pull for by the Duke on Saturday last.
Individuals went up to the river. My master
the Keeper of the River. The place of landing
was at least 15 miles above us and could be
very plain. I continued near two hours when
we galley drew off. I came down the river
with a nine man galley. I found the
mound which our party met is now prepared
in a more advantageous situation than the
meadow as they will be surrounded by a grand
island. Mr. Bickie, the next night in command
with 25 of our men and 11 the Action when
they determined to go.

Differences between them and the
that of some others today a week
for which Mr. Bickie deems it is the
River. I estimate our Lord & Masters. May
and sufficient to stop up the Channel but
proceed now probably and send of them
at 12. The news heard to one and a half of
12. 5000 fathoms - but your intelligence
must be much later than mine.

With my duty,

Robert Magaw

of Maryland and Virginia riflemen, which had escaped their comrades' fate in the fight at Brooklyn, and gathered under the command of Moses Rawlings as Lieutenant-Colonel, were conspicuous elements in the camp life of the army.

The force contained some veterans of the Colonial campaign, and notwithstanding a certain assumed superiority and some foppishness in their dress, which caused some antagonism between them and the ragged militiamen, they bore hardships and sickness without complaint or desertion, and in the end proved, to a man, heroes of the defense.

Finally, there was a small body of artillerymen, part of the heterogeneous force gathered for the purpose by Knox in the early summer, and composed of every kind of artificer whose practical knowledge could be utilized in handling guns and limbers. Those men were in charge of the cannon of the fortifications. At the final affair, the men were about one hundred in all, having some forty pieces to serve. Among them was a man named John Corbin, a Pennsylvanian of York County, whose wife, Margaret, or Margery, accompanied him, whose heroic exploit will be described later.
THE FIRST ATTACK

In the early morning of Sunday, October 27th, sentries on the defensive earthworks at the southerly end of the Heights, perceived two war-vessels moving boldly up the Hudson, and hastily passed word to their post commander, Robert Magaw, probably at the Headquarters House, but recently vacated by the Commander-in-Chief. At the same time, in the flat lands below the Point of Rocks, the British forces, then under the command of Lieutenant-General the Earl Percy, could be described moving forward to an attack.

No time was to be lost, and the entire available forces were hurried into the lines of defense. The vessels were the frigates Renown and Repulse. They came deliberately to anchor abreast of the first line of defense and proceeded to render it untenable by a flank fire. Their position was approximately abreast of 147th Street, at which point a small battery formed a portion of the line of intrenchment which extended across the hill in a zigzag fashion to the post-road at 146th Street, where defenses such as pits and barricades of felled timbers obstructed the steep ascent.

Of this line of works, no trace at this time remains, and the only reminder is the boulder monument in the park plot on Broadway, just north of 147th Street, which stands on the site of the battery referred to. Disposing his men to present the best front along the eastern side of the hill along the bluff overlooking St. Nicholas Park, so as to meet the land attack, Magaw effected so warm a reply to the British field artillery, that the assault was halted, and a musketry fire began, which lasted through the day.

While this was going on the energetic garrison dragged down from Fort Washington one of the large eighteen-pounder guns installed there, and succeeded in getting it into place at 147th Street,
while a battery across the river at Fort Lee was ineffectively firing at the frigates, their long range being nearly a mile from that point. Just as the men on the Jersey side gave up their efforts, Magaw got the eighteen-pounder into position, and opened at short range on the vessels, while the Jersey artillerymen, seeing what had been done, promptly commenced to transfer two of their own heavy guns southwards towards Weehawken for the same purpose.

General Nathanael Greene, who was in general command of the district, and whose headquarters were at Fort Lee, came across the river and made his way to the scene of action, where, finding that "Col. Magaw had so happily disposed and arranged his men" as to put the British "out of conceit" with their original intentions, he remained a spectator, leaving the conduct of the day's operations in Magaw's hands.

The artillerymen were enthusiastic at their opportunity. The frigates had anchored as the tide was still running up, so that they could not weigh, and therefore, they formed a steady mark for the men behind the gun, who ramming the eighteen-pounder with double shot, made a mark of the vessel highest up the river, and soon reduced her to almost a wreck.

"The confusion and distress that appeared on board the ship exceeded all description." She got out her boats and with them her crew endeavored to wear her round, while from both shores a hail of well-directed shot pierced her hull and tore her upper works. "Without doubt she lost a great number of men," and also without doubt she would have been lost to the British Navy, but for the timely and plucky assistance of the open barges of her consort, which under the galling fire took her in tow, and all four boats pulling together, they got sufficient way on her to work her out of range.

Meanwhile, "a smart fire with field pieces and mortars," went on upon the land side without intermission, but the repulse of the frigates discouraged any further attempt, and the attacking force was withdrawn as evening came on.

Greene felt so secure of results that he left the scene at three o'clock, remarking in his report that, "Our artillery behaved incomparably well. Col. Magaw is charmed with their conduct in firing at the ship and in the field."

The loss of life on land was not great "several of the enemy
were killed, two or three of them our people got and brought off
the field, and several more were left there." The accoutrements of
one Hessian were next day presented to a soldier who had dis-
tinguished himself, by Lieutenant-Colonel Cadwalader. On the
American side but one man was killed "by a shell that fell upon
his head," and Major Coburn was wounded.
VI.

THE TRAITOR

AFTER the battle of White Plains, on October 28, Sir William Howe found himself facing a new situation. His opponent had escaped with nearly all his forces, and the plan of capture had failed of its main object. But the British forces now enclosed within a long extended line the fastnesses of Fort Washington. For weeks past the troops in Harlem had confronted the Heights without venturing to attack their unknown defenses.

Just how many Americans had been left behind to hold the position was a doubtful element in the situation, but even a small garrison was enough to make an attack upon it a desperate and bloody affair. News probably reached Howe at this juncture of the indefinite result of Earl Percy's action of October 27, and of the crippling of two of the British frigates.

Some use had to be made of the hired troops, so they were therefore sent south to demonstrate against the north end of the island. Anticipating the likelihood of such a move, the officer in command of Fort Independence, Colonel Lasher, had already been ordered to burn his barracks and abandon his post, and so doing, and at the same time destroying the bridge over the Creek, he had withdrawn, leaving Magaw's little garrison without outer defences, to hold those on the island.

Forts Numbers One to Eight, around the hills from Riverdale to Fordham, were deserted, and the Hessian Second Brigade, under Lieutenant General Wilhelm von Knyphausen, marched in and took possession of Kingsbridge.

Greene wrote anxiously to Washington to know if any attempt should be made in this new situation to hold the Inwood marsh and farm lands against so numerous a foe, as if so, the garrison must be increased, and he received a reply leaving the matter to his own
discretion, but reminding him that the intention of the Council of War (of October 16) had been to garrison the works, preserving the lower lines only as long as they could be maintained, and that the main object then was and still continued to be the retention of communication across the North River, and "the enemy prevented from having a passage up and down."

For such a purpose the risk run by the garrison in its then position was not too great, and in their unknown fastness there was not a man but considered they could stave off any attack, as had been done on October 27, at any rate for a period long enough to enable the force to be withdrawn, in case of defeat, by boat across the river under the guns of Fort Lee.

But those reckonings did not take into account the probability of treachery, and that by its means the enemy might become informed of the exact weaknesses of the defence and the means of blocking their retreat. Previous deserters there had been, but they were men of the ranks, and the accounts of what they had seen probably magnified the importance and extent of the defences.

There was one young man, however, in whose mind some ranking doubt or dissatisfaction existed, and in whose power it was to obtain possession of the actual plans of the fortifications, and whose treachery, therefore, was capable of dealing a disastrous blow to the American cause. William Demont was a young ensign in Magaw's own regiment, who "being intelligent in points of duty" had been advanced to the position of adjutant, in which duty he had charge of the private papers and documents of the garrison.

While he was a man of rather ill-looking, coarse appearance, he had evidently gained the confidence of the authorities, as his appointment was due to the Pennsylvania Council of Safety. Perhaps the continued apparent successes of the British had caused him to despair of the success of his country's cause, or the retreat of the army with the guiding spirit of the revolution took the spirit out of him. But whatever the influencing motives in his mind which decided him to cast his lot with his country's enemies, he might well have done so without other reflection on his name than that of a deserter from a good cause to a bad one.

But Demont deliberately chose to gain special favor for himself at the expense of his old-time companions, by procuring and taking with him in his desertion the invaluable papers and informa-
tion which were needed to overcome the defence of the Heights, which placed his comrades at the mercy of an assaulting force.

The treason of Arnold was not so black as that of this youthful scoundrel, and no other traitor—and there were many—was able to inflict a more direct and deliberate injury upon his personal associates.

The estimate of the man's character formed by the British was not undiscriminating, as they afterward employed him as a gatherer of news—a spy—and rewarded him by the post of prison commissary. His own hand has told us of the eventual result. Broken, poor and bitter, an exile in a great city, he resents the treatment he has received, and, quoting a better man, exclaims: "Had I served my God as I have done my king he would not thus have forsaken me."

In the appropriate darkness of the night of Saturday, November 2, the young adjutant made his way southward, evading the sentries, down to the Harlem plain, where he entered the lines of Earl Percy's forces and handed over to that commander the information and sketches so opportunely desirable for the plans of the general and so peculiarly capable of effecting the undoing of the defenders of the Heights. We may well presume that little time was lost by Percy in remitting to his commander the important knowledge he had gained on the details of the position soon to be attacked.

Howe promptly decided to take advantage of the information. The army at White Plains moved south to Dobbs Ferry, whence, after manoeuvres probably intended to confuse Washington and his officers as to their true intentions and to gain time for a withdrawal of the transports from Pells Point, the British forces followed the Hessian brigade southwards and concentrated on the 12th on the hills of Fordham, below which Knyphausen's division was already encamped and were menacing the American position on its northern side.

The abandoned American works on the hills around the Harlem River known as Forts Numbers 1 to 8 were promptly occupied by the combined forces, and the latter was especially selected from its commanding situation directly opposite Laurel Hill, for extension and armament by the British. For the succeeding three days the troops were busy in emplacing guns at the fort, which was situated on an eminence just south of the present University of New York.
Meanwhile on the flat land about the Spuyten Duyvil Creek the mercenary forces had not been idle, and advancing their skirmishers across the river, they had seized on the height now known as Marble Hill and had pushed forward small entrenchments towards the foot of Inwood Hill, behind the woods of which the American sharpshooters were lurking.

On the 8th and 9th of November some bold attacks, worthy of a description here, were made by men of the Pennsylvania regiments on the advanced parties of the Hessians, and against considerable odds they drove the latter back to their supports. Such little efforts, however, were of small import in view of the large trained forces now closing in around the Heights.
THE FORT WASHINGTON MEMORIAL. Erected 1901, at the north-east angle of the fort on Fort Washington Avenue. *Page 224.* The gun is of the Mexican War period.

THE DEATH GAP, a rocky ledge overlooking the valley between Fort George (right) and Mount Washington (left) the scene of fighting on 16 November 1776, *page 269.* Bennett Avenue now extends through the valley. St. Elizabeth Church in centre.
THE abandonment of the outlying forts on the hills surrounding the Inwood valley, rendered the fort on Marble Hill quite untenable, and the American garrison was withdrawn to the shelter of the wild woods on Inwood Hill. It was thought best to attempt only to "stop the road between the mountains;" our present Broadway. A line of timber was felled, forming an "abattis," extending from the north side of Fort George hillside to that of Fort Tryon hill, crossing Broadway near 196th Street. A small garrison was left in the Cock-hill Fort on Inwood Hill, and pickets occupied the hillside from the Creek to the present Dyckman Street, keeping watch on the Hessian movements.

Their pickets now advanced into the area of Isham Park and threw up some slight earthworks on the summit of the elevation which bounds the park on the south. They also advanced along the Harlem as far as Nagel's house, and occupied the barns and out-houses at 213th Street.

Colonel Magaw was awake to their probable intention of an attack, for he reported on the 7th of November, "I am assured they are retreating and intend to pay us a visit." Several English officers were seen on the Nagel farm-lands, probably taking observations, confirming the information received from the deserter Demont.

A little American battery was mounted on the high rocks, part of which is still remaining between Post Avenue and Tenth Avenue, near 204th Street. It commanded the passage of the high road which at that time ran from the present line of Broadway, near 204th Street, to the Harlem River through the Dyckman farm. This prevented the Hessians from advancing further than about 213th Street, and in this position the two forces faced each other as the 8th of November dawned.
The impatient pickets of the Pennsylvania regiments could no longer be restrained, and their ardor resulted in series of engagements, which were witnessed by a newspaper correspondent of the Pennsylvania Evening Post, which published on November 21, 1776, an account of the events, which is of interest as being one of the earliest of such efforts on the part of the press to afford the public a view of military operations by an eye-witness.

"Nov. 8. This day a few of the common soldiers of the Third and Fifth Pennsylvania battalions gave rise to a little skirmish, which tho' trifling in itself, we cannot help relating it as it seems to point out some of the effects of discipline. The scene of the little rencontre lay on an Eminence between the termination of Mount Washington and Kingsbridge, in a transverse line with, and under the full command of a height in possession of our Hessian enemy. Near the summit of this eminence, and facing some of our works, is a large rock or natural breastwork where a small body of their men were posted. Two of our people had the boldness to advance up the hill without the least cover, in order, they said, to have a fairer shot at those planted behind the rocky barrier. These sust'd the musketry of the Hessians, and the fire from a field piece from the neighboring height. Some more of our men went up to their assistance.

"The fire upon the breastwork was now redoubled and poured in upon our enemies, in such a close and well-managed succession as entirely silenced them.

"The Hessian main guard, who were posted about 400 yards from the place, seeing the danger of the sentries, turned out and marched to their relief. About 50 of the enemy were in motion. Our little body was now augmented to between 15 and 20. They were at but a very small distance from the breastwork, when, perceiving the route of the Hessians, they saw they must either give up the ground they had gained, or intimidate the approaching enemy. At this critical juncture I could see the brave fellows form with the utmost regularity and order, and then as if under the command of the best officer, arrange into three divisions.

"The spectators on either side, as if by mutual agreement seemed willing to trust the issue of this little affair to those already in the field of motion. Two of our divisions immediately began a circuit around the bend of the hill, in order, as was supposed, to
get on the rear of the enemy at the rocks, and oppose the main guard who were coming on, while the center division advanced towards the rock, keeping up all the while, a regular fire. This little piece of instructive, or, rather, mechanical generalship, had a most beautiful effect. The sentries, aware of their danger, precipitately retreated, carrying off two killed or wounded. Our men took possession of their post, burned their huts, and secured a rifle gun, a musket and blanket which we suppose belonged to those who were carried off.

"Upon gaining the contested ground, they gave 3 cheers for the congress, which was returned by the flanking parties, and replied to by the Hessian artillery.

"The division now united, and seemed in spite of the enemy's field pieces, and superior force which was advancing against them, resolved on defending the height they had so martially obtained. For this purpose we could see them disposing themselves along a rail fence that crossed the road by which the Hessian guard must pass before they could make an advantageous attack. They were now reinforced with a few stragglers from one of our regiments. Their fire was so very well directed and judiciously managed as to keep the Hessians at bay, and at length forced them to take shelter in an orchard, nearly opposite to our little line of adventurers. They held their ground till night, and then came off in good order and with only one man wounded—a Sergeant Wright of the 3d Penn. Reg. He received a ball in advancing to the rocky breastwork."

"Nov. 9. This morning we found the enemy once more in possession of the rock from whence we had routed them yesterday. About 80 men under the command of Col. Penrose, of Phila. and Maj. Hubley (late an officer at the northward) resolved to dislodge them a second time. As the men were in high spirits, and the barn and dwelling house which the guard occupied at but a small distance, the Colonel proposed storming them. We soon regained the rock, and with surprising rapidity, the house, notwithstanding an incessant fire from the enemy's artillery, main guard, and a small redoubt in an orchard adjoining the guard, that commanded the road.

"The Hessians were soon obliged to abandon their posts. We killed on the spot about 10, and the rest either escaped or were burned in the houses, which some of our men, without orders, im-
mediately fired. It is something remarkable that on our side we had only one man wounded. Perhaps the sally was so unexpected as to have entirely disconcerted and confused the enemy. As it is, no men have behaved more resolutely or bravely than ours.”
THE SWING OF THE PENDULUM

The arrangements for the assault on Fort Washington were designed and effected by Sir William Howe in a practical manner. It is of course clear that he was guided in the methods, and particularly in the timing of his attacks, by the detailed information gained from Demont, and was enabled to make effective a fatal blow at the weakest point in the position, and also to cut off the only means of retreat of the garrison.

His plan comprised two main attacks, one from the south on the lines several times previously attempted, coincident with an attack by the mercenary troops on the more difficult ground at the north. As these were in motion, he planned an attempt with his finest troops of Guards and Light Infantry, on the precipitous hillside of Laurel Hill, the eastern side of the American position, under cover of the fire of those guns which he had recently mounted on the Fordham hill at Fort "Number Eight," and, in order to distract the attention of the resistance at this point, he organized a fourth force of the hardy Highlanders under his command, who were to attempt a landing along the Harlem shore where no American fortifications had been constructed. It was this point of weakness which Demont's information had afforded him, yet even so such a landing in face of the abrupt and wooded rocky height was likely to prove a desperate affair, and the dangerous duty was committed to the best body of tried veterans in his army.

Its eventual success at a bloody price, almost unexpectedly crumpled up the American defense at the south, and proved the chief source of the entire success of the attacking operations.

The other point in which Demont's plans aided the arrangements, was in showing that it was possible for the northern attacking force to work their way around on the Hudson shore, if covered
by a war vessel in that river, and passing the fortification now
known as Fort Tryon, to creep in between the main fort and the
water side.

The most important features of this plan necessitated the use
of boats to transport the attacking parties across the Harlem River,
and to get these boats into position without attracting the atten-
tion of the American forces.

The famous flat boats, which had done such effective work in
each engagement—at Brooklyn, Kip’s Bay and the landing at Pell’s
Point—were therefore brought up the Hudson under cover of the
dark night of November 14, and, successfully eluding the vigilance
of the sentries on Fort Washington Point, were worked round the
Spyuyten Duyvil to a position under the overhanging trees of the
shore of the Harlem River at Fordham.

Within the wooded slopes of the hillside a picked force of red
coats was concealed. Another flotilla of navy rowboats made its
way in equally successful manner up the East River to the Harlem,
and the boats were drawn up and concealed under the trees of the
Highbridge hillside, about opposite 170th Street, where the Royal
Highland Regiment was gathered for its share in the attack.

All these preparations being made, on the afternoon of the
15th, a boat put out from the Fordham waterside, bearing a flag of
truce, on which an officer bore the usual formal demand upon the
commander for surrender of the post, coupled with the reminder
that a refusal would mean, as was then the custom of warfare, the
extermination of the garrison in case of its capture.

This letter was delivered about 1 p. m. to Lieut.-Col. Michael
Swope, commander of a detachment of Pennsylvania volunteers, a
tried and trusty officer, who on Demont’s desertion had been hastily
appointed acting-adjunatant to the defending forces. By him con-
veyed to Robert Magaw, that officer lost no time in penning his
answer, couched in a simplicity and nobility of language which
reflects credit on his noble character:

“If I rightly understand,” he wrote to Col. Patterson, the
courtly one-time interviewer of Washington, and Adjutant of the
army of attack, “the purport of your message from General Howe
communicated to Col. Swope, this post is to be immediately sur-
rrendered or the garrison put to the sword.” The inhumanity of the
proposition induced him to awake the generosity of his foe, in the
possible eventuality of his defeat—"I rather think it a mistake, than a settled resolution in General Howe, to act a part so unworthy of himself and the British nation." The threat, however, should be shown to be without effect—"Give me leave," he concluded, in a burst of hopeful patriotism, "to assure his Excellency that, actuated by the most glorious cause that mankind ever fought in, I am determined to defend this post to the very last extremity."

These lofty sentiments distinguish a man who in his devotion to duty ranks second to none in the struggle for liberty, and who deserves from his country the memorial, hitherto denied to his resting place, and only recently erected by the Society of American Wars, on which his own words fittingly are inscribed.

The original of this document was afterwards found among his papers in Carlisle, and having fallen into the hands of an antiquarian, has, it is hoped, been preserved.

A brief council was held. The evident intention of an imminent attack led the small council of line officers in the fort to the conclusion that while their duty was plain, their generals should be made aware of the situation.

A copy of the summons to surrender was promptly placed in the hands of an aide, Lieut.-Col. Thomas Bull, who had the same evening arrived with a reinforcement of men of Malcolm’s regiment then under his command, and he was ordered to convey it to Washington. The General had come over from North White Plains to Fort Lee, in order to consult with Greene and others on the question of maintaining the fortress.

Unfortunately for the eventual result, Washington had that very afternoon ridden out to Hackensack and was absent at the time of Bull’s arrival. The letter had to be sent after him and time was thus lost. The contents being communicated to Nathaniel Greene and Israel Putnam, those generals thought the situation serious enough to demand their personal investigation, and taking boat, they crossed the river to the fort, and interviewed the commandant. He and his associates enthusiastically expressed their willingness to dispute the threatened assault, and reported their men in excellent spirits and full of determination.

Meanwhile a messenger went out to Hackensack, and the news was received by Washington, who immediately rode back in the gloom of night to the margin of the Palisades, and descending to
the water’s edge, took a boat for the fort. But as his boat approached the middle of the stream, it was met by another bringing back the two Generals returning from the fort, and the two little craft hung together in midstream, their anxious occupants engaged in low-toned consultation.

The result of the meeting of the Generals was to still the doubts of the Commander-in-Chief for the present, and accepting his subordinates’ view of the situation, he returned with them to the Jersey shore, to spend, we may be sure an anxious and probably a sleepless night.

The morning had advanced but a few hours before Washington was again afloat with Greene, Putnam and Mercer, on their way to the island, to look at the situation and “determine what was best to be done.” But for once, Washington was too late, and “just at the instant we stepped on board the boat, the enemy made their appearance on the hill” at the south part of the Heights, while a furious cannonade commenced from the east.

Rowing briskly across the river, the Generals landed, probably lower down towards 158th Street, where a little stream descended from the hillside through what is now Audubon Park, and ascending the hill, they made for the Headquarters House, the later Jumel Mansion, still evidently under the impression that the major attack must come from the south, in which direction Lord Percy’s force, having driven in the outposts on the Post Road and Harlem lane, was deploying to get the field-pieces into action, while a Hessian brigade was forcing its way on the west side, up the wooded hillside above Manhattanville.
THE ATTACK ON FORT GEORGE

The sinister flat-boats which during the night of the 14th of November had made their appearance in Spuyten Duyvil Creek, landed their passengers, consisting of two battalions of light infantry and two of guards, at Kingsbridge near the Farmers' Bridge, where, drawn up under the shelter of the trees and rushes, they lay ready for use.

Another flotilla of navy boats, manned by tars of the warships lying in the East River, was brought in similarly silent and successful fashion up the Harlem River, and were gathered in a little inlet on the Bronx side, opposite 173rd Street.

Around Fort Independence, and those numbered 4 and 5 on Kingsbridge Heights, a brigade of Hessian troops, including the Waldeck grenadiers, was bivouacked, and in the vicinity of the University, the headquarters staff of the British command was gathered around the newly-erected ramparts of Fort No. 8, the artillery in which was trained on Washington Heights.

While the gloom of night still shrouded the scene, and ere the first streaks of the dawn of the 16th of November appeared over the Westchester hills, the men of the mercenary troops were aroused and marched down the old Boston Road and Kingsbridge Road, to the Farmers' Bridge, while others from the lowland near Van Cortlandt Park were brought to the Kings Bridge and filed over its partly repaired roadway past Marble Hill to the Nagel Farm, where the two bodies united and rested on their arms.

Here they were formed into two brigades, right and left, the former, gathered on the land near the present Ship Canal above 218th Street, being led by the redoubtable Colonel Rall, and the easterly division formed on the farm-lands near the Nagel house at 213th Street, was directed by Brigadier General Schmidt. The
whole force was, of course under the command of Lieutenant-General the Baron Wilhelm von Knyphausen.

High brass-mounted shakos covered their tallowed and powdered heads, and their fierce blackened moustaches set off the brilliancy of uniforms not yet dulled by long campaigning. Their coats were of dark blue, with yellow or black flaps, crossed by broad pipe-clayed belts, with polished bronze buckles. Yellow or blue vests with bright pewter buttons topped their buff breeches, over which were strapped long black cloth gaiters, extending above the knees.

On the south another Hessian force advanced from Bloomingdale and a British brigade moved out from its lines at McGowan’s Pass in Central Park, being joined by the troops quartered in Harlem Village, and advancing across the farm lands, they made for the flank of the hillside, on which the Convent of the Sacred Heart now stands. On the edge of the hill a small American battery, held by a little force of twenty men, covered the Post Road below. Lord Percy, commanding these southern forces was accompanied by Admiral Lord Howe, the brother of the British Commander-in-chief, who was thus enabled to see the interesting operations of the day, in which his marine force was represented by the bold exertions of the little twenty-gun frigate “Pearl.”

This vessel leaving her convoy of store ships above Spuyten Duyvil, dropped down abreast of Inwood, where she entered actively into her duty of covering the movements of the Waldeck regiment, which under Rall’s personal command was to force the Hudson shore line.

The day’s operations commenced with a furious fire from Fort No. 8, directed into the easterly wooded flanks of the Heights. The corps of Light Infantry was ferried over the Harlem by the mako-war’s-men, who drove the flatboats into Sherman’s Creek, where the infantry, springing ashore, spread around the foot of the hill, where the Speedway widens on its turn into Dyckman Street.

Plunging into the marshy banks under a brisk fire from the Pennsylvania men sheltered behind the wet rocks and trees, the light infantry charged, bayonet in hand, up the steeps, slipping on the dripping leaves falling about them, yet protected somewhat as they advanced by the very precipitous character of the ground. Their advance covered the landing of the guards, for whom the
SOUTHWEST BASTION OF FORT WASHINGTON from which the British squadrons were bombarded in 1776, page 231. Now covered by Hudson View Apartments. The excavation in the foreground is the site of the one-time Four-in-hand Club house of 1870.

TWO-GUN REDOUBT IN FORT TRYON, the scene of the exploit of Margaret Corbin 1776, probably strengthened by British and Hessian troops 1779-80. Pages 159 and 267.
boats returned, and who landed unmolested, the Pennsylvanians being fully occupied with their active foes.

This impetuous onset of nearly two thousand alert and active trained light infantry whose advance was preceded as they clambered upwards, by a hail of grape and round shot, was opposed by the four detachments of Swope’s, Baxter’s, Watt’s, and McAllister’s Pennsylvania volunteers, known as “The Flying Camp,” and amounting to between four and five hundred men under the general command of Colonel William Baxter of Buck’s County, Pennsylvania. They manned the little redoubt known as the Laurel Hill fort, situated on the southern side of the present Fort George Avenue.

The British advance, which might almost be better described as a climb, was irresistible. The swarming light infantrymen were backed by the giants of the Guards battalions, who in turn, had they required it, would have been supported by the Thirty-third Regiment held in reserve on the east bank of the river. The details of the defence have been only vaguely described, but its nature can be gathered from the fact that Baxter personally encouraging his men in hand to hand conflict, was run through by the sword of a British officer, and died thus, gallantly, his face to his enemy, his body being left in their possession.

As their commander fell, his men retreated, and General Matthew’s men found themselves in possession of the commanding hilltop, on which the guns of Fort Washington opened, across the wooded defile down which the Post Road made its hidden way. Pushing cautiously forward, the attacking force opened out and made their way slowly towards Mount Washington.
THE ATTACK ON THE SOUTH

The system of defences on the southern part of Washington Heights comprised as its outworks the little redoubt above St. Nicholas Park on the east, and another of similarly slender character near 134th Street west of Broadway. Back of these was the first line, an irregular series of embankments crossing the high land from Broadway at 147th Street to St. Nicholas Avenue at 146th Street. At each end there was a redoubt—that on the west overlooking the North River, that on the east commanding the passage of the Post Road, which climbed the steep grade long known as Breakneck Hill, from Edgecombe Avenue at 143rd Street. A contemporary military account describes this line as "a slight entrenchment with a few weak bastions, without platforms for cannon, and furnished with no other ordnance than a few old iron pieces of small calibre, scarcely fit for use, and an iron six-pounder mounted on trucks."

With such slender means the American garrison of the Heights faced the formidable array of British and Hessian troops now advancing from Harlem and Bloomingdale.

Those who advanced on the Heights from the south composed a brigade, under the command of Major General Stein, (generally spelt in English accounts as Stirn) and came from the left of the British lines near Bloomingdale, over the battleground of the Harlem Heights affair of September 16th, across the farms of Hoagland and Vandewater on Morningside Heights, across the intervening valley through which ran a lane now known as West 125th Street, up the hillside on the line of what afterwards became Broadway, and was then a track through the woods, and on the retreat of the Americans from 147th Street, followed them across Audubon Park along the Hudson hillsides to a point near Depot Lane or West
177th Street, probably advancing on the river margin to Fort Washington Park.

This brigade included the crack infantry regiment of the Erbprinz, or Hesse Hanau regiment, named in honor of the Crown Prince of Hesse, who was ruler of the principality of Hanau, a part of his father's possessions. Under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Friederic von Hackenberg, this regiment went into action about 540 strong. We shall hear of it again in the later history of the Heights.

The two other regiments forming the brigade were the Infantry regiment von Donop, its chief or nominal Colonel, Carl Emil Kurt von Donop, however, being in command of the Chasseurs and of the skirmish line with the northern force at Kingsbridge, and the regiment being under the command of Col. von Gosen. With this corps was the Infantry regiment von Mirbach, under Colonel von Bose. All three had been in action at the Long Island battle in the month of August.

The command of this part of the defences was committed to Col. Lambert Cadwalader, commanding the Third Pennsylvania Regiment. His force consisted of about 800 men, composed of his own regiment, a battalion of the Connecticut Rangers employed as marksmen, and a reinforcement of a company of militia during the engagement that followed. His second in command was Lieut.-Col. Will Butler, one of the famous family of five brothers, all in the service, and among his subordinates was Capt. Alexander Graydon, in command of a company, who afterward wrote a description of the events of the day as he witnessed them. He says:

"I think it was between 7 and 8 o'clock when they gave us the first shot from one of their batteries on the other side of the Harlem River. It was well-directed at a cluster of us that were standing together observing their movements, but it fell short by about ten or fifteen yards and bounded over the spot we had precipitately abandoned." "About 10 o'clock in the morning," he related, "a large body of the enemy appeared in Haerlem plains preceded by their field pieces." Leaving the Post Road at Snake Hill, now Mount Morris Park, and crossing the field in two columns, they made for the hillside, "and advanced with their whole body toward a rocky point of the heights which skirted the plains in a southern direction from the first line and at a considerable distance from it."

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On the west a Hessian column, which Graydon could not, of course, then distinguish, came north from Bloomingdale, and, descending the Claremont Hill to the Manhattanville valley, rushed the little redoubt on the height above.

"The British, meanwhile," commencing a brisk fire on the small work constructed above St. Nicholas Park, "drove out the party which held it, consisting of twenty men, and took possession of it, the men retiring with the piquet guard to the first line. They killed a man of the piquets on the front and drove the piquets in."

He then tells how the enemy advanced in columns, while an advanced party "pushed forward and took possession of a small unoccupied work in front of the first line, from whence they opened their fire with some field pieces and a howitzer" without effect. The Americans, waiting until the attacking force came within range, opened a fire from their solitary effective piece, the wheeled six-pounder, "on which the whole column took post behind a piece of woods" on their left, where, he says, they remained. It was just at this time that Generals Washington and Greene were making their way toward the Morris house to observe the course of events and, Greene's account says, "our guard soon fled and the enemy made several marches to the right and left, I suppose to reconnoitre the fortifications and the lines." Graydon relates that it being supposed the enemy intended to attack from behind the wood that side of the intrenchments was strengthened, and he says they slowly began to form behind the verge of the wood giving an occasional discharge from their artillery.

At this critical juncture an alarming report reached Cadwalader of the embarkation of the Highlanders on the Harlem, with the evident intention of taking his forces in the rear, and from his scanty force he detached fifty men under the command of Capt. David Lennox to oppose the landing.

Word was evidently sent back by this officer that he had a large force to resist—in point of fact the entire 42d Regiment, 800 strong, and again Cadwalader weakened his little forces by "a hundred more with Captains Edwards and Tudor," leaving but 550 in all with which to hold the long line of the first defence. Capt. Graydon proposed to his commander that he should throw his company into a small work or ravelin which had been partially constructed about 200 yards in advance of the main intrenchment,
and so must have stood about on the line of 143rd Street, west of Broadway.

On taking possession of this place, they found it to be but knee high, affording no protection, and so were obliged to abandon it. On this the enemy emerged in column, opening a scattering fire, which did little damage, the Hessians and British being apparently very poor marksmen. Graydon and his men were sent over to the right to protect the Hudson side of the hill, and were stationed just where the high ground began to decline toward the river. Being thus cut off from view of the main field of action, he did not see the advance of the British, but General Greene's account says that "the enemy began a severe cannonade with several field pieces. Our guard soon fled, the enemy advanced up to the second line."

Meantime General Washington at the Headquarters House, had taken a rapid view of the situation, and at the earnest solicitation of his brother officers, had made his way across the Hudson River, taking a station on the highest point of the Palisades, where he could watch through his glasses, with tense interest, the course of events at all points of the assault.

Colonel Magaw, observing the menace of the Highlanders landing, sent Lieutenant Colonel Bull, mounted on one of the two horses in possession of the garrison, to Colonel Cadwalader, with orders to him to draw in his men to the next line of defence at 155th Street. The men retired for the most part in good order, though the Pennsylvanians on the west side, commanded by Forrest and Graydon, were delayed by the sudden advance of the British cavalry, the Seventeenth Light Dragoons. By the time they reached our present Trinity Cemetery and got behind the earthworks of the Second Line, orders were received to retire still further, as the Highlanders' attack was developing and menaced the rear of that line on the east.

These earth works ran through Trinity Cemetery, commencing at a redoubt on the line of Broadway at 153rd Street, two smaller redoubts on mounds still visible in the Cemetery, and a line of breastworks extending to an easterly work near Edgecombe Avenue, at 154th Street, overlooking the marshy area below the steep hillside.
XI

THE HIGHLANDERS' ASSAULT

In our general description of attack on Mount Washington, brief reference only has been made to that part of the assault upon the Heights, which was in the British accounts described as the Highlanders' "surprise party." Little detailed attention has been given in any histories to this most important element or to the gallantry displayed on both sides. There has even been some doubt as to the precise locality where this affair took place, owing to the vague way in which several writers have described the scene.

The most definite evidence of its position is, of course, the British map of the operations, prepared by Claude Sauthier "immediately after" the event, by the order of the Right Hon. Earl Percy, which shows lines of advance of the several branches of the attacking forces. While the map is remarkably well-informed in the general details of the locality, it is nevertheless probable that the position of certain forces must be taken as that which they occupied at some part of the action, and does not exhibit the whole of their movements. This can be shown to be the case with the part played by the Forty-second Regiment of Highlanders under the command of their Lieut.-Col. Sir Thomas Sterling, which broke in on the center, being the weakest part of the American position, and certainly turned the scale of the fortune of the day against the defending forces.

A British map shows the point of their embarkation to have a little bay on "Haarlem Creek," as the map describes the river, opposite the line of 173rd Street which is now obliterated by recent filling-in along the tracks of the New York Central railroad at Highbridge.

The main body forced their way southwards between the precipitous rocks of High Bridge Park, which then overhung the

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marshy margin of the river. They were met by a fierce fire from the marksman concealed in the woods on the western bank, but in spite of the loss of many of their number, they made a landing.

The Americans were no mean marksman, and although there were but one hundred and fifty of them against eight hundred, they accounted for nearly a hundred killed and wounded Highlanders. From being "intended as a feint" in the British commander's scheme of attack, it developed, by the impetuosity of the Highlanders, into the most important feature of the assault.

Leaving behind their Major, named Murray, who was so fat that he could not keep pace with them, the Highlanders, in kilt and tartan, rushed up the ascent with such speed and dash, that they made prisoners of about a hundred and seventy of the Americans. Hearing his calls, some of his men then went back and helped their stout Major to the top of the hill.

As the Scotsmen fought their way up the wooded and rocky hill-side and gained the heights, a sharp contest ensued. The resistance was stubborn and determined. It was Scot against Scot, for the defending force was under the command of a Lennox and a McIntire. Some of them were cut off and captured and a number were wounded.

Near the house of Colonel Roger Morris were the huts in which had been quartered some part of the American force during the summer and fall of '76. These huts appear to have been arranged in two lines running east of the Post Road about on the line of 162nd Street. As the Americans retired, the Highlanders took the cover of the huts and thence commanded an easy descent towards the rear of the second line of intrenchments at 155th Street.

They did not advance at once for they imagined the enclosed bastions in Trinity Cemetery might contain concealed forces. Cadwalader and his officers took advantage of the delay and retired their men from their positions.

"They hesitated," says Graydon, "and this being perceived from the delay that took place, Colonel Cadwalader, to avoid the fatal consequences that must have resulted from the expected movement, immediately resolved to retire to the fort with the troops under his command."

Orders were sent to the right and left of the line to retire on signal, which after a proper interval was given, those on the left
retiring obliquely towards the center of the hilltop, where they came opposite the enemy posted at the huts, received their fire and returned it irregularly, holding back the British until they had passed.

The British force now advanced and joined the Highlanders between 155th and 160th Streets, and together they followed the retreating Americans over the hillside towards the Hudson. Graydon and Forrest’s company of Pennsylvanians was nearly cut off as the men escaped along the edge of the Hudson near 158th Street.

Those officers, who had gone up the hill to see what the situation was, found themselves practically surrounded and seeing no alternative but surrender they clubbed their pistols in token of surrender, and advanced towards the Highlanders. Their signs were perhaps mistaken or the soldiers were not ordered to cease firing, as they became the target for a fusillade until they came within forty or fifty yards of the Highland force, and Graydon remarks how astonishing it was that even these “blunt shooters” could have missed them, comparing them sarcastically with the excellent marksmen on the American side.

Resigning their weapons to an officer of the Forty-second, he put them in charge of a Sergeant, who volunteered advice in the broadest Scotch dialect, as he took them away, “Young men, ye should never fight against your King.” As they stood disarmed under his charge a British officer of rank rode up at full gallop, and excitedly exclaimed, “What, taking prisoners, kill them, kill them, every man of them.”

It may be remembered that in the military law of the period a garrison taken in an assault was subject to be put to the sword, as the old term was, and that in the summons to surrender Howe had threatened the garrison with this result in case of resistance, and many a poor fellow lost his life at Fort Tryon by refusal of mercy after he had surrendered to them, a scene which Washington is said to have witnessed through his glasses. Graydon seeing the risk he ran, doffed his hat and making him a bow said, “Sir, I put myself under your protection,” a rebuke which effectually calmed the officer, who, after a question as to the position of Fort Washington and the whereabouts of its commander then rode off.
FORT TRYON. With the Memorial recording its gallant defence by the Maryland and Virginia regiment, and Margaret Corbin's heroism. Page 262.

This little scene seems to have taken place somewhere near the head of Audubon Park and Broadway, and the Hessian force then coming up, these captured officers were subjected to brutal threats and abuse on the part of some of the lower class of the hired soldiers.
XII

THE FIGHT ON THE HILLSIDE

While the attack on Laurel Hill, and the events at the southerly end of the Heights had been proceeding, the Hessian division was held waiting in the cold rain, for the word to advance. Not until the Light Infantry were in possession of the hill-top, and the Highlanders had forced their way to the Morris House, did the British commander order Knyphausen to make the most formidable and dangerous part of the attack.

It may be estimated that there were, standing under arms that raw November morning, about 4,130 men of Hessian extraction, as well as the 670 men forming the regiment from the principality of Waldeck. In our general accounts of the assault we have described their main movements, and it is now of interest to learn, in somewhat more detail, the conditions under which they went into this affair, out of which so many emerged injured and crippled, while to more than a hundred and fifty it was their march to a shallow grave on our rugged hillsides.

When they were ferried over the Harlem in the gray of early dawn, or picked their way cautiously in the half light over the temporary planking of the half-repaired bridge, it was with the expectation of an early advance. But a delay ensued, caused by the lack of foresight of the British commanders, in neglecting to take into account the low state of the tide, which prevented the boats from embarking that British force which lay near Fordham, and whose advance was to be the signal for movement. So the troops were formed up in two brigades or divisions, under cover, as far as possible, of the woods around Marble Hill, and their energetic advance guard, one portion of which had pushed forward well up on Inwood Hill, was called back. The hours wore on while the British
attack on Laurel Hill developed, and after fully five hours of weary waiting, the division was started forward.

Rall’s men were allowed to go forward to cover Inwood Hill, and pushing their way through the wooded slopes on the Hudson side, they soon found themselves at Tubby Hook, facing the steep height around which Riverside Drive now makes its turn to Dyckman Street. Its precipitous sides were marred by felled timber and abattis of brushwood, behind which, and under cover of piles of stones and the overhanging rocks, the riflemen of the Maryland and Virginia Regiment lay waiting for the enemy to come within range of their muskets and turkey rifles.

This regiment was commanded by Lieut. Colonel Moses Rawlings, and was considered the most aristocratic corps in the army at the time. Their mettle had been shown in the Battle of Brooklyn, from which the remnants of the two fine regiments emerged in such reduced numbers as together to form barely a complete corps. The attacking force was of course largely superior in number and in training. There were standing under arms that raw November morning, about 4100 men of Hessian nationality, as well as 670 Waldeckers.

Schmidt’s column was composed of three regiments. The Land Grenadier Regiment Rall, not led by their colonel who was in charge of the right column, but by Lieut. Colonel Brethauer, the fusilier regiment von Knyphausen, named after the divisional commander, commanded by Colonel von Borck, and the infantry regiment of the Landgraf, otherwise known as the Wutgenau, under Colonel Heinrich Julius von Kospoth, all preceded by a company of scouts, known as Feld-Jagers or Chasseurs, a part of these being mounted. With them went the field-battery, which first came into action near the Century house, the home of the Nagel family at 213th Street, near the margin of the Harlem.

The middle column comprised also three regiments, the militia regiments von Huyne and von Bunau or Bienau, with the regiment of fusiliers known as the Alt (or Senior) von Lossberg, so named after its “chef” or nominal Colonel, Lieut.-Gen. Friedrich Wilhelm von Lossberg, who succeeded Knyphausen in 1782, and whose son Jung (or Junior) von Lossberg became colonel of the Mirbach regiment in 1780. The latter was destined to form the guard to
receive the captured garrison, but a few weeks later was itself taken in the net at Trenton.

The column under Colonel Rall included the Waldeck Regiment and the Fourth Battalion of Grenadiers, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel von Kohler, and took along a battery of heavy 12-pounder guns and a howitzer all of great weight, which were to be hauled bodily up Inwood Hill to the site of the Cockhill fort and there turned against the little guns defending Fort Tryon.

In front of all was a force of skirmishers commanded by Colonel von Donop, partly composed of men of the Chasseurs, huntsmen and forest keepers, recruited for the duty of scouts and all being excellent shots. Among the advance-guard at the left was a party under Captain von Medern, with whom was a young ensign, Joseph Wiedeshlät, of the Wutgenau regiment. He was in the thick of the fighting along the hillside between Broadway and Fort Washington Avenue, where the features of the locality as he describes them, may still be seen practically unchanged, especially by those who do not dislike a hard clamber over the very rocks on which these brave if misguided men, fought a gallant fight with their determined opponents. With all its quaint introspection an account translated from the original diary kept by the young officer, of the exciting events he experienced that day, is of special interest to us who know and reside near the very ground he describes.

"This day has done honor to us Hessians, which every brave man can rightfully attribute to himself. At half-past five o'clock in the morning we went over Kingsbridge to York Island, namely the following regiments: Knyphausen, Huyn, Bienau, Rall, Lossberg and Waldeck were joined by Wutginau and the grenadier battalion and formed two columns; the column on the right consisted of Lossberg, Rall, the grenadier battalion Kohler, and Waldeck, was led by Colonel Rall and was stationed in a wood until the appointed time.

"The column of the left consisted of the regiments Wutginau, Knyphausen, Huyn and Bienau, and was led by Major Gen. Schmidt. His Excellency Lieut. Gen. von Knyphausen commanded the whole attack, and he was at all times to be found where the resistance and the attack was hottest, and he himself laid hold of the fences to take some of them down and to spur on the men. He was exposed to the terrible cannonade and musketry as well as to

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the rifle shots, like a common soldier, and indeed so much so that it is to be wondered at, that he came off without being killed or wounded. The avant-guard of the column of the right consisted of a troop of jagers and 100 men 'prime plana,' commanded by Major von Dechow, the avant-guard of the column of the left consisted of 100 men, commanded by Captain Medern of the Wutginau, in which were I and Lieut. von Lofenfeld. Both the captain and lieutenant are dead; the former died the next day, but the latter remained on the field.

"I am still living, God be praised, and came off quite well with the exception of a slight scratch in the face, made by a small branch shot off from a tree, though I led the front line of this avant-guard, consisting of 30 men, and was consequently the foremost. I was here reminded of the old Proverb, 'Weeds never die.' At 7 o'clock a violent cannonade was opened to engage the attention of the enemy, so that they should not know where the real attack was to be made. If we had continued the attack already commenced at the time, there would not have been a third part of those lost, that afterwards were actually lost, for with my avant-guard I had already advanced quite high up the mountain, when Gen. von Knyphausen sent me orders to come back.

"In the meantime Gen. Howe had informed him, that all was not yet in readiness for the feigned attack, and consequently he would have to delay the real attack. At 7:30 o'clock the English general, Lord Percy, with two English and a Hessian brigade, under Major Gen. Stein, namely the hereditary prince Donop and Mirbach attacked the lines lying between the fort and New York and carried them without great loss, having only two wounded and the rebels deserted their lines. At 11 o'clock the boats came down the Harlem Creek, with two brigades of English, to make a descent on the wood lying on our left and to form a false attack.

"The real attack was now begun by us, and we found the flower of their troops and their riflemen all on a rock lying before us, almost inaccessible, surrounded by a morass and by three abattis one above another; notwithstanding which all the obstacles were cleared out of the way, the abattis broken into, the morass waded through, the rocks scaled and the riflemen, who were seconded by a heavy fire of musketry from their intrenchments, driven off, and we reached this so fearful height and mountain, pursued the enemy
retiring behind their lines and batteries, drove them out there also, took the batteries, one of which lay way up on the rock and followed the fugitive enemy as far as the real fort, where we took possession at the side of the fort on the declivity of the mountain, in order to be secure from the fire of the fort.”
XIII

MARGARET CORBIN

THE fighting on the north side was closely watched by Washington from his post on the Palisades. On the summit of the hill, the present great mansion “Tryon Tower,” built by C. K. G. Billings, occupies the site of the little fort which commanded a broad view of the Hudson and the Dyckman valley. It was a small earth-work on the crest of the hill, with a stone breastwork extending across the line of Fort Washington Avenue in a southerly direction. It was regarded as the northern extension of the main fortification, and had no special designation. Its later name of Fort Tryon was a complimentary title bestowed upon it by the British in honor of their last civil official, the then governor of the province.

At the time of the assault, a company of artillermen, under command of Captain Pierce, handled the few cannon it contained. Of these men, one was John Corbin, a Virginian, a private soldier of the First Company, Pennsylvania Artillery, with whom at the hour of the attack was his wife Margaret. Her devotion to the cause had led her to follow his regiment as a nurse and camp assistant, and to share the discomforts and privations of camp life on the Heights with him. Now during the thickest of the fighting, when every hand was needed to work the guns, she stood by, helping in the laborious duty.

Just at the most desperate juncture as men were falling all around, her husband fell dead, shot through the heart by a bullet from a Hessian musket, and Margaret, stepping into his place loaded, cleaned and fired the gun with such “skill and vigor” as to attract the attention of her officers and comrades.

But only a few minutes elapsed before three grapeshot from Hessian guns found a mark in her shoulder and breast, and the last
gun being thus silenced, the Hessians swarmed over the ramparts, their commander "shouting "Forward, all my grenadiers," as the garrison, leaving dead and wounded, were driven out of the fort. Many were bayonettied on the open space behind the works, in front of the present Libbey Castle and in sight of General Washington, who is said to have shed tears as his glasses disclosed to him the rout and slaughter of his gallant fellow Virginians.

As the defenders were driven back along the ridge to the shelter of Fort Washington, the dead and dying were examined by the victors, and the sight of an American woman among them must have excited interest if not pity. After some surgical care, Margaret was taken across the river and delivered to the custody of the American forces, having given her parole to fight no more in the war. She was taken to Philadelphia, and entered as a member of the Invalid Regiment, received soldier's sick pay and a suit of uniform from Congress, and after the war was supported by the army establishment under charge of Quartermaster Price, at West Point. She was boarded out with a family in Swimstown, having her own simple furnishings for her room, and there she passed away in 1800 at the age of forty-nine years, and was buried, it is asserted, in a marked grave on land now part of the Morgan estate, in full view of the Hudson River in the defence of which her great sacrifice had been made.

Her maiden name was Cochran, and her father, Robert Cochran, was killed by Indians in 1756, and her mother carried off into captivity. Margaret escaped the same fate by her absence on a visit to her uncle, by whom she was adopted and brought up.

Her exploit preceded by nearly two years, the very similar action of Molly Pitcher, for whom she has often been mistaken in local and some historical references, and she was the first American woman to shed her blood in actual warfare in the defence of her country against British domination.
THE SURRENDER

As the afternoon wore on, the fort became the centre of concentrated attacks on all sides. On the south the two British brigades composed of the Tenth, Thirty-seventh, Thirty-eighth and Fifty-second Foot, stretched across the Heights and barred the post road. On the east the light infantry spread along the ridge from 181st Street to Fort George. On the north side the excited Hessians, plying the bayonet among the retreating Americans, forced them back along the ridge towards Fort Washington, until its guns and the men in the northerly trenches afforded them protection.

The Waldeckers, taking advantage of the situation, pushed their way along the Hudson River front, and, protected by the precipitous character of the ground, they got between the fort and the water, thus cutting off the only means of retreat. On the line of 185th to 187th Streets the column under Knyphausen's leadership halted within musket range of the outer breastworks, behind which the exhausted Southerners had found refuge. Below the hill on the easterly side, the men of the Wutginau and Rall regiments rolled back the thin line of their opponents, and halted under the steep hillside below the Death Gap, taking what shelter they could find from the fire of the fort.

There was a large stone barn north of the fort, the location of which was probably at 189th Street, on Abraham Meyer's farm. Behind this building Gen. Knyphausen and his staff collected, while the troops were halted, and Col. Rall, whose men had earned distinction by their capture of Fort Tryon, was directed to send forward a demand for surrender of the garrison.

Calling Capt. Hohenstein, a company commander, Rall said to him: "Hohenstein, you speak English and French, take a drummer with you, tie a white cloth on a gun-barrel, go to the fort and call
for a surrender.” “I did this at once,” relates the captain, “but they kept firing at me and the drummer till we came to the glacis,” that is, the foot of the slope, probably just opposite the old Fisher residence, where the hill commences to ascend to the site of the fort. The boys behind the earthworks finally perceived the errand of the officer and ceased firing, when a party came out to learn his mission, and blindfolding his eyes they led him within the outer defense, sending word of his arrival to the post commander. Col. Cadwalader then came down to him, and Hohenstein, who appears to have been authorized to make terms, made him the following proposal: “He should immediately march out of the fort with the garrison and they should lay down their arms before Gen. Knyp hausen. All ammunition, provisions, and whatever belonged to Congress should be faithfully made known.” On the other hand, I gave him my word that all, from the commanding officer down, should retain their private property. Finally a white flag should be immediately hoisted, to put a stop to all hostilities.

“The commander asked for four hours time to consider, which however, I refused, and allowed him only half an hour to speak with his officers.”

The white flag was no doubt displayed, and both sides ceased firing, not again to be renewed, while those officers who had survived withdrew into the fort and anxiously conferred with Magaw on their situation. Their dilemma was truly unfortunate. Hemmed around on all sides, they might and probably could put up some further defense for a time, but as each commander reported the strength of the forces which had been opposed to his post the hopelessness of a resistance to a bayonet charge in force from several points at once, became apparent. Nor was there now even a precarious line of retreat.

The men of the Hessian brigade in the south were massed on the hillside, overlooking Jeffrey’s Hook, and had no doubt already worked their way down into the battery upon that point, which they commanded from the rear. There was a bare chance that the Waldeckers had not closed in entirely between the fort and the river, but their advance pickets were there, and the “Pearl” had dropped down near their position and with her guns could have commanded the passage. Captain Robert Gooch, landing at the river’s bank with a message from Washington, clambered the
heights, and must have seen the jaws of the trap closing on the devoted garrison.

Coming in on the officers' council just as they had reached the determination that surrender was their only recourse, he delivered Washington's note in which Magaw was asked to try and hold out till darkness should set in, when the general would endeavor to bring off the garrison, probably by attempting some strategy such as had been employed so successfully on Long Island, a very problematical affair, however, in these circumstances. But the half-hour was up, and a decision had to be made known. Determined to leave no effort untried, Magaw went down himself and spoke with Hohenstein.

His emotion was visible. "His fate seemed hard to him," says his honorable opponent. Captain Gooch, seeing his presence to be of no further avail, and not conceiving himself to be included as a member of the garrison then under flag of truce, turned and boldly made his retreat to his boat. His desperate escapade was miraculously successful. Leaping down the rocks over the brushwood between the fort and the water, in what is now part of Fort Washington Park, he actually dodged the bayonets of the Waldeck pickets and escaped a shower of bullets for which he was the target in his descent, and entering his boat, made his way to headquarters and reported the disastrous condition of affairs.

Magaw's further discussion with Hohenstein resulted in no concession. But the Hessian officer records one of Magaw's remarks which appears to have impressed him. It was probably in answer to Hohenstein's reminder that better terms would be secured by surrender to General Knyphausen rather than by delay and surrender to General Howe. "The Hessians," said he, "make impossibilities possible." Finally the Captain said, "General Knyphausen is a hundred paces off; come with me, on my safe conduct, and see if he will give you better terms," a suggestion which Magaw accepted, and went out to the barn, where a very short interview convinced him that no further concession whatsoever was to be procured from the haughty General. Word was sent in to the crowded garrison of the surrender. As the news passed round some men broke into weeping and others fell to cursing at the giving up of the fort on which so much dependence had been placed.

There can be no doubt that General Knyphausen was entitled
to the credit of the surrender, which was made to him and his own forces, but it can be imagined that it was rather galling to the officers of the British army then waiting around the fort on the east and south, to have their hired associates, upon whom many of them looked with hearty disfavor and contempt, become the actual conquerors of the position. This situation is rather amusingly evidenced in the two maps of the affairs of the day prepared by the two forces. In the British map of Sauthier, their forces are exhibited close up to the glacis of the Mount, while the Hessian forces are much further removed on the north, while on the German map issued by Knyphausen's orders, the advantage of final position appears, and properly so, on the Hessian side.

That the Hessian general's work was, nevertheless, generously appreciated by Howe, seems clear from the re-naming of the captured fortification "Fort Knyphausen," in his honor. Its occupation was allotted also to his force as their first duty. But it would seem that the undertaking given at the surrender was treated with scant regard by the British. The captured force was promised that they should retain their private property, and Magaw stipulated, probably with the general personally, for humane treatment. Neither agreement was respected by the British authorities in their eventual treatment of the unfortunate prisoners.
ONE-GUN LUNETTE BATTERY on Jeffreys Hook, Fort Washington Park, engaged with the British frigates in 1776. In foreground the bay where the ships were prepared for blocking the river. Page 255.

MEMORIAL IN THE AMERICAN RIFLE REDOUBT constructed in 1776 to command Jeffreys Hook, planned by Imbert, a French volunteer Engineer. Page 139.
THE AFTERTMATH

IN the late afternoon of the fateful date the banner of freedom was lowered in Fort Washington, to be seen no more in this vicinity for seven weary years, and the flag of Britain, which had already fallen and risen on Manhattan Island, took its place over the fortress which had cost its defenders so dearly in labor and life.

Its loss to the American cause was, as we now see more clearly in the light of the passage of time and events, the severest blow in the entire course of the war. Yet it stands as a mark of the determination, not only of those who defended it, but of those of their compatriots who, in spite of the bitter result, persisted in carrying on the unequal contest against the organized military force to which it had fallen a victim. The result was a conspicuous demonstration of that determination to win, and of an inability to "stay beaten," which in the end brought the longed-for success.

The very capture of the position brought a burden with it of its continued defense, which effectively aided the American cause, by engaging the constant attention, and requiring the continuous service of a large proportion of the effectives of the British army.

For the whole succeeding period of the war the security of the Heights involved the maintenance of a garrison, usually composed of from five to seven thousand men, which was a proportion of the available active forces that hampered every movement of the British, and thus contributed indirectly to their disasters at Saratoga and Yorktown.

Their loss in men was also severe. The price paid was reported as 462 casualties, but it was openly asserted that the allied full losses were not published, and one officer who accompanied the prisoners to New York admitted they had lost "between 14 and 18 hundred."
The American lists were naturally very incomplete. Their men lay where they fell, from the Speedway to Fort Tryon. A list compiled later by Magaw accounts for about fifty dead and ninety wounded. In addition there were killed Colonels Baxter and Miller, Capt. McCarter, and Lieuts. Harrison and Tannihill, and of the wounded, in those days of crude surgery, the greater part usually died.

But a worse fate was before the majority of the unfortunate garrison, in the starvation and disease of the prison ship, the Sugar House, and in the Middle Dutch Church in Nassau Street, in the latter of which most of the prisoners, including the sick and wounded, were herded with those taken in the battle of Brooklyn.

Some of the Fort Washington men, over 800 in number, were crowded into the Bridewell, a new prison which had been built for a small number of unfortunate women, where they were kept without food for several days, and shivered the long nights through without a pane of glass in any of the windows, "and nothing to keep out the cold but the iron gate."

Around the fort the relief details were turned out to bring in the wounded and bury the dead. The Hessian wounded lay thick around Fort Tryon, many of them cursing their unhappy lot, and the dying bewailing the fate which had cost them their lives in a quarrel in which they had no interest, and not even a decent pit- tance of pay.

The dead were buried where they lay. In the hollows between the rocks around the Abbey Inn their remains have been found, several crowded together in a common grave. The American dead were probably buried in the vicinity of the fort, and long years afterward a space within an orchard was known as the Garrison Burying Ground. Under the surface of Fort Washington Avenue at 181st Street is a long trench in which were disturbed the bones of about forty-five men.

A Hessian officer, Captain von Malsburg, was detailed to take possession of the fort, and as he entered its lines he was, he says surrounded by officers, with anxiety on their faces. They invited him to their barracks, pressed punch, wine and cold cakes upon him, complimented him on his affability, and told him they had not been led to expect such treatment from a Hessian officer. The men of the garrison were marched out in file to surrender their arms.

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They passed between a double row of Hessian soldiers of the regiments of Alt von Lossberg and Rall, laid down their muskets, and gave up their yellow, blue and white banners. As they passed out to the high road some of the Hessians not on duty robbed them violently of their belongings and clothing until stopped by some British officers.

Under a heavy British guard the prisoners, 2,800 in number passed down our present St. Nicholas Avenue on their way to the prisons of the city, and thus closed the gallant defence of the Heights.

A really grateful country should find no effort too great, no expense undue, that should preserve for the benefit of future generations the ground on which these poor fellows labored, for which they fought, and in which were laid, unmarked by their foes, the bodies of those who died in defence of the charge committed to them.

Thus ends the story of the defence of Washington Heights in the cause of Liberty, and by a sad coincidence, the final destruction of the fort comes about at the same time, by the cutting of streets through the ground made sacred by the labors and sufferings of the patriots of 1776.
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Washington Heights

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I

MILITARY LIFE ON THE HEIGHTS

The recent discovery of the remains of some of the dugout huts of the Hessian troops, at 169th Street, draws attention to that curious phase of the past of the historic Heights, when the subsidized associates of the army of Great Britain were quartered there, and with the redcoats and the plundering Tories swarmed over its hills, filled its farmhouses and trampled its fields.

The prominent part played by the mercenary forces in the reduction of Fort Washington, their tragic losses and subsequent long residence in the position, render their doings of peculiar interest to us, and justify some particular attention to their history. The intense hostility which their employment provoked was a prominent means of keeping alive the resistance to the British arms, and proved in the end an aid to the American cause, and a sore disappointment to those who had been misguided enough to employ them, especially when it is reflected that out of a total of 29,166 men sent over here, not less than five thousand deserted and became settlers in the country they had been sent to aid in subjugating, and of the remainder, only 17,313 men lived to return to their native lands.

The details of the organization of this hired weapon of King George are not very available to ordinary readers, the best book on the subject having had but a limited edition, and being now entirely out of print, while not all of the German histories have been translated for the use of American students.

The employment of Hessians by England in our Revolution was not the first occasion of their being hired by that country, nor by any means the first time their rulers had, for their own particular gain, placed their poor subjects' lives upon the market. At one time they were actually hired out in equal numbers to fight against
each other in the opposing armies of George II. and of Charles VII. In such dealings the Landgraves or Princes of Hesse-Cassel had been leaders, and, therefore, in the urgent need for troops in which the British ministry found themselves in the beginning of 1776, it was to that petty court and its unscrupulous monarch that the English government first turned for assistance.

A treaty was entered into on the fifth of February, 1776, with his Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince, Frederick II., Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel and reigning Count of Hanau, by which his little army of 22,000 men was to be engaged in the crushing out of the rebellion, and the suppression of liberty in the general interests of aristocratic government. His son, William, considerably his father's inferior in his character, and notorious for his ill-treatment of his subjects, governed the neighboring little State of Hanau, and almost fell over himself to gain a share of the British subsidies, eventually obtaining a higher price for his men's lives and labors than did his father, all of which he spent on his own pleasures.

The Duke of Brunswick, Charles I., who was deeply involved in debt, was glad to rent out upwards of five thousand men during the war and to pocket a hundred and sixty thousand pounds as a result of the loss of three thousand of them, and for the sufferings of the remainder.

In the government of his provinces of Brunswick and Luneberg, he was associated with his son, the Hereditary Prince, Charles William Ferdinand, who was a brother-in-law of King George III. It was in his honor that the fort constructed in November, 1776, on "Marble Hill," at the line of 225th Street, and still marked on some city maps as "Fort Prince," was named as a compliment to the family relationship of Brunswick and England.

The little state of Waldeck, westward from Cassel, had long been a source for the recruiting of the Dutch army, and when the demand arose, it was quite a natural course for a small force of Waldeckers to be hired for any fighting service.

The Prince of Waldeck was prompt in despatching the famous regiment of 670 men which arrived just in time to gain its laurels on these hills, and by its action, contributed more than any other force to the reduction of Fort Washington.

From the above sources thus were derived the majority of the men who fought in the assault, and at later dates the rulers of
Anspach-Bayreuth, and of Anhalt-Zerbst rented out respectively, 1,644 and 1,160 men, not entirely composed of men from their own very limited dominions. Of these there were some who were quartered at one time or other on our hills, and some of whom were doubtless laid beneath its sod.

The shipment of these forces was no simple task. While the Brunswickers had an easy march through the Hanoverian dominion to the sea, the forces of the little interior states had to pass by land or river, through the government of other petty states, and in part through Prussia, over which reigned the astute Frederick.

Many of the poor hirelings who were thus sold to be killed, injured or used in a wrongful cause in which they had no interest, and who fought a gallant fight along the Hudson hillsides, fell with curses on their lips for the authorities who had sacrificed them, and their unmarked graves are scattered around the Fort they helped to take. Although some are so far traditionally prejudiced as still to regard a Hessian as being no more than a bloody-minded slaughterer, and the saying that "a good Hessian is a dead one," is still current in this locality, yet we may remember that the unhappy men were involuntary agents of their avaricious rulers. Most of them came over only because they were forced to do so, "enlisted" only in name, being impressed, imprisoned, guarded as they marched unarmed on their way to the sea, by picked men with muskets and bayonets, and when brought down to Holland by water, were trans-shipped direct to the transports, to prevent their wholesale desertion at the last moment.

They had little or no hope of any advancement, and no prospect of promotion, and if their treatment on land was harsh, their experiences at sea were horrible, in many cases scarcely less terrible than the features of the life in the prison ships and buildings to which they contributed to condemn so many of their patriotic opponents. As they were examined previous to sailing by the British agents, they were made to take an oath of allegiance to King George, which it was understood, however, was in no wise to invalidate their duties towards their own ruler, thus making them servants of two masters.

On the 22nd of March the Hanau Regiment debarked upon the quay at Nimvegen, in Holland, and as "it was not customary with the Germans to take an Oath, but fasting," they were sworn at an
early hour by the auditor of the regiment, to "be faithful and bear true Allegiance to His Most Sacred Majesty George, King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland," and to "behave with Fidelity in the Service in which I am now engag'd." The commissioners reported this regiment to be in very fine order, "the men of good appearance and very fit for service," the grenadiers, of which there were 95 rank and file, with 3 drummers and 2 fifers, "remarkably good, the Centre Rank only a little short, but very proper Men," in point of fact, good value for their cost. Each man earned a definite sum to his prince, the Duke of Brunswick, who received the value of two months of their pay in advance. "Three men that are wounded to be reckoned as one man killed," and a fixed sum was to be paid for each dead man.

It is helpful to an understanding of the career of the hired German troops and their share in the history of this part of Manhattan, to follow the circumstances of their transport to this country, wherein, as they had been instructed, they were to find the means of enriching themselves at the expense of an unreasonably rebellious population, deservedly to be punished and subdued at their hands. Any such statement or promise that would obtain recruits, appears to have been held out to them.

The first ship-loads started off well and in high spirits. Later recruits had perhaps learned something of the conditions which those preceding them had met, and were less willing and more inclined to avoid the sufferings of the journey.

The trip was no summer jaunt. On board ship each man was docked of three pence per day to provide special rations. These consisted of pork, salt beef, biscuit, peas and water. The pork and beef were several years old, the biscuits so hard they broke them with a cannon ball, and the water so foul that the filaments had to be filtered out of it with a cloth before it could be drunk with clenched nostrils.

In the later shipments, the avarice of the commissary officers of the British, and the reckless neglect of their own rulers, sent them to sea insufficiently clothed and barefooted to meet the hard climate of America. They were loaded on board, regardless of proper accommodations, so many men to the registered tonnage of each of the vessels, these being little merchantmen, ranging from 180 to 360 tons, on which were crowded from 150 to 200 men and
officers, "as many men as they can just hold," as reported by the commissary.

No smoking was allowed between decks, no gaming permitted anywhere, and six men would be allotted one berth in which they crowded and turned together at word from one, precisely as their captives did later on in the Provost jail.

The Regiment of Rall was reported to be composed of very bad material, and probably earned much of the reputation for brutality to prisoners which was laid to the charge of all the auxiliary forces.

Their later recruits were difficult to obtain, and the recruiting officers were at pains to find any sort of men to fill the gaps. "A great many," says the report, "were very old, & very exceptionable, a larger number very young who will not grow better." Lieutenant-Colonel de Benning, of the Chasseur guards, was compelled to sign a memorandum of the following lame ducks among his corps, to whom the commissary objected:

"37 old men between 50 & 60.
6 with one eye.
4 very weak and thin.
1 no nose and unserviceable.
1 Lame from a Wound in his Ankle & not able to March."

So great was the demand, however, that even such poor creatures were shipped to make food for powder, and to earn the bounty for their service or their death. No wonder that when they found themselves on Staten Island and Long Island, they regarded this country as a paradise, and marvelled that any people could rebel against any kind of a government which had permitted them to enjoy such plenty. The swelling cornfields and the verdant woods of York Island, out of which peeped the handsome porticos of the houses of the Colonial period, filled them with admiration.

Small wonder, also, that with the instructions they had received, the bad elements among the heterogeneous collection, tempted by their unaccustomed surroundings, took to plunder, arson and rapine as they made their way into this island on September 15th, and thereafter. As Colonel Kemble, of the Sixtieth Royal American Regiment, recites, "their ravages on the poor Inhabitants of the country made their case deplorable, they took Hay and Oats wherever found, they destroyed all the fruits of the earth,
Loyalist and Rebel alike, in which," he says, "our troops are too ready to follow their example."

As they came down through Westchester County, after the affair at White Plains, with intent to attack this locality, the country was unmercifully pillaged, the behavior of all the troops, especially of the Hessian brigade, being outrageous, even extending to violence towards their officers, who attempted to restrain them.

The news of the treatment meted out to the unhappy men and women of lower Westchester County, preceded their advance to Kingsbridge. The American command also gained some information as to the brutal way in which the men had been inveigled into their work. Some hopes were entertained in patriot councils, that many of them might be persuaded to desert, and as they lay in the first two weeks of November around King’s Bridge, special men were detailed to desert to their side and endeavor to win them over. But the discipline in which they were held, when not on the march, prevented any result from these ingenious efforts.

The appearance and equipment of these regiments was striking, even in those days of brilliant accoutrements and spectacular dress. The men of Hesse-Cassel wore a towering brass-fronted cap, their moustaches were dyed with blacking, their hair plastered with tallow and flour, a braided queue hanging to their waists. A blue coat with broad lapels, by the color of which they were distinguished from one another, generally yellow in color, but in some blue, red, white or black, covered a yellow vest with deep flaps. It was crossed by wide pipe-clayed belts, supporting ammunition pouches, a bayonet belt and a scabbard, and below their yellow breeches black cloth gaiters extended from their knees to their clumsy boots.

Their officers were equally imposing in appearance, and many of them were also very efficient leaders, having had military experience in European internecine warfare. Their Commander Lieutenant-General Baron von Knyphausen, whose personality is peculiarly connected with this locality, was a smart, strict, but popular officer, who had already earned distinction in the army of Frederick William I., of Prussia. He was a native of Alsace, born in 1730, stood five feet eleven inches in his stockings, was straight and slender, with sharp features, and of very martial and German appearance.

Such was the man whose name was borne for upwards of seven
years by the Fort and its neighborhood, who, with determined courage, personally led his men against the fastness of the Fort Tryon hilltop, who dictated the terms of the surrender of Fort Washington, and viewed with lofty scorn the banners of the captured Continentals. He was not long in learning a greater respect for his foes.

Of his officers, Frederick Wilhelm von Lossberg and Johann Gottlieb Rall were senior colonels whose names later on, became household words in America. The former rose eventually to high rank. The fusilier regiment, Alt von Lossberg, was at the assault in Knyphausen's own division, while Rall took charge of the redoubtable Waldeckers, who, with von Kohler's grenadiers, earned the honors of the battle, and both, with the Knyphausen regiment, were taken in Washington's raid, a few weeks later, at Trenton, where Rall met his fate.
II

THE HIRED ARMY

The mercenary troops were commonly known, and are still described as Hessians, but they were not all natives of that principality. The two divisions which took part in the Battle of Fort Washington included men from several other duchies, and as nearly every hired regiment either took a part in that event, or in the after history of the locality, a list of the army of its occupation is of interest as a part of our local records.

Their regiments did not bear numbers as in the British army, but were known by the name of their commander, who was usually some high officer, who received the complimentary command, and its salary, but delegated the actual work of control of the regiment to its Lieutenant-Colonel. When the nominal chief died or got some more lucrative sinecure, the regiment’s name was changed to that of his successor, so the process of tracing their operations is no easy task.

The composition of the two divisions of the Hessian Army was as follows:

The 1st division of Lieutenant-General Philip von Heister.
1st Brigade, commanded by Major-General von Mirbach.
   2nd Battalion or von Block’s Grenadiers.
   The Erb-prinz or Hesse-Hanau Regiment.
   The Landgraf or von Wutgenau Regiment.
   The Infantry regiment von Donop.
   The Infantry regiment von Mirbach.

2nd Brigade, commanded by Major General von Stein (or Stirn)
   3rd Battalion or von Minnigerode Grenadiers.
   The Leib regiment or Body-guard or Garde du Corps.
   Prinz Carl Infantry regiment.
   The Dittfurth Infantry regiment.
   Infantry regiment von Trumbach.
THE FOUR ARMIES ON WASHINGTON HEIGHTS

AMERICAN
Private soldier of the 13th Pennsylvania regiment.
By Chas. M. Lefferts.

HESSIAN
Mounted Yager of Emmerich's Corps.
By Chas. M. Lefferts.
Page 301.

FRENCH
Soldier of the Royal Bourbonnois Regiment, 1781.
By A. L. LaCault.
Page 340.

BRITISH
Private of the 22nd foot or Manchester Regiment.
By John Ward Dunsmore.
The 2nd Division of Lieutenant-General Wilhelm von Knyphausen.

3rd Brigade, commanded by Lieutenant-General Frederick Wilhelm von Lossberg.
   4th Battalion or von Kohler’s Grenadiers.
   The Fusilier regiment von Knyphausen.
   Militia regiment von Stein (or von Stirn).
   Militia regiment von Huyne.
   The Waldeck regiment.

4th Brigade, commanded by Major General Schmidt.
   1st Battalion, or von Linsingen Grenadiers.
   Fusilier regiment von Lossberg, or Alt von Lossberg.
   The Land Grenadier regiment Rall.
   Militia regiment von Wiessenbach.
   Militia regiment von Bunau.

Cavalry.
   The Feld-yager Corps or Chasseurs.

Artillery.
   3 companies from different regiments.
   The Anspach-Bayreuth and Anhalt-Zerbst contingent did not take part in the New York campaign.

When they first appeared on the Heights these troops were distributed into two brigades advancing from the north and the south and commanded respectively by General von Knyphausen and General Stirn.
III

AFTER THE BATTLE

THE Hessian losses around the Fort Tryon hillside, south of Dyckman Street, amounted, according to the account written by Ensign Joseph Wiedeshlat, of the Wutgenau regiment, to more than three hundred killed and wounded. "Among the dead," he says, "were the officers Captain Walther, of Rall's regiment, Lieut. von Loewenfeld, of the Wutgenau regiment, of the severely wounded were Captain Barkhausen of the Knyphausen, and Colonel von Borck, commander of that regiment, Captain Medern and Lieut. Ende, of the Wutgenau, and Lieut. Briede, of the Knyphausen."

"Colonel von Borck and Lieut. Briede died the same day, and all the others on the second or third day."

Major von Dechow, who was wounded, was in charge of part of the skirmish line. Briede was a brave young officer, who had distinguished himself by leading his men into the Bronx River at the Battle of White Plains.

The crowded camp hospital and the burying parties on the hillsides must have been a melancholy evidence of the desperate determination of the American defence. The wounded men were removed to the British camp in Morrisania by order of the Commander-in-Chief, directing that "every assistance be given towards carrying the Hessian wounded to Morrisania," and the Heights quieted down into foreign occupation in the beautiful fall weather, "the finest weather for the season ever known."

The defence of the exposed defensive works which had been constructed by the Americans on Spuyten Duyvil and Kingsbridge hills, was now entrusted to Major General Schmidt, and the forts were garrisoned with about six thousand men of the Hessian forces. Colonel Kohler with the fourth battalion of Hessian grenadiers was left in charge of Fort Washington, and a part of the Hessians
occupied the little fort on top of Marble Hill, which was re-named Fort Prince Charles, in honor of the brother-in-law of King George the Third.

General von Knyphausen, as commander-in-chief, established quarters, with his staff, in the abandoned headquarters of Washington, the Morris Mansion at 162nd Street, and in its quiet chambers he wrote and despatched to his home authorities a report of the first successful engagement of the troops under his command. For his services in the assault, he was specially thanked in the general orders of Sir William Howe, and the particular compliment was paid to him of re-naming Fort Washington in his honor, as "Fort Knyphausen," by which title it was generally known for several years by friend and foe alike.

The sounds of warfare for a time ceased, but military life swarmed over the Heights in every direction, and the few remaining families must have found themselves in very rough company whenever they ventured abroad in their efforts to carry on their daily avocations. A busy scene must have been at all times presented as detachments, orderlies, stores and artillery went to and fro along the rough and precipitous course of the highway.

But a few weeks only of comparative quiet elapsed ere the sounds of conflict again woke the locality. This time the tables were turned, and the attackers became the attacked. The British forces had over-run Jersey, and notwithstanding the severe check they had met at Trenton, where the redoubtable Rall had gone to his last account, and the three regiments of Lossberg, Knyphausen and Rall had become prisoners of war, there remained sufficient necessity for distracting their attention, and they were therefore, to be reminded that across the Harlem there existed an active and wideawake enemy.

American forces were therefore moved down from White Plains, in order to effect such a diversion of the attention of the Hessian commander as would prevent his detaching any troops for the purpose of prosecuting the campaign then proceeding in New Jersey. In the bitter winter weather, which succeeded the seasonable fall, and just nine weeks after the loss of the Heights, a force of nearly four thousand men under the command of General William Heath, moved in towards his old headquarters at Kings Bridge.

This force was composed of three divisions. The Dutchess
County Militia under General Lincoln, made their way from Tarrytown, and ensconced themselves among the wooded hills north of Van Cortlandt Park, while a large body of volunteers from Connecticut under the command of Generals Parsons and Wooster, came in via Eastchester, and were joined by a column directed by General Scott and coming direct from White Plains.

The Hessian advanced posts were those stationed in the forts along the north and east sides of the Harlem River, which extended from a point on Spuyten Duyvil or Tippett’s hill overlooking the Hudson, to the last of the series, or Number Eight, which stood on Morris now University Heights abreast of Laurel Hill or Fort George. Standing at that point you can still trace the general positions they occupied.

Numbers One, Two and Three were on Tippett’s Hill, the last overlooking the valley in which the little Mosholu Creek wound its way from Van Cortlandt’s mill at 242nd Street to the Spuyten Duyvil creek.

Fort Independence, next in order, stood out on the ridge on the north-east of the present town of King’s Bridge. It was quite a considerable work, with protective earthworks extending beyond it, and it stood where it would receive the brunt of any attack coming from the north, as it commanded the Post Road immediately below it. It was backed up by Fort Number Four, a half mile south, which is still to be seen almost complete on Reservoir Avenue, facing Jerome Reservoir. Close behind this stood “Number Six,” also known as the “King’s Redoubt” within the Claflin property recently sold at auction for residential buildings.

Still further south, directly above the Fordham Landing Road, “Number Seven” was located near the Hebrew Infant Asylum, and a half a mile below that, and further west directly opposite Laurel Hill, was “Number Eight,” the history of which is intimately connected with that of Washington Heights. It was the first earthwork to be constructed by the British army in our locality, and it eventually became the last stronghold of British authority in Westchester County. It had been commenced in the few days preceding the assault of Fort Washington, and it did service on that occasion.
IV

THE BATTLE OF KINGSBRIDGES

ON this formidable chain of defences, chiefly of their own planning and construction, the three divisions of the little American army were silently closing in the darkness of the winter's night of January 17, 1777. The men of Lincoln's column coming across the present Van Cortlandt Park, surprised, in the dusk of dawn, an advanced picket above the Manor House, and took them prisoners, appropriating their horses and arms. The centre column moving over Woodlawn hill, approached the Valentine and Varian farmhouses in the former of which another advanced guard was known to be stationed. The old Varian building is still standing in good preservation on Van Cortlandt Avenue above Mosholou Parkway.

To capture these men without alarming the garrisons in the forts, two hundred and fifty men were sent on the run to get between the house and Fort Independence, and the field artillery, under Captain Bryant, was brought forward so as to make short work if any resistance was encountered. Just at this juncture, however, Wooster's column coming up the hill from the east along the old Boston Post Road from Williamsbridge, came suddenly upon a mounted patrol of two privates of the British Light Horse. Before they could wheel around, one of their horses was shot and its rider captured, but the other being more fortunate and nimble, set his horse to a gallop and came in headlong through the outposts to Fort Independence, crying as he came, "The Rebels! The Rebels!" Roused from their slumbers, the pickets and the guard at Valentine's house jumped and ran, leaving their arms, provisions, tools and blankets, and made their way into the fort through a hasty fire from the American advanced line.

The attacking forces now moved into position between Wood-
lawn and the Fort, occupying the wooded hollows now covered by Jerome Reservoir, and advancing south from Van Cortlandt Park. A flag of truce was sent forward with a demand for the surrender of the fort, which the now aroused garrison, consisting of Hessians and Tory Rangers, refused, relying on the support of the large forces which they knew were available on Manhattan Island, no great distance away.

The American field-pieces, which were only small guns, and unsuited to an attack on earthworks, were taken round to the rear of the fort across Sedgwick Avenue and brought out on the side of Kingsbridge Hill just above Dyckman’s Bridge or 225th Street, and abreast of and overlooking Marble Hill. They opened fire on a body of Hessians which was forming near 225th Street and Broadway, for the purpose of advancing to the relief of Fort Independence. They were dispersed by the accurate shooting of the American artillerymen, and they settled down as the shots passed close over their heads. The Americans advanced one of their guns further down the hillside, and the Hessians then scattered and made their way to shelter on the west side of Marble Hill. But by this time their own artillerymen had waked up and got to work, opening a fierce fire from the guns of Fort Prince Charles, under which the American field-pieces had to be withdrawn.

Fort Independence was now invested, but without heavy guns no impression could be made upon it. The news however spread fast, and was magnified into a statement that it had been taken, encouraging all patriotic well-wishers. Its actual capture would not have been of more benefit than its investment, as it could not have been held for long against the forces the British could have brought to bear from the water, as well as the land. It is probable that Heath did not really desire to capture a position which he would have had later to abandon with the appearance of defeat, and he continued, therefore, only to occupy all the attention of the hostile forces and to give the impression that his own army was large and active.

The American forces having thus cooped up the Hessian garrison within Fort Independence, bivouacked around that position, making no serious attack upon the fortification, though they had succeeded in turning out the garrison of the Negro Fort situated on the hill at the north end of the Grand Concourse. They turned
their attention, therefore, to Fort Prince Charles, the redoubt which crowned the summit of our present Marble Hill. It commanded the passage of the two bridges, the Farmers’ at 225th Street, and the old King’s Bridge, immediately to the north of the Fort.

They prepared for a desperate assault upon this position, in the dead of the night of January nineteen, 1777.

A force of a thousand men was gathered under the woods on the Bronx side of the Harlem River at Kingsbridge, which was to hazard a crossing over the creek upon the ice, but as they lay waiting in the darkness, a thaw set in, which continued all night, and by dawn it had so melted the ice as to render the passage dubious, so that the men were withdrawn at daylight.

The next day was passed with lively cannonading but with little definite purpose on either side.

The Americans hauled a field piece up the side of Spuyten Duyvil hill near Riverdale Avenue, and brought it to bear on the westerly side of Fort Prince Charles, at the same time that their other artillery opened fire upon its eastern side. Notwithstanding the light character of the guns they produced great confusion among the Hessian troops stationed in and around the Fort. The men scattered in all directions, some, for whom space was unavailable in the small Fort and its Redoubt near Broadway, hid behind banks, “others lay flat on the ground, others in cellars” of Hyatt’s tavern and its outbuildings at 225th Street, until not a soul could be seen for the guners to aim at, a striking testimony to the accuracy of the American gunnery.

On the twenty-second of the same month, there was “a pretty smart skirmish with the enemy near the Fort,” and in order to keep up the appearance of a serious attack being intended, the men were employed in cutting trees, making bundles known as “fascines” used in assaulting fortifications. An urgent request was sent to North White Plains for two of the large guns, which had been left there by the American Army after the battle of White Plains. Meanwhile another fight took place close under the Fort, during which the Hessians lost a number of men, and they killed an ensign and one private of the New York Militia, a loss of life without definite result on either side.

On the twenty-fourth a severe snow storm compelled the Americans to seek shelter, and their main force therefore with-
drew to the hills above Van Cortlandt Park where they took cover under the trees in such rough shelters as they could hastily construct. The next day the garrison of the Fort, thinking their enemy had retired, sallied out and advanced as far as Valentine's house, driving out the guard stationed there. This old homestead stood in the present Woodlawn Cemetery, on the site of the Receiving Vault. The American pickets took refuge in a small redoubt which is still existing on the north side of the Gun Hill Road, overlooking Williams Bridge. Captain Bryant, a brave officer of the Artillery, who was afterwards killed at the battle of the Brandywine, was ordered by General Heath to move up with two militia regiments accompanied by the field guns. The cannon were hauled by the artillerymen up the steep hillside, and brought to bear on the Hessians posted behind a stone fence at such short range and with such effect that they retired with some precipitation back to the Fort.

Another day was spent in waiting on the weather, and the following day, the twenty-seventh, the two heavy guns arrived from North Castle, which, had they been available at first, might have effected some more substantial results than all the desultory fighting of the ten days. They were promptly brought to bear on Fort Independence, but after a few rounds the twenty-four-pound gun sprung its carriage and became disabled. The other gun was a howitzer, for which no loaded shells were available and which was therefore, ineffective. The attempt to force the garrison to surrender the fort was therefore, abandoned.

General Heath then attempted to draw the garrison out by an expedition which made its way down to Mott Haven, and there lighted fires along the margin of the Harlem, giving the impression of an intended attack in force in the direction of Harlem village. The British authorities were puzzled, not to say alarmed by this move, and the outposts on Montresor's, now Randall's Island, hastily burned their quarters, abandoned the position, and retired to New York.

These attacks and the apparent strength of the American army effectively secured the maintenance of a large force in New York City and on the Heights for their defense, and hampered the action of the British in New Jersey. General Heath then withdrew his little army into Westchester County on the twenty-ninth of January, 1777, carrying off all the farm produce in the vicinity.
THE LAST TRACE OF FORT GEORGE. Boulder at the entrance into the Fort, cracked by the fires of the garrison in huts built around it. Preserved in the grounds of George Washington High School.
VON KRAFFT AND HIS DIARY

THE best source of detailed information as to the life of the
soldiery in the camps is derived from a Saxon officer, who
during the Revolutionary period made his home, or rather, occu-
pied his rather wretched shelter in this locality. He was one who
had the habit of keeping a diary, which, owing to the rather unique
after circumstance that he married an American lady and eventu-
ally settled down to enjoy the liberty of the country which he had
been employed in aiding to subjugate, was preserved by his family
for a century, and was eventually translated and published by the
New York Historical Society.

With a drum-head for his table, and with such shortage of
materials that his writing is in the most minute characters, Johann
Charles Philip von Krafft, "Free Corporal," then Sergeant, Ensign,
and afterward Second Lieutenant, wrote memoranda which afford
a most lively and detailed picture of the military life of the Revolu-
tion on Washington Heights.

He was not engaged in the taking of the position, nor did he
make his acquaintance with Mount Washington, or "Fort Knyp-
hausen," as he knew it, until two years thereafter, but from the
year 1778 onwards, to the end, he was quartered at times in one
or other of the camps, or in the military outworks on the Heights,
and was in charge of German soldiers laboring on additions to the
earthworks upon the hill tops, which have enabled their ramparts
to withstand the action of nature for a century, and resolve only
to unnatural levels under the destructive hand of modern
improvements.

Von Krafft was the son of a family of title, and as such, a
junior officer in the Saxon army. He was well educated as regards
military matters, an excellent draftsman, and as touchy on points
of honor as the most punctilious gentleman of the period. Leaving his Saxon home at Braunsberg, on May 26, 1776, with intent to take up any military service that would promise him better advancement than his home state had been able to afford, von Krafft, then but twenty-four years of age, a brawny and active young man, to judge by his capacity for endurance, first made his way to Russia. He found he could not get any advance in rank if he should enter the service of that country, so resolved to join the Hessian forces in America, a determination he kept through two years of adventures, hardships and discouragements, the mere recital of which reads like the events of a novel. From St. Petersburg he made his way to Amsterdam; thence by American vessel down the English Channel, where he was captured by a British warship, and left, stranded at Falmouth. Thence he re-shipped as a volunteer in the Fifty-third English regiment, to go to Canada. His ship was wrecked on the Newfoundland coast during a bitter winter. He had quarrels on board due to his refusal to accept the grade of a private soldier. Finally he arrived at Quebec, only the first step in that series of adventures which was destined eventually to land him at 181st Street.

Almost destitute, he tramped out into the Canadian backwoods seeking the German troops, but when he joined them he was again disappointed of a commission, so he made his way to Montreal, where he fell desperately in love with a Canadian girl, but in despair of success in Canada, he unwillingly agreed to return to Ireland. He landed in Cork, boarded a doubtful sort of vessel bound to Bordeaux, where he roystered round that French town with a congenial friend, and eventually had to pawn his neckcloth, in order to pay his share of expenses. At last he shipped as a volunteer on one of the American privateer-traders with which the port then swarmed, thus making his second start for America, on November thirteenth, 1777.

After participating in the capture of several British vessels, and running the gauntlet of the guard-ships outside Sandy Hook, they fetched up somewhere on the Jersey coast, and he at last set foot in the States, on January seventeenth, 1778. He tramped across country from the shore, subsisting on the food given to him by the country folk, eking out the pittance he had earned on the privateer, and found his way to Valley Forge, where he was brought
before Washington. He was offered a second lieutenancy in the Tenth Pennsylvania regiment. He declined this offer, and determined to make his way into Philadelphia, which hazardous trip he effected by the exercise of astonishing nerve, and there he presented himself and his demand for a commission to Howe's adjutants, on the ninth of March. Here for the first time he met some of his own Saxon countrymen; and by them he was persuaded to enlist pro tem as a volunteer sergeant in the Musketeer Regiment von Donop, a regiment which a little more than a year before had taken an active part in the attack upon Fort Washington. Touchy as he was on points of honor, he was peculiarly sensitive and quick to resent any reflection on the subordinate position he was thus forced to occupy, and he therefore, engaged in several duels and encounters, on one occasion fighting in the pitch darkness, on another nearly cutting off his opponent's hand, and again threatening the regimental surgeon with the point of his sword, for which he spent a sorry week in irons.

The evacuation of Philadelphia followed, and the adventurous Saxon entered upon the active service for which he had longed. In the retreat across the Jerseys he was busily engaged both with the enemy, and also in more private affairs of honor. He reached Brunswick, was near another shipwreck on Sandy Hook during the trip across the Bay, and he finally found himself in the City of New York, whence his regiment was immediately marched to the British lines near the Sixth Milestone on the Albany Post Road. He arrived at that point in the blazing heat of the seventh of July, 1778, and his ever-present curiosity involved exploration of the vicinity, which finally led him to Washington Heights, and thus provided us with his invaluable contemporaneous pen pictures of the life of the soldiery in its forts and camps. In the early morning of a July day in the year 1778, Sergeant von Krafft, who was still a volunteer in the Musketeer Regiment von Donop, started on a day's leave, to visit Washington Heights. He walked from his camp, which was near the Sixth Milestone on the Post Road, to our locality, which he described as "a place at the Twelfth milestone formerly called Fort Washington, but now Fort Knipphausen." Here he found that the Wissenbach Regiment was doing duty as the garrison, and he struck up an acquaintance with one of its officers, a Lieutenant Bermann, who took him around the
position and doubtless entertained him as hospitably as the slender purse of a Hessian lieutenant would permit. The commanding outlook interested von Krafft, who had considerable knowledge of military engineering, and he "looked about" at the hills and scenery, with which we are so familiar, for some time. We may well imagine the two young men observing the noble view from the west side of the Fort, up and down the River, and at the head of the valley at 181st Street, looking down the Death Gap to the Dyckman and Nagel farms.

His curiosity satisfied, he then took his way to what we now know as Fort George, still bearing at that time its American name of Laurel Hill, "a good half hour's walk further, where the Erb Prinz's regiment was encamped." The precise spot was that camp site occupied at one time or other by very many of the corps of occupation, between 192nd and 196th Streets, west of Andubon Avenue to the line of Eleventh Avenue, once a truck farm from which quantities of camp relics have been taken, including many of those in the collection at Washington's Headquarters.

The regiment he visited was one of the crack German corps, which had taken part in the battles of Harlem Heights, and of Fort Washington. From this lofty hill the young sergeant "could see at no great distance across the waters of the East River" (by which name the Harlem River was evidently intended) to the "King's Pritsch," beyond which, around the Van Cortlandt estate, "the Rebels often came into view." After noting the situation, he returned along the Post Road to the neighborhood of the Morris house at 162nd Street, near which he found the camp of the Yager corps, of which he later on became a member. Here he found a personal friend, of the name of Von Martenfeldt, and was pleasantly engaged till evening, winding up his first tour of observation of the Heights by returning at tattoo to the quarters of his own regiment.

On the following Sunday there marched past his camp to the Heights, some three or four hundred of the prisoners captured by the American forces at Trenton, men of the regiments of von Lossberg, Rall, and von Knyphausen, who had spent a year and a half in captivity, and were now on their way back to the scene of the bloody struggle, in which they had taken an active part. So disorganized were the three regimental organizations, that they had been grouped together into one battalion, and these men therefore,
served for some time under a common command until successive exchanges released enough to re-form their original regiments.

The constant alarms and harassments to which the advanced outposts were subjected by the American irregular forces in the Bronx district, led to a demand for recruits in the corps of scouts or Jagers, who were chiefly occupied in meeting the unexpected raids in the enemy's own fashion. So it was that on this Sunday evening, "the order came" to the various German forces "to get up a Company of Chasseurs, for which two volunteer privates were to be enlisted out of each Company of the Hessian regiments, and one Sub-Officer per regiment, taking the one who was on Sharp Command," or active duty.

The following day the adventurous sergeant, seeing a prospect of advancement in the new organization, "at an early hour," made known to the commander of his Company, Captain von Donop, that he desired to be one of those to join the Chasseurs. The Captain in turn, notified the Lieutenant Colonel, who willingly agreed to his proposal, and the staff and company officers united in extending their congratulations to von Krafft, who with the other volunteers, was relieved of duty until further orders.

The time of waiting permitted the young Saxon some serious reflections, and he evidently realized the risks of the hazardous duties he was about to undertake. "I am about to enter on a new undertaking; it being always perilous, I pray most fervently to God the All-merciful; to protect me from all misfortune, to give me discretion and fearlessness and to help me to regain my lost rank—and finally that I may receive God's mercy and pity by being kept well in body and soul—I hope for this—God strengthen me."

Much of our prejudices against the average Hessian may be disarmed by so simple and earnest an expression of dependence upon the help of Providence; and for the young soldier himself, the petition bespeaks the interest and some of the sympathies of those now living in peaceful comfort, where his adventures and privations were experienced.

On the following day he was taken with violent sickness, "to wit with such a stomach-ache that I apprehended death." He had spent the whole of the preceding afternoon eating much appreciated American cherries with his company-commissary Denstadt,
and this was, no doubt, the result. However, the attack passed off, and the next day he was able to be introduced to his new captain, who turned out to be an Englishman by birth, by name, George Hanger, and under his command the little corps was marched on Saturday, July twenty-fifth, 1778, to "what was called the Morris House where his excellency General von Knyphausen lived and where the Chasseur Company was to rendezvous." Here, probably on the line of St. Nicholas Avenue, at the then entrance to the Mansion, the mixed company of one hundred privates, three drummers, twelve sub-officers, and four commissioned officers, was mustered, and "General Knyphausen instructed the Hessian officers" in their duties in connection with the corps they were about to join.

We can imagine the scene on the Post Road, where the men stood at attention with their officers advanced in front, and the tall soldierly old general, with his staff around him, gave them directions as to the services they would be required to perform against the irregular but harassing opponents whose capabilities and determination he had now begun to appreciate. Then the men wheeled and marched along the Post Road past the Blue Bell, down the hill and through the Inwood valley, round by the Century house along the bank of the Harlem to the King's Bridge, whence they made their way to the encampment of the Yagers on Spuyten Duyvil Hill, "a hill called Spakent Hiell opposite Indepentence near Courtland's House," as von Krafft quaintly spells the local names repeated to him by German-speaking comrades.

The corps of Yagers or Huntsmen, with which the Chasseurs were combined, or as we should now designate them respectively sharpshooters and scouts, were originally composed largely of the game-keepers and foresters of the wooded estates of German land owners. They were in great request by the British authorities as being better qualified by their training as hunters to meet the American farmer and woodsman on his own ground. To them were now to be added the picked volunteers of all the German regiments, men of the hardiest and most reckless character.

The newly-arrived company of Chasseurs found the Jager battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ludwig Johann Adolphus von Wurmb, encamped in very rough quarters on the hillside, occupying the advanced line of danger, in common with the irregular corps of Emmerich, Simcoe and Cathcart. They had been in
nearly every engagement of the war and had done gallant work at Fort Washington, and at Germantown, and were soon to engage in stirring adventures on their own account in the county of Westchester. Young von Krafft took care to be introduced to the commander as a man of family and evidently enlisted his interest, being appointed commanding sergeant of the company in lieu of any vacancy for a commissioned officer. He writes, "we had to build huts here and at first I had a great deal to do, with little rest day or night and not being able to undress. That is the way it was with us without anything special happening" during the last days of July, the company "having a hard time with our provisions too, getting neither beer nor vinegar," quite a hardship for men of German upbringing.

Their first excitement came with the earliest hours of August.
VI

THE JAGERS

At daybreak on Saturday the first of August, 1778, the Chasseurs were called out and those of the men who were not on watch or picket duty, with a few Jagers who could be spared, were sent forward into the country on a reconnaissance or patrol in force. The American forces in Westchester, commanded by General Scott, had become so bold as to hover close to the outposts and overrun the hills between Yonkers, Mount Vernon and New Rochelle. The corps of Simcoe's Rangers and the Chasseur battalion of Emmerich, quartered around Fort Independence and along University and Fordham Heights, were kept on the qui vive all the time, and so this forward movement was designed to clear the countryside.

"We marched," says von Krafft, who with his men occupied the middle of the column, "a distance of about 4 English miles," which would have brought them well into Yonkers, "when we arrived at an elevation, where out of the near-lying bushes three musket shots were fired. The bullets killed the horse of a Yager who was riding on our flank. We immediately marched up to the place and several more shots were fired. Standing a little lower down now we could hear the bullets whistle over our heads. We could see nothing. It was very hazy and one could not see 50 steps ahead." The force was halted and a party of mounted Yagers sent out to reconnoitre. They returned with the news that a considerable number of Americans were on the high ground ahead and had field pieces with them. "At this news we retreated in good order without firing a shot."

The little Hessian force had with it two three-pounder field pieces known to them as "Amuzettes," a light gun for skirmishing work, which weapons were guarded and served by a few foot soldiers, the rest of the body being mounted.

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CONCEALED CLOSETS IN THE GUARD-ROOM in Washington's headquarters, now used to exhibit relics. Upper closet, rum bottles of the camps. Upper shelves, china and pottery of the Jumels found under the kitchen floor. Lower shelves, missiles from Fort Independence, chain shot, bar-shot, bombs and solid shot.

HESSIAN CANTEEN AND PANNIKIN found in a dug-out hut in camp of the Body Guard at Arden Avenue, Inwood. Collection of the New York Historical Society.
Their retreat emboldened the American force, who pushed their way during Sunday to the outposts of the Jager camp, and the quiet of the Sabbath afternoon was broken by a “loud alarm,” bringing all available men to the defence of the camp. But no attack followed, the bold invaders being content with keeping the garrisons busy. Their life was an uneasy one. “We passed many nights in this neighborhood without getting the slightest rest, owing to the great number of mosquitoes, and we suffered by day from the swarms of flies.” The very insects seemed to conspire to worry the unfortunate invaders, and we who know how active the Inwood variety of blood-sucker is in these days, can appreciate the energy with which their ancestors of the Spuyten Duyvil and Moshulu marshes contributed to the discomforts of the garrison. When, too, one learns that they had a hard time of it with their provisions, “getting neither beer nor vinegar,” one can but feel some pangs of sympathy for the unfortunate garrisons.

Alarms came from all quarters, and one August day, the soldiers could see from their camp the flames of a great conflagration in New York, which commencing in Pearl Street near Broad, raged for hours and “reduced nearly 64 houses in York to ashes, among them provision and bake-houses.” Such a loss appealed to the hungry soldiers on the Riverdale hillside, and von Kraft relates with some satisfaction that “Some few suspected persons among whom were also Frenchmen were arrested on account of it.”

The following afternoon at two o’clock a violent thunder storm came up while Sergeant von Kraft was off duty and was visiting his friends of the Erb Prinz regiment in their camp at Fort George, 192nd Street and Audubon Avenue. The rain was heavy and the storm “terrible.” “The lightning struck a schooner which was lying off New York, set fire to it, and was the cause of its blowing up with 260 barrels of powder.” The thunderous detonation of such a mass of explosive must have added to the fierce electrical reports which raged around our hills.

The alarms of the fire and explosion created a great impression in the city, and the near presence of the French fleet made the British prospects of success appear very dubious. News was eagerly sought and when some Brunswickers “came in from the Rebels,” being some of the men taken with Burgoyne, who had enlisted in the American army, probably in order to desert, their
information was not encouraging. "They told us much news, for instance, that the Rebels received much and frequent help from the French," and that their fleet was eagerly expected. So the days passed and on Sundays, toward the end of the warm August afternoons, the Jagers were mustered at church parade "under the apple trees at Courtland's House," at which the officers of all grades were present.

On August seventh, von Krafft and his chum von Martefeldt of the Jagers, made a trip of local interest to the camp of the Fifty-second English Musketeer Regiment, which was, he says, "not far distant from us at King's Bridge." This was doubtless the camp between Prescott and Seaman Avenues on Inwood Hill where buttons of that regiment have been found. The object of the visit was to call upon two of its Sergeants, who were noblemen of German birth, and were thus occupying the same sort of position as their two young visitors. "One was called von Schauroth who had been in the Fusilier Regiment of Lossow's as Second Lieutenant; the other von Heyden who was said to have been in the regiment of the Prince of Prussia as 'porte-epee Junker'" or Gentleman sword-bearer. Von Heyden was "a fine looking man and pleasant to associate with, and I often had friendly talks with him."
VII
FORAGING IN WESTCHESTER

The months of August and September, 1778, formed an eventful period for Sergeant von Krafft in his quarters on Spuyten Duyvil Hill. On the tenth he spent some time writing to England about some of his belongings which he had left there, and the next day it was found that the young ensign of his company had deserted to the enemy. He tells us that Kleinschmidt, for such was his name, took this step on account of his debts, and the occurrence evidently caused considerable comment.

On the nineteenth another patrol moved out at daybreak, "as far as the last time only a little more to the right." He was anxious to go along and "managed to get detached to the flank with four men." He proceeded, he says, "according to orders given, took my stand on a height but like all the rest I could see nothing." The next day however, the Americans attacked Emmerich's corps which was encamped in Van Cortlandt Park, although it had recently been reinforced by Colonel Simcoe's force of Rangers. The latter states that "the post was of great extent, liable to insult and required many sentinels." A skirmish followed which was indecisive in character, but sufficed to keep the British command in considerable uncertainty as to the future.

On the twenty-second the Yagers "almost mutinied on account of being kept three days without provisions. There was a constant calling for them." These unfortunate Germans seem to have been considerably neglected by the British commissaries. The Chasseur Company fared better, perhaps because they were more active in hustling after their share, so they "got their rations separately and usually on time." But the hard life and irregular fare began to tell on the young soldier, and after the Church parade on August twenty-third, he was taken ill with a sharp attack of dysentery,
which so reduced him that he says "I almost believed that I would
die. I continued in this condition saddened by many other sor-
rowful incidents until 2 September when I at last began to get
better but only very slightly. However, I began to walk about
again." He seems to have slowly picked up till on the eleventh he
was able, though not entirely recovered, to report for duty again.

In his convalescing rambles about the camp one September
day, he picked up a Spanish dollar which fact he entered in his
diary, together with the remark that he did not hear who had lost
it. Silver Spanish coins passed current in those days, and it is
stated that the Hessians were largely paid in that currency. Sev-
eral such coins, showing signs of steady use, have been found about
Washington Heights.

Late in the evening of the twenty-second of September, the
corps was ordered to be ready to march the next morning "to take
as little baggage as possible, and for the sick and unfit to stay
behind." This meant excitement and so von Krafft was promptly
on hand.

The affair developed into more than a mere parade. It was an
expedition in considerable force for the purpose of driving out the
American forces occupying the debatable land, and, more im-
portant still, to secure food and forage. General Erskine, in com-
mand of another expedition, was to cross the Hudson and move
up the west side of the river, while Knyphausen himself, took
command of the forces operating on our side. The advance guard
was headed by the Chasseurs. Von Krafft's description is vivid.
"At 6 a. m. we started, taking our two Amazetten* with the woolen
coverings, also one shirt and bottles and kettles. As we had
wagons I was only allowed to carry my short musket." "We had
marched hardly an hour when it began to rain very hard and as it
did not stop and we were near what was called Phillipps' House
(the Manor House in Yonkers) we opened the pretty church there
(St. John's in Getty Square, Yonkers) and quartered ourselves in
it—but only the Chasseurs and Amazette-Yagers, in all about 30
men."

"Finally a search was begun and a large potato field was

* These Amusettes were small stocked guns mounted on swivel carriages,
throwing shot of 3 lbs. weight.
cleaned out and many other luxuries brought in. Fowls, pigs, and beef were slaughtered, although everything had to be done secretly."

The sacred edifice must have presented a strange aspect with the stolen provender piled within its walls and the Hessian soldiers bivouacking in the pews.

"As usual when on the march we received nothing but salt pork, crackers and rum for rations. In short we led, as the Hessians termed it, a Hussar life." But the rain continued, he says, "with surprising violence so that we were glad to have got into such nice dry quarters. We gathered hay and straw and made ourselves good beds. For a mattress I had a cushion covered with green cloth, the covering of which I took with me when we marched away, but disposed of it."

The owner of that pew-cushion must have missed his comfortable seat during the next sermon. The rest of the corps fared hardly. "The Yagers lay in their camp above Philipp's House very wet, because they had only been able to build huts to protect themselves against the rain." Meantime the poor farmers of Yonkers were vainly appealing for justice. "Constant complaints were made to the Yagers and to us that the cattle had been slaughtered; but the matter was not very closely investigated by the Staff and other officers. So we had good night-quarters here. The rain stopped during the night and it became clear again."

Early the next morning the main force arrived, accompanied by "the foraging sharpshooters of the Grenadiers, after them came the regiments of Erb-prinz, and Donop, the Leib (or Body Guard) Regiment the Garrison Regiment of Wiesenback and a few English regiments." Their arrival was the signal for the scouts to advance and they broke camp or rather, left Church, "to make room for them." They soon came up to the Yagers camp and remained there a couple of hours, and then with them marched along the High Road "to the 20th English mile-stone, keeping to the right of it and ascending a height. Here we were obliged to build huts to camp in until further orders. The foraging commenced again immediately during which some of the soldiers began to plunder. Many of the houses which I saw afterwards, had been left in a deplorable condition and the soldiers had made a good haul. All this was against orders for we were not forbidden to get provisions, but very strictly admonished not to take anything from the people"
in their houses. However even when they were caught in the act, the punishment was not equal to the prohibition. For a few days we had an abundance of good food, and this was my only booty.”

The expedition on the west bank of the Hudson was also successful in this matter and sent over “large number of cattle and other provisions on boats every day.” Some prisoners arrived also in the boats and firing could be heard beyond the Palisades. The Hessians however, were inactive, a course which von Krafft says “was unendurable to me with my ambition and the tedium of our life.” These events give some idea of the condition to which the lower end of Westchester County had been reduced. Before Sergeant von Krafft returned to our neighborhood he took part in several such experiences, in which however, much excitement led to little practical result.

On Sunday, September twenty-seventh, the Chasseur and Yager patrol captured three American militia officers “of whom one was called a Captain, and who had an astonishing goitre, who however declared that he would never cease to fight for his freedom.” Such was the spirit that animated their humble enemies that the Hessian could not refrain from recording the remark. These prisoners were sent forward to their New York prison, and in the afternoon the patrol came in without other result for their day’s labors. Annoyed and out of temper, one of their number threw his loaded musket on the ground, which exploded and the bullet killed one of his comrades who was standing near, getting his ration of brandy. The bullet struck him in the back of the neck and passed out through his breast. “The wrong-doer was put under arrest but after a few days let off with a slight castigation.”

On the thirtieth of September a small patrol under Captain von Donop was ambushed by the American irregular forces, only a couple of miles from Riverdale hillside. Lieutenant Mertz, commanding a small troop of the mounted Yagers, was severely wounded, and he and his quartermaster, a bugler, and fifteen of the Yagers were taken prisoners, many of them being also wounded. Two of the dead, “terribly disfigured by wounds,” were brought in and two of the wounded who “were cured again but were incapable of further service.”

At night on the first of October, 1778, another grand foraging expedition started from the camps around the Harlem. The adven-
turous Sergeant joined the forty men of the Chasseurs, who took the advance guard, and on through stony roads and dark woods they marched in silence towards White Plains. The Yagers could with difficulty be held in order, so eager were they for spoil, and on meeting in the darkness with an American outpost, the Hessians "nearly shot down each other." "I endeavored," says von Kraft, "to keep my platoon together by beating them," but discipline was a difficult problem in the dark, and so a poor old woman, coming out of her house near by, was "unknowingly" shot through the leg. The men were burdened with the blankets and coats of the disturbed outpost, and as day broke they became the target of the Westchester scouts, whose bullets whizzed over their heads as they ran to clear the woods of their unseen enemies. In broad daylight the hungry Hessians ran about and snatched up fowls and pigs, butter and fruit, and the poor women and children of the farms loudly lamented as they saw their belongings disappear.

When the expedition turned back they took all the fruit they could carry, and most of the men marched in couples, bearing on a stake between them the meat and chickens of which they had robbed the farmers. "So we marched on and from out the bushes and the hills on the way the farmers frequently fired upon us when our men showed themselves with their pigs and chickens."

For two or three miles from Kingsbridge the whole country was cleared of food and with the exception of chestnuts, nothing could be obtained by successive raids, and the Yagers suffered from hunger and cold in the rainy October days. They were camped above the Van Cortlandt House on the ninth, when some adventurous cowboys surprised their outpost when asleep, and taking away their arms and horses, gave the men a sound drubbing and turned them loose, leaving the Chasseur corps very much disgusted. Constant alarms and night patrols eventually led to the decision to retire the troops for winter quarters within the fortifications, and so early in November the Chasseurs were ordered to occupy the forts on Spuyten Duyvil hill, just above the creek; in which for several weeks the Erb Prinz regiment had been acting as garrison.

Von Kraft was stationed, under Ensign Zimmerman, with about fifty men in Number Two fort, also acting as garrison to Number Three. The deserted little huts behind the forts formed some sort of shelter, but only a few days later the men were again
turned back to their old camp to make way for a winter garrison of men from the regiments of the Garde-du-Corps, the Donop and Trumbach. In bitter weather they found their poor shelters almost destroyed, but after a night of exposure in the snow, they received orders to march south, the Yagers to go into winter quarters on Long Island, and the Chasseurs to be disbanded and to return to their respective regiments. With a half-guinea as a present from his Captain, and a promise of recommendation to his Colonel, the young Sergeant made his way down the Post Road and towards the evening of November sixteenth, 1778, "arrived at the camp of our regiment at the 11th milestone below Fort Knipphausen."

The Eleventh Milestone, which is now preserved at Washington's Headquarters, stood at about 171st Street, on what is now Broadway.

This camp of the Musketeer Regiment von Donop, is of particular interest, for several of its fireplaces and hut sites were exposed by the grading of the ground for buildings at 169th Street, on the west side of Broadway. As usual, the existence of spring water near the spot evidently led to the choice of its position. The objects found there are placed in the collection at Washington's Headquarters, and include camp debris of old bottles, hoop-iron hooks for suspending kettles over the camp fires, with bayonets, musket bullets, horse shoes, axes, nails and the buttons of the uniforms of the soldiers of the von Donop.
THE LONG-BURIED FIREPLACE OF AN OFFICERS' HUT outside Fort Washington, with two heavy bar-shot used as fire-dogs. Many buttons, buckles and broken table wares lay on the floor. The bricks and stones were preserved and replaced in Roger Morris Park, 160th Street.

A STONE FIREPLACE OF THE HESSIAN HUT CAMP on Bennett Avenue, the old pot-hook and familiar rum bottle lay in the ashes. Page 312. It was just above the Hessian Spring.
VIII

THE BITTER WINTER OF 1778-79

It was just two years after the battle of Fort Washington, when von Krafft returned to his regiment, the von Donop Musketeers, at their camp around 169th Street, "at the 11th milestone below Fort Knipphausen." He tells us that the camp there "was very poor because many of the huts which lay around the foot of the hill, among them mine, got full of water whenever it rained." There was very little vent for the surplus moisture in the low ground which used to extend under the ball-ground, and until recent years this place used to fill up after any heavy rain and in winter formed a skating pond of considerable area. "The drinking water was also bad," he continues, "and in every respect matters were in such a state, that if no change is made, diseases must unavoidably arise." The spring from which their supply was taken was situated on the south side of 168th Street, and used to run out into a trough on the old Bradley farm, about on the line of 167th Street. At times it was very sluggish, and the demands of the Camp no doubt considerably exceeded the outflow.

A little later, on November twentieth, some supplies were received. They consisted of tent coverings, iron pegs, axes, saws and divers other articles "which were very serviceable to protect us against the cold."

The camp would appear to have been largely composed of log huts, with the usual stone and earth backs. There is now only a small trace left of such works there, but only this past year there were found two lines of hut sites set in the earth nearly parallel with Broadway at that point. The iron pegs mentioned were for the tents, and probably the iron points so frequently found on these camp sites, and of which there are several samples in the collection at the Jumel Mansion are these very pegs.
A few days later the Sergeant was detailed to command twelve men on what he calls North River Hill, which later on he describes as being the Cock hill or Inwood hill as we now know it. "Here," he says, "there was a fine redoubt with four eighteen-pound iron cannons." This redoubt was the Cock Hill Fort, at the north end of Inwood hill. "A very good command this was, very comfortable, pleasant and undisturbed, because no staff-officer ever troubled himself to come up there on account of the height, etc., etc.," which was a very naive and still pertinent description of this remote and inaccessible locality. The etceteras no doubt will be well understood by any who try to reach the spot by way of the old trail around the Cold Spring and up the bluff to the east of that secluded spot.

The watch house on this hill, "was the best of all those near York, and there was also an ample supply of wood near by." But in spite of a roaring fire, enough to almost roast them, it was such an exposed place that "we nearly froze on the side away from the fire," and the snow lay a hand's depth right near the fire without melting.

In December, von Krafft returned to find his regiment removing into "the camp of the huts of Trimbach's regiment, which was contiguous to our camp on a height near Fort Knipphausen."

This description sounds vague, but is more exactly defined by him at a later date, when he made a drawing of the view from this hut-camp which view included the valley from 181st Street north, showing the side of Fort George Hill and the flat lands of Inwood, and the Westchester hills. The location may thus be traced by taking up a position from which the view embraces these features, and this is found to exist just about the hillside north of 181st Street, between Broadway and Fort Washington, near the gate house of the old Bennett residence. At the foot of the rocks below, commonly called the "Death Gap," is the spring which emerges at their base, known among local residents as the "Hessian Spring." Across one hundred and eighty-first street, where a little brook used to find its way to the valley, the sheltered hollow, chiefly on the property of the late James Gordon Bennett, was in 1778, the site of the camp of the Trumbach Regiment of Hessians. The running water in the brook and the Hessian Spring, now buried under Bennett Avenue afforded the supply which every camp
demanded. The steep hillsides until quite recently showed traces of terracing, and on the summit of a rocky eminence is the outline of a hut.

The Trumbach was an infantry regiment belonging to the Second brigade. It had made shift with poor little shelters which “turned out to be so small that they had all to be enlarged.” In consequence, in the bitter cold weather, “there were many vexatious occurrences, and one was compelled to shift for a few days as best he could, which was miserably enough before any improvement could be brought about.”

Von Krafft had seven men allotted to him, and enlarged his tent by adding to it another that had been blown down, and in the meantime he was allowed to occupy the field chaplain’s tent, that worthy having gone off on leave to New York, to escape the discomforts of camp life.

On December tenth, there came on a storm, “a cruel rain and wind,” and “the water leaked in through everywhere” into the frail shelters of the wretched troops. “Besides it was very cold, but one could not keep a fire on account of the smoke from the wind and water, nor was it possible to sleep dry under our blankets.” It was a bitter experience, and the sergeant adds, “may a special mercy of God keep me amidst so many evils, and all the others too in good health.” Another storm followed on the thirteenth, “and some of the huts caved in, owing to the bad ground,” and the “astonishing wind and rain.”

To add to their sufferings, the unfortunate fellows were kept short of food. It was a fact rare enough to be noted when they got bread in place of rice, and the allowance of spruce beer was doled out only at distant intervals. “Rations were supplied with great irregularity.” The commissariat was all deranged by the non-arrival of supplies, and fresh meat was scarce, and if served out at all, an equivalent was deducted in the butter, peas, and rum, which formed the rest of the ration.

The river was frozen over so that no supplies could come that way from New York, and no wagons were sent, “no one knowing the reason.” So Christmas, (1778) dawned, and the soldiers were without bread, and to get a little loaf, the Sergeant persuaded an orderly to go over past the King’s Redoubt on Morris Heights, “to the English Bakery, and there he bought me a loaf of white bread
weighing a little over a German pound for 1 English shilling 5½ pence and also some potatoes.” In order to carry out this service which he did out of devotion to his superior, the soldier braved the danger of being caught by the outposts. This was the cheer of his first Christmas holiday, and as he says, with no bread and little else to eat, “anyone can easily imagine what meditations this caused.”

The country was deeply snowed up. Von Krafft was doing night duty at a little earthwork near some picket-huts on the Harlem river, below the Morris house, probably on the present Speedway, and on being relieved at daybreak, on his way up the hill, he fell into snow-covered pools of water, and “finally into what had been a cesspool, but fortunately only a little above the knee of my left leg.” But both of his big toes were almost frozen in his linen stockings.

On Christmas day in the hut camp he had another unpleasant experience, for while going around to wake his men in the darkness preceding the dawn, he stepped upon an iron barrel-hoop, fell over a log, and cut his shin with the hoop. The hoops were numerous around the camps, as the many samples which have been found on those camp sites, indicate. Some were used for many purposes, such as hooks to hang the kettles over the camp fires, of which usage several samples may be seen at the Jumel Mansion. In spite of the injury, the Sergeant persisted in going on duty to Inwood hill, and doctored his leg by putting rum and soap on the wound. This curious amateur remedy resulted in inflammation which gradually increased until he was finally obliged to go on the sick list and to be attended by the surgeon, so that he spent a whole month in the hut camp without doing any active duty. Here he experienced the shortage of provisions. Flour, which was half oat-grits, was all the material available for bread, with a few peas and a gill of rum at intervals. “In the morning on my arrival in camp,” he writes on December twenty-ninth, 1778, “the men of the regiment had only just received their share of the miserable bread, and like all of us, little enough.” The very appearance scared the hungry soldiers. “How frightened we all were when we saw it and what terrible stomach-aches we had after eating only a little of it, for it was nothing but oat grits which it was impossible to bake through. It weighed very heavy, and with the same weight it lay in
our stomachs. Great as our delight had been to get it, equally great were our pains and curses after eating it.” Three measures of the groats went to one measure of corn-meal, “the stuff being already half spoiled and hardly fit to eat.” The excuse was made that the fleet with the money and provisions for the army had been captured by the French, and that the bakers in the city had been commanded to stop baking and to keep their flour for the army.

The last day of that year dawned “as beautiful a day as ever it could be in Spring.” But the hungry Sergeant could not enjoy it. “All the worse however,” he says, “for the stomach, because there was little to be procured for it.”

But just as he made his last entry for the year, news arrived that some of the provision fleet had got in to the harbor, so the hungry men of the von Donop regiment spent the last hours of the old year in the Hut-camp, discussing the “joyful news.”
IX

EVENTS IN 1779

THIS was an eventful year in the history of the Heights—as it was also in the history of the Revolution. Von Krafft began his New Year in the Hut-camp under Fort Knyphausen, but it was not until the nineteenth of January that he got himself restored, as he puts it, to active service, though the wound in his left foot, made by the tricky barrel-hoop, was not even then fully healed.

The regimental duty of this camp was at this time considered as that of service on the front, and so continued until the line of earthworks was built from Fort George to Fort Tryon, when the service was reduced to a sub-officer's watch.

On the twenty-second of February of that year, which we may presume they were not aware was the birthday of their great opponent, the American commander, the whole Hessian garrison was mustered in Fort Knyphausen for inspection. By way of coincidence it was extremely unpropitious weather, "dreadfully rainy." "The previous night the rain had poured so much water into our huts that we had to bail out many camp-kettles full." These utensils were evidently of general utility, which may account for the fact that only portions of them are found on the camp sites. Among other duties they were utilized to serve out spruce beer, "which was taken daily to every hut in a camp kettle."

Two days later part of the garrison of the Heights was turned out, in preparation for the expeditions then put in motion up both banks of the Hudson. The Garde du Corps, or Body regiment, marched in the night, with the expedition under the command of Governor Sir William Tryon. The von Donop Regiment was ordered to hold itself in readiness to march, and was for that purpose relieved from its duties in the various redoubts of Fort Washington and Fort Tryon. The troops, however, came back again a

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few days later with a few dead and wounded, and bringing a file of twenty-eight prisoners and a couple of cannon.

The scarcity of food still seems to have been felt by the hungry Hessians. A little white bread had reached them in January, the flour for which had been brought from England. The half-famished von Krafft relates, as a circumstance to be remembered, that he made a trip over to some point on the Harlem River in order to get some of the oysters to be there obtained. It was St. Valentine’s day, and the succulent feast must have appeared to him as quite in keeping with a saint’s feast day. But the general body of the men obtained no such luxuries. Even horse-flesh seems to have been eaten, apropos of which von Krafft tells a story of a visit he made in March of this year to New York, where, as he sat at a table in some tavern, “a drunken English soldier came into the room. He had a piece of dead horse, that is frequently seen lying about here, and offered it for sale. Upon his constant pressing, and at the sight and the fearful stench, I felt obliged to kick him out of the door; and I would have liked to give him a good thrashing if the stench had not prevented me from having anything further to do with him. The room had to be fumigated a long while before the stench vanished.”

Such were the rough and brutal manners of the soldiery. The Sergeant says he could narrate, “many and very frightful occurrences of theft, fraud, robbery and murder by the English soldiers, which their love of drink excited,” and which the scantiness of their pay led them to commit.

In this connection he tells a story of an occurrence on the fourth of March of this year. Being out with his friend, Corporal Muus, they crossed the King’s Bridge and visited the camp of the Emmerich Chasseurs, in which corps a mutual friend, Free Corporal Muller, held the rank of a lieutenant. This camp was in Kingsbridge, on the east side of Heath Avenue, close to the present Kingsbridge Road, which still leads up the hill from the Dyckman or Farmer’s Bridge, though this was at that period broken down. On their way back, as they passed by the present Arden Street, where the “Body Regiment,” or Garde du Corps, was encamped, they saw a soldier of that organization defending himself against a number of the men of a Provincial Light Horse Regiment, who were drunk, and would take no orders from the young officers.
The latter, therefore, drew their swords, and rescued their countryman, although greatly outnumbered. Muus received some hard blows, but von Krafft cut his way through the mob, although he was thrown down in the mud several times. He admits that although he did not strike "sharp" he left enough impression to make it well for him that his antagonists could not tell, in the darkness, to which regiment he belonged.

If such were the dangers of this locality at that time for soldiers, what must the few unfortunate inhabitants who still clung to their homes, have experienced during this troubled period. The spring of 1779 passed on, with various military movements on the Heights, among which we learn that the men in the Hut-camp paraded near the Headquarters house for Church service on Good Friday. In April von Krafft entered upon a line of work of historical interest. His ability in drawing had attracted the attention of his superior officers, by his painstaking copies of maps of the military operations in which he had taken part. These were preserved with his diary and have been reproduced by the New York Historical Society. Among them is one of peculiar concern to our locality. It is the perspective map, completed in 1781, from observations which he made in the month of May, 1779. He made sketches on Laurel Hill (Fort George), whence he could obtain a wide view of the Dyckman district as far as the hills in Westchester County, and he put these together as a perspective view while quartered in the Hut-camp at a later date, when he evidently had much more time on his hands. This map located the Hut camp, and it led it to the other camp sites at Arden Street and Prescott Avenue. As a result of the attention he thus attracted, he was detached in April to aid two English engineers, Lieutenant Marshall of the Sixtieth Foot and Lieutenant Sprowle of the Sixteenth Foot Regiment, with an inducement in the shape of extra pay of one shilling and sixpence a day and a gill of rum.

This work he seems to have enjoyed. He was in charge of the working details of men of various regiments, who were employed in laboriously constructing a line of trenches and redoubts extending from the northerly crest of Fort George Hill near 194th Street down to the Post Road at 192nd Street and up the steep bluff to Fort Tryon, thus connecting the two forts together. The engineer officers appear to have had one-half of the work allotted to each of them,
FROM MOUNT WASHINGTON TO INWOOD. The valley down which the old Post Road passed, now Broadway. Here the Huguenots rested on their way to and from New Rochelle and New York, and here von Krafft made his drawing of the Heights in 1781. Pages 318 and 329.

THE HESSIAN SPRING back of the Bluebell Inn, at which the thirsty Huguenots drank, and later the soldiers of the Hut Camp. Page 149.
that on Laurel Hill being Sprowle’s duty and that on Fort Tryon being directed by Marshall. The work was carried on from five to eight in the morning, again from nine to eleven, and then from three p. m. to the sunset gun. It was undertaken by the military authorities, with a view to strengthening the Fort Knyphausen position against an anticipated attack from the north, and with a view to the withdrawal of troops from the advanced forts on the Westchester side, which had already been exposed to the attacks we have briefly described.

The only record of these earthworks is shown in von Krafft’s map, as all traces are now wiped out by the huge terracing constructed for Fair-view Avenue. They included “demi-lunes” or semi-circular redoubts, and a battery close to the Post Road, where the east and west lines united at the “Barrier Gate.” Part of the stone posts of this gateway remained until recent years, and was removed at the widening of the old road into Broadway. It was, as near as can be now ascertained, about a block below Nagel Avenue, on Broadway, near the line of 193rd and 194th Streets, if extended. William Conklin, a local contractor, stated that some of the stones were used in the construction of the arched culvert under Broadway at Nagel Avenue.

The gate, which was probably constructed at this date, was no doubt provided with a guard-house, whence a bayonet (now in the collection at the Jumel Mansion) that was found under Broadway near 192nd Street, may have come. From this point the earthworks were carried up the hill and connected with the position of the little American fort, which had been defended so bravely in 1776 by the Southern men against the Hessians, some of whom now went to work to extend it into a six-gun battery, with an abattis.

It is remarkable that no less than a century and a quarter after these events, by the preservation of this daily record, we are enabled to learn the identity of some of the men who labored on this great military work, no traces of which are now visible.

The work at Fort Tryon under the orders of Lieutenant Marshall was carried on during the spring of 1779 by men of the Seventeenth and Fifty-seventh Regiments, and of Robinson’s provincials or Loyal Americans, with a detachment from the von Donop Regiment. The work was hard and the weather often unpropitious. On May nineteenth, “it began to rain astonishingly hard” and kept on
continuously until the twenty-second, during which time work was entirely suspended.

Von Krafft relates an incident which occurred at this time. As he was giving orders to the redoubt workmen on Laurel Hill, there came in sight on the hillside below, one of the surgeons of the Trumbach Regiment, who was an acquaintance, and who was shooting. Seeing the young sergeant above him, he playfully aimed at him, when von Krafft jokingly called out to him to "fire away." Thinking his friend too far off to be hit, the surgeon rashly fired, and struck his friend in the legs with several buckshot, bruising his knee and also hurting some orderlies standing by. The wind blowing strongly against the charge, alone prevented more serious injury.
X

THE SCOURGE OF FEVER

The Seventeenth English Foot, or Leicestershire regiment, which had already seen conspicuous service at Boston, and at Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown and Freehold, had been encamped in huts upon the east side of Inwood Hill. The location is very clearly indicated on von Krafft’s drawing made in the hut camp, and is more definitely decided by the discoveries made by Mr. William L. Calver in recent years. Upon the line of Prescott Avenue and in a cultivated garden patch just below, and laying between Seaman Avenue and Cooper Street, have been found numbers of the buttons of that regiment, with others of the Seventy-first or Fraser Highlands. The latter had been raised especially for service in suppressing the rebellion in America, and its first battalion was associated with the Seventeenth regiment in much of its service.

This summer of 1779, the Seventeenth, which had been in camp here, and had, as previously mentioned, provided men to aid in building the earthworks on Laurel and Forest hills, was sent forward under the command of its Lieutenant Colonel, Harry Johnson, to form the garrison of Stony Point. They had with them the First Battalion of the Seventy-first, some of Robinson’s provincials, and a company of the Royal Artillery. On this position, the memorable assault was made by the American light infantry corps, under General Anthony Wayne, in the night of July 15-16, 1779, and the entire garrison of about seven hundred men was taken. About sixty-three men were killed, including Captain Tew, and as many more wounded, among the latter being Colonel Johnson, who was described as a “handsome young man.” His looks did not save him from severe criticism, and after his recovery and exchange he asked for an enquiry as to his conduct, in order to prove his innocence or
negligence, but was placed under a formal arrest, tried and released, "as not being fully guilty."

Among the men of the Stony Point garrison were some renegades from the American forces, who were tried in the fort and hanged there, a few days later, when Washington ordered its evacuation.

The sound of the distant firing was heard on Washington Heights, and the news of the loss of men and guns, when received here, caused great excitement. So great was the fear of similar surprise attacks, that all working parties were called in, and the various redoubts were fully manned. A few days later, the wooden block-house, which had recently been erected as part of the fortifications on Laurel Hill, was taken apart, and shipped off to Stony Point, where the British troops who had re-occupied that position, were hard at work reconstructing its defences. Their labors in the end only contributed to its use as an American stronghold, for the advent of the French fleet in September, caused the British troops to be withdrawn from all outlying points, and they were again massed within the defenses of our locality.

The camps this summer of 1779 were visited by a scourge of fever, and in June, the von Donop and Mirbach regiments had to be taken out of their crowded huts, and were divided into companies in a tent camp, which was pitched "on the north side" of Mount Washington. The location of this sanitary or health camp appears, by numerous military objects which have been found upon it, to have been the land on the east side of Broadway at 196th to Elwood Streets, and perhaps some of the officers were placed on the west side where there were several dug-out huts in the steep hillside where Fort Washington Avenue joins Broadway. Here have been turned up by the spade and plough, a number of interesting objects, including buttons, plain and numbered, which may be seen in the collection at Washington's Headquarters. The former indicate the presence of Hessians, and of the latter there are enough to show its occupation by sundry men moved there from the stricken regiments, to isolate them and diminish the spread of the epidemic. In the ground back of the Zerrrner cottage, some human remains were turned up, possibly one of these tenants of the Camp. Some of the articles found are indicative of camp life. There are sleeve-links, handsome in their day, a tiny watch-key with two sockets,
in the old double-winder style, the clasp of a book (can it possibly have been a Bible?) the usual belt and shoe buckles, gaiter buttons, musket flints, bullets and other distinctively military objects. Around this place too, were found some Indian relics, for it was probably as good a site for an aboriginal station as for a military camp.

A few men were left in the hut-camp, and among them von Krafft. The danger there existing was real, for the young Sergeant soon after came down with the fever, and took to his bed. He took a dose of rum and pepper, after which invigorating mixture he felt so much better that he actually got up, and as he says, "with hope in God," went out again. Between work and fever he had a very bad time, and though he evidently had only a comparatively mild attack, he became so low spirited that he feared his death was near. His subordinate position worried him, otherwise he would have been glad to die, but to think that his relatives would learn that he finished his career as a non-commissioned officer, he who had held commissioned rank before he started on his adventures, nearly drove him to despair.

In the depth of his troubles he writes that his "sighs can no longer move God," as he despaired when he reflected on his former happiness. But as his strength returned his faith increased and he says piously, "God will guide further events kindly for me," and admits that when reflecting on his own discontent, he becomes vexed at himself and disagreeable to others. So we may suppose he had been a trying companion, and a still more worrying patient and convalescent.

The fever increased during the summer and the regiments became so weakened that they "could not endure" the garrison service in the outlying forts on the Westchester side, which were therefore, ordered to be destroyed and abandoned.

The military authorities had decided to withdraw their forces within the fortified lines, and in August they took out the guns from Fort Independence.

Accordingly the works on the Westchester side of the Harlem River were demolished during the fall by working parties drawn from the troops on the Heights. Fort Number Eight on Fordham Heights alone was retained, and was strengthened by the use of materials taken from other fortifications. The men were then set
to work enlarging and strengthening the forts on Washington Heights, for which every piece of timber that could be cut was utilized. Even the fruit trees around the Dyckman farm were cut down and used in forming a barricade across the Post Road.

In September so great was the number of sick in the von Donop regiment that they could not furnish enough for a working party. The contagion spread into a "veritable epidemic," and even those inhabitants who still clung to their homes were not spared by its ravages.

Later in the fall, the sickness being undiminished, it was determined to change the position of the troops and get them into winter quarters early. So in October, a number of the regiments were marched off to other places, among them, the von Donop, which was transferred to Long Island, and with them went the interesting diarist von KrafT.
THE YEAR 1780

THE winter of 1779-80 was distinguished for unusual severity, the like of which for twenty years previous could not be remembered. "The North River was wholly frozen over and the East River had an astonishing quantity of floating ice." Von Krafft tells us that "as, in spite of this, many people ventured out in boats, sad accidents happened almost daily." Another officer records that "the rivers being passably frozen, an attack on the lines from Washington was apprehended" and so imminent was this danger that "the Officers of the 2nd Lt. Infantry never undress—nor the soldiers—"

This young officer was Ensign Eld of the Coldstream Guards, who was given the command of the light infantry company of the Guards on January 1, 1780. His men went into their huts on December 20, 1779, when he says "his hut was not furnished." Buttons of that corps have been found in the abandoned hut-sites on Seaman Avenue. Provisions were almost at famine prices. The supply of wood ran short, and the garrisons upon our hills felled trees in every direction, and when all these were gone, the very bushes were cut away. The troops had been shifted around and were housed for their winter quarters in dugout huts. The Fifty-fourth and Fifty-seventh English regiments, with the Irish Volunteers and the Royal Provincials had been transferred to Staten Island, and the Forty-fourth to Paulus Hook, leaving the Hessians to guard our Heights, the Prinz Carl Regiment garrisoning Fort Washington, the Erb Prinz Regiment in the hut camp, the Hessian Yagers at 168th Street, and some of the English guards on Inwood Hill.

On Christmas Day, Generals Sir Henry Clinton and Earl Cornwallis, with a large number of troops, sailed to South Carolina. The expedition included a number of the troops which had been quartered on the Heights. One of the transports, the "Anna," on
which were some of the Hessian Chasseurs, had an extraordinary experience. Early in January she was dismasted in some stress of weather, and was then towed by one of the men of war. Another storm coming up, the tow-line snapped and the Anna was left a helpless hulk on the ocean. A succession of westerly gales drove her for no less than eight dreary weeks, drifting to the east. With a month’s provisions for only a hundred mouths, her two hundred and fifty crew and male and female passengers, were soon confronted by famine, and after eating the dogs, and finally bolting shavings from the salt-beef barrels, it was proposed that they should eat each other, beginning with the women! Before they reached this dreadful situation, the Irish coast came in view, and thence the vessel drifted to Cornwall, where she was finally beached just as she was ready to sink. The sight of the starved Hessians so scared the Cornishmen, that at first they feared to come near the craft.

In the absence of Clinton, the command of New York devolved on Lieutenant General Knyphausen, the civil government being in the hands of Governor Tryon, who was superseded by General Robertson on the twenty-first of March of 1780. It may possibly have been at this time that the name of the late Governor was applied to Fort Tryon, which, owing to the labors of the working parties under von Krafft, had become the real northerly front of Fort Knyphausen.

After his departure, our gossip, von Krafft, was in Long Island for a time, where he fell deeply in love with the daughter of the house in which he was billeted, in Bushwick, and later on was on duty in New York City, where he was transferred to the Lieutenant Colonel’s Body Company of his regiment with the pay of a Free Corporal, and with the nominal rank of an ensign, a partial promotion for which he had long waited with great impatience.

During the winter frequent alarms were given by rumors of attacks by the Americans, and anyone who could bear arms was impressed for the purpose of aiding the reduced garrisons.

On the night of February 3, 1780, an unusual expedition was organized at Fort Washington. A large number of sleighs had been brought together on the snowbound roads, and in these vehicles there were loaded 480 officers and men of the light infantry and grenadiers of the British Guard regiments. The cavalcade started
Edw. Hagaman Hall

THE RECONSTRUCTED MILITARY HUT in Dyckman House Park, planned and erected by the author, its walls are built of the stones from the dug-outs, the woodwork from a Colonial barn.

THE INTERIOR OF
THE HUT, the stone fireplace moved from the camp site, and many tools and objects found in the Green Hill camp. A musket of the 17th foot hangs over the hearth.

Jno. Ward Dunsmore.
about 10 o'clock at night, their destination being Youngs' Corners, near North White Plains.

They abandoned the sleighs at Kingsbridge where they were joined by a force of Hessian soldiers and a number of mounted and dismounted refugees, men of the King's Royal Regiment of New York, a Tory corps sometimes referred to as "The Refugees" and by von Krafft described as "the new-raised corps."

They returned the next day, having raided the American position, bringing about 90 prisoners of the Continental army and bearing their own wounded men, about 30 in number, among them two mortally wounded officers, Captain Boscawen and Captain Wilcox of the Refugees.

Every effort was now concentrated on the southern expedition, and on the twelfth of May, Charleston capitulated, the news reaching New York on the twenty-eighth. On the King's birthday, June the fourth, guns were fired in the forts at noon, and salutes an hour later from the ships in the Bay.

The German General being informed by spies that the little patriot army at Morristown was distressed, and the inhabitants of Jersey, as it was represented, were discontented, thought it an opportune time to make an expedition with six thousand men into New Jersey, but soon found that the estimates he had formed of the disaffection of his opponents were ill-founded and had to make a prompt retreat.

Clinton returned to New York on June eighteenth, and promptly withdrew the troops from a dangerous position. He was now devoting his attention to the negotiations with Benedict Arnold, and meantime, found occupation for the troops in a foraging expedition to Yonkers, in which several of the Hessian regiments, including the Body Regiment and the Landgraf, took part, and in an expedition to Rhode Island which soon returned without success.

The first division of the French army under Rochambeau was lying in Rhode Island, awaiting the belated arrival of the second division. Thus the summer waned, and in the early fall events of a different nature claimed all attention.

The watchers on our Heights might have seen one September day a British frigate working her way up river, past Jeffreys Hook. This was the Vulture, bearing Andre on his mission to meet the traitor, and with him arrange the details of the treacherous bargain.
which was expected to end at a single blow the command of the River, which the American forces had retained at West Point. But for his capture at Tarrytown, Andre would have made his way to headquarters along the Post Road, with the plans which would have sealed in all probability the fate of the Revolution. But that was not to be. Instead, officers under flags of truce went up to intercede for his life, and the Vulture came down stream, bearing Arnold to a refuge with his one-time enemies.

On Saturday, the twenty-first of October, 1780, the Hessian regiment von Donop again appeared on the King’s Bridge Road and tramped over the Heights to the hut camp at Fort Knyphausen, where they arrived at eight in the evening, having been four hours on the march from the outskirts of New York. The companies cast lots for the huts they should occupy during the winter, and von Krafť’s company, which was now that of his Lieutenant-Colonel, was thus allotted to huts on a different hill from that they had previously occupied. The old huts were in a tumble-down state and the men had to go to work to repair them, and apparently, with the then scarcity of lumber, this was no easy matter.

The whole locality was “quite unrecognizable, the woods and bushes having been cut away,” and the only available supply of lumber being obtained in the debatable land across the Harlem. To cut and bring in wood from Morrisania, which was a locality somewhat protected by the troops in Fort Number Eight on University Heights, the Royal Dragoons were sent round with detachments from every regiment quartered on the hillsides of the Heights.

A little expedition was organized by the Seventy-sixth Highland regiment, which then formed the garrison of Fort Prince Charles, in search of forage. While they were away in Yonkers, von Krafť and some of his men stood guard in the watch-house below Marble Hill, where he obtained, when the men returned, some much appreciated apples and potatoes which had been stolen from the Westchester farms. The troops were shifted round to provide effective regiments for the Carolina campaign, and the Royal Pro vincials and the Eightieth Royal Edinburgh Volunteers marched away to embark on the southern service which ended at Yorktown. Into their huts came our old acquaintances, the von Koehler Grenadiers, now under Colonel von Graf, and the Thirty-eighth British
regiment, many of whose buttons have been found in and around Fort Washington.

It was during this autumn that von Krafft was occupied in making that interesting perspective drawing which has been previously described. On the eighteenth of December, he gave a drawing, which was no doubt the original, to Lieutenant-Colonel von Hinte, "which greatly pleased him," and then proceeded to make another for his own reference. The map bears the following inscription: "Plans of the military positions of the Island of New York in North America, but only on the east side in the neighborhood of what had been Fort Washington, but was afterwards Knyphaussen, which I sketched myself in the month of May, 1779, from Laurel Hill. But this was not drawn until 1781 in the month of January, and in the hut camp at Fort Knyphaussen." The drawing shows the "line of circumvallation" earthworks extending down the west side of Fort George Hill to Broadway, in a completed form, which was effected only at the end of December, 1780, and thus became the outer line of defence, so that the redoubts beyond were considered as outposts. The hills were bare, "for nearly all the sticks around here were pulled up and even of the smallest bushes there was very little to be seen."

The Farmer's free bridge on the east side of Marble Hill was destroyed and its place was taken by a ferry at the foot of Laurel Hill. The pontoon bridge over the Spuyten Duyvil Creek, west of the King's Bridge, which had served to connect the advanced outpost on Spuyten Duyvil Hill with our island, was now removed, and the only defense on the mainland was "Number Eight" on University Heights. So the warm autumn waned amid fog and rain into the mildest winter von Krafft had known.

Early in the year 1781, came signs of renewed activity from the American side. The reserve pickets were turned out at four a. m. on January twenty-third, to meet a sudden attack in the neighborhood of Fort Number Eight. The Americans had stolen past the outposts, cut down the camp guard and set fire to the huts of negroes and refugees which lay in supposed security on the hillside. Some bold spirits even made their way to the fore-shore and cut the cable of Holland's ferry under the guns of the garrison of Fort George. There was considerable alarm in the garrison on account of the conflagration and the musket firing, and reinforce-
ments soon arrived, consisting of the Fifty-seventh English regiment, and a mixed battalion of two hundred and thirty men mainly composed of the unfortunate Knyphausen and Lossberg regiments who had recently been exchanged from captivity. The Cock Hill outpost on Inwood Hill was garrisoned by a little force of twenty men from the von Donop regiment and von Koehler Grenadiers, with some of the English Royal Artillery in charge of its two twelve-pounders.

On January sixteenth the troops were mustered for inspection in front of the headquarters of Major General von Lossberg, the one-time headquarters of Washington. Here also on Sundays the Hessians came to church service "in a stable near Morris' house." This must have been the coach-house of the mansion, which stood on the line of Amsterdam Avenue at 162nd Street.

Amid frequent alarms of attacks from the north, the spring of 1781 came on, and on the twentieth of April, a deserter from the French army gave the first information of the approach of the new force which was destined to take an active part in operations around this locality and to take a prominent share in the final chapter of the war.
XII

CAMP LIFE IN 1781

In the spring of this year the forces in occupation of Fort Washington and its neighborhood had been much depleted by the withdrawal of British and Hessian troops for service under Cornwallis in the Carolina and Virginia campaign.

A number of the best regiments were marched away down the Post Road (St. Nicholas Avenue) or had shipped from the Spuyten Duyvil creek, among them several of the corps which had formed for some part of the war the garrison of the Heights.

The Seventeenth Foot, with which was associated the Seventy-first Highlanders, but both represented only by reduced battalions of two hundred and two hundred and forty men respectively, having lost many of their number at Stony Point a year before, had gone south with the Twenty-third Welsh Fusiliers and the Thirty-third, which was Earl Cornwallis' own regiment. With them were now united the two Hessian regiments of the Erb-prinz, or Hesse-Hanau, long quartered on Fort George Hill, and the von Bose, once the Trumbach regiment, which had been camped on Broadway just below the Eleventh Mile Stone at 168th Street.

This regiment and some of the Chasseurs was engaged in the hardest of the fighting in the south, and at the battle of Guildford Court House took an onerous part of the day's operations. They had been under the command of Benedict Arnold, but he had in May of this year, been returned to New York.

These reductions in the garrison of course, soon became known to their opponents, and the irregular American forces began to push their way closer to the outposts and made their presence known in the Van Cortlandt district, and also along the Palisades across the Hudson and around the long-abandoned Fort Lee. In the month of May a serious attempt to dislodge them from these localities was made by the British military authorities by two expeditions of the

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irregular Tory corps known as the "Associated Refugees." One part was sent forward to Youkers on a raid, and the other embarked on twelve flatboats, and was sent up the river to drive the enemy out of their position in the woods on the Jersey side.

The Refugees were officially known as the King's American Regiment and were commanded by Colonel Edward Fanning, who was the son-in-law of Governor Tryon. They landed just below what had been Fort Lee, the village surrounding which we still know by that name. They reached the shore at a point opposite Manhattanville, and after a few shots from the boat guns charged with a cheer up into the woods, where a sharp fusillade ensued with the waiting patriots, the fight lasting until night closed in. Part of the force then returned to the boats, leaving some of their number ensconced within Fort Lee, within the old lines of which they proceeded to intrench themselves. During the next few days they expected an attack by the Americans and a frigate came up and took station with the other craft for their protection. Von Krafft was in Fort Kuyphaussen (Fort Washington) and so the scene of action which he described was in his full view.

For several evenings the garrison in Fort Lee remained under cover of its intrenchments, and at daybreak the force in the ships landed for further operations. On May eighteenth they were ambushed by some of the Americans, and a sharp encounter took place, in which the small field-guns had to be brought into action. A couple of the flatboats were also sent over to our side of the Hudson to obtain reinforcements from the same corps, part of which was then on duty in Morrisania. Their raid had developed into a march and demonstration as far as the Philipse house in Yonkers, whence their wounded and a few prisoners were sent in via Kingsbridge.

The lodgment of the corps on the Jersey side appeared to be of serious import and permanence, but a week later the regiment was recalled, and in the night of May twenty-third, they set fire to their huts and to the woodwork of their intrenchments, and retired on their vessels to New York.

The redoubtable Colonel Emmerich, of the Chasseurs, revisited Fort Lee a few days later with a small force of men of the von Donop regiment, but accomplished nothing beyond the capture of an unfortunate American who was described and probably treated as a Rebel spy.
While military actions naturally occupy the chief position in the record of the war, we obtain some occasional descriptions of the military life which afford a picture not only of the life of the soldierly on our Heights, but of the rough manners of the period.

In the early summer of 1781, while events were proceeding which would lead to further fighting around our neighborhood, the garrison were kept busy with drills, and with calls to numerous alarms. Realizing that they were in all probability to remain on the Heights for the season they began to do some little cultivation of the ground around their camps, in order to raise the vegetables which they needed and the supply of which was cut off by the increased activity and nearness of the American forces in Westchester and Jersey.

Von Krafft says there were few places in the hut camp which had not been made into gardens, and he had two pretty spots near his own hut in which he raised almost all the necessary vegetables from seeds which he had procured in New York. The whole country was bare of trees and bushes, so stripped that when the Hessian Yagers went into camp in June at Inwood, between Payson and Seaman Avenues, they could get no wood, or even bushes to construct shelters, so that tents had to be found for them by the Landgraf and von Donop regiments. The officers and men in those days received a small allowance for kindling wood, the amount for the season per man being three shillings, three and a third pence. Such wood as was brought in appears to have been cut up at a wood magazine of which traces were found on the west side of Seaman Avenue about 203rd Street. The season was hot and there were severe thunderstorms, in one of which two British soldiers were struck dead by lightning, one while engaged in fishing, and the other, a private of the Fifty-seventh Regiment, while doing sentinel duty on Fort George Hill.

Von Krafft was at this time acting temporarily as a subaltern in the combined battalion, composed of returned captives of the three Hessian regiments of Knyphaussen, Rall and Lossberg, then quartered on Laurel Hill (Fort George) and while in command in Fort Number Eight, on University Heights, his corporal, a man named Fuchter, fell asleep while on duty. He blamed von Krafft for reporting him, and sent him a card requesting a meeting at some quiet spot. Von Krafft went alone, and considered the place
a good one for a duel for which he was fully prepared. He found, however, that the corporal only wanted to talk, and shirked a fight, although the fiery ensign threatened him with his drawn sword. Just at this time there came on the scene three other sub-officers, friends of Fuchter, whom he had evidently invited to his aid. At this von Krafft sheathed his sword and held it toward them, but they assured him they did not intend to join in the dispute but only to dissuade the combatants. He, however, insisted on a fight, and they retired to another spot suggested by Fuchter, where, much to his disgust, they found a number of the corporal's personal friends "from which," says von Krafft, "I inferred that he had already been bragging a great deal about the affair." Fuchter then requested that the duel be postponed, to which von Krafft finally agreed, but nothing came of the affair, as the battalion was ordered away suddenly on the thirtyith to Long Island, much to the regret of the pugnacious officer.

He was on duty a little later on Inwood Hill, when an American officer came down the Hudson under a flag of truce on his way to New York, and von Krafft, who had by this time learned enough English to converse, asked him if he was an officer of the Rebels. He answered, "No, but of the Independent States," whereupon von Krafft retorted that the States had departed from their legitimate King, which gives us an idea of the respect in which the Hessians held the monarchical idea. The contempt with which many of the British regarded their German allies, was a poor return for the Hessian's championship.

On St. John's day, June twenty-fourth, the men in garrison had a sort of holiday, and in the hut camp they made merry and had music to which they danced with such of their wives and other women as were around the camps. Von Krafft says that their morals were very loose and that their promiscuous marriages, especially among the British troops, disgusted him. He tells how he met a soldier of the Thirty-eighth regiment, whose camp appears then to have been at the 168th Street site on Broadway, who enquired for a chaplain, there being no such official in his corps. His purpose was to get married to some woman with whom he had become acquainted only a few hours before, and the Donop chaplain had refused to unite the couple. A Sergeant of the same regiment
A COUNTERFEITER AT WORK in a dug-out hut, had melted buttons and bullets, and cast a spurious Spanish dollar. He left his bullet mould, his knee buckle, and point of his bayonet scabbard on the floor when he was arrested.

The buttons are the British 17th or Leicestershire Regiment and the 28th or Gloucestershire Regiment.

From the Green hill camp, near Seaman Avenue.
set his men a bad example, for by shrewd contrivances and falsehoods he had been married no less than sixteen times, and told von Krafft that he would continue to do so until he found a wife with whom he could decide to settle permanently.
XIII

THE AMERICAN-FRENCH ARMY

On the eighteenth day of the month of May, 1781, Washington set out from New Windsor, above West Point, with Generals Knox and Duportail, and at Weathersfield, Connecticut, on the twenty-second, he met General Count Rochambeau, the Commander-in-chief of the French army, then lying at Newport, with him to arrange a plan of action of the combined forces, upon the expected arrival on the coast of the powerful French fleet under De Grasse.

The discussion was full of import for our locality. Washington's proposal, which took into account the removal of part of the garrison of the Heights then taking part in the southern campaign under Cornwallis, was as follows:

"The enemy, by several detachments from New York, having reduced their force at that post to less than one-half of the number which they had at the time of the former conference at Hartford, in September last, it is thought advisable to form a junction of the French and American armies upon the North River as soon as possible, and move down to the vicinity of New York, to be ready to take advantage of any opportunity which the weakness of the enemy may afford." The plan was decided upon, and Washington wrote round to the states for aid in supplies for the operation upon what he described as the most valuable position which the British held upon this continent. Weeks of anxious effort followed, and it was not until the middle of June that the armies were ready for the junction of forces.

The French regiments began their march through the Connecticut towns by two different routes to White Plains, while the Americans were re-organizing in camp at Peekskill. On the twenty-eighth of June, Washington conceived the plan of advancing the combined operations by a surprise attack upon our end of the island of Manhattan, in the hope of anticipating news which might reach
them of the coming assault. The attack was to be made by a landing on the island, crossing the Hudson in boats, and the troops were to surprise and hold the works around Kingsbridge, and were directed to follow this up by storming Forts Tryon and Knypenhaussen, though they were not to attempt to hold the latter after its capture.

The force detailed for this difficult duty consisted of a detachment of picked light infantry, commanded by Colonel Alexander Scammel, eight hundred strong, all under Major General Lincoln.

The Hessian outposts in Van Cortlandt and DeLancey’s corps in Fordham, were to be headed off by the Duc de Lauzan’s Legion of horse and foot, with Sheldon’s Dragoons and some Connecticut State troops. Washington moved down his entire force as a reserve, to act upon any success which might attend the movement. The attack was timed to take place in the night of the second of July. Lincoln’s orders were to the effect that if upon arrival opposite Spuyten Duyvil he should find the landing on the island impracticable, or if his movement should be discovered, he was to land above Kingsbridge and join De Lauzan in an attack on De Lancey at Fordham.

Some news must have reached the British authorities, for on his arrival, Lincoln found several British frigates lying off the mouth of the Spuyten Duyvil. In addition, Colonel Emmerich had gone out that afternoon with about a hundred of the Chasseurs on a reconnoissance to Yonkers.

Word was brought in that night to Lieutenant Colonel von Wurmb that the American army was on march towards New York, and that its advance guard had been seen at Sing Sing. This officer promptly took out at dawn, two hundred and thirty chasseurs and cavalrymen to protect Emmerich in his retreat. Lincoln had meantime, landed his men during the night, crossing over from Jersey, above Spuyten Duyvil and was awaiting the arrival of De Lauzan’s corps, which was making an all-night march.

The latter did not arrive at the stated time, so that Lincoln’s men were lying under arms, when dawn broke and the Yagers moved out over the King’s Bridge. As the force had to pass along the valley, von Wurmb thought it prudent to send a party ahead, in order to examine the ruins of Fort Independence which overlooked and commanded his passage along the Albany Post Road.
The old road turned sharply to the east, after crossing the bridge, and followed the bank of the Harlem, meeting the present Kingsbridge road that came down from Fordham to the Dyckman bridge. It was on this road a little south of this point, about on the east side of the present Heath Avenue, that the Chasseurs’ camp was placed. Thence the old Post Road ran along Van Cortlandt’s at the foot of Valentine’s Hill, and on the northerly brow of the hill were the remains of the ruined Fort Independence.

Sergeant Rubenkonig, with ten men, made up the scouting party. They climbed up the side of the hill, now the south-east part of the present town of Kingsbridge, probably on the line of East 230th Street, and on reaching the summit, the Sergeant caught sight in the gray morning light, of some men dressed in what he thought was the blue coat and straw-colored facings of the von Donop regiment, some of which corps were at that time out with Emmerich’s command. So he called out “good morning” to them, when half-a-dozen sprang at him, and seizing him by his hair, by his accoutrements, and by his throat, tried to choke him into silence. Rubenkonig managed, however, to twist himself out of their grasp, and shouting, “Rebels, Rebels,” made off down the hillside to his own party. The journal of the Yager corps tells of the fight which followed, and of the narrow escape of the corps.

Emmerich and his Chasseurs were at this time down on the high road about 240th Street, between the hill and the marshes, through which flows the Mosholu creek from the Van Cortlandt Lake. Their advance guard was in a particularly narrow place where the only escape lay across the marsh. They had only one recourse, and that was to attack those who were disputing their way. They did so, but were repulsed by the Americans lodged on the hillside, and they fell back in a disorderly manner. Their cavalry then charged and though they too were driven back, they gained a little time for the main body to reach better ground and to form up in a proper military manner. The American force which appeared to be some six hundred strong, but were probably only a small part of Lincoln’s force, took post in the old fort, but on Lieutenant Colonel Wurmb bringing up his force of Yagers as reinforcements on the other or southerly side of the scene of action, they retired to some distance. Emmerich thereupon made his way to the bridge, but was closely followed by Lincoln’s men from the
Spuyten Duyvil side, who actually got up to and took possession of the King's Bridge, leaving von Wurmb and the Yagers with the mounted Chasseurs, in a very tight place. They advanced in good order towards the bridge, and somewhat to their surprise, the Americans slowly retired. Von Wurmb considered, and probably correctly, that they were endeavoring to draw him into a trap, so he halted his men and sent word of his predicament to headquarters. The American force was, as we know, only about eight hundred in all, and was scattered over the hills, awaiting the arrival of the French force.

De Lauzan came up a little later, but too late to join in the affair, though he made a demonstration, in order to draw the Hessians into an engagement, and the firing continued till afternoon. The cross-purposes under which both sides were acting, as well as the delay in the arrival of the French, led to this inconclusive fight, instead of the picturesque assault which had been planned. Von Kraft says the Chasseurs or Yagers brought in some prisoners, but had about forty wounded, and one mounted man killed, while one of the von Donop men took the opportunity of deserting. Captain von Rall, of the Mounted Yagers, who had just received from the Landgrave a leave of absence for two years, was so unfortunate as to be shot in the breast and leg, and no doubt spent a good part of his vacation in the hospital.

On the afternoon of July 2, 1781, while the outpost firing was still going on between the Yagers and Lincoln's Light Infantry, the American army arrived on the scene and took up quarters on Valentine hill, east of the present town of Kingsbridge. The Commander-in-chief was with them and promptly proceeded to make a personal examination of the British works and the locality around their positions. From the hillside near the Jerome Reservoir he could doubtless have seen not only the Marble Hill fort, but as far south as Fort Tryon and Fort George, with the formidable earthworks between the two hills, on which the Hessian and British troops, during the previous year, had been laboring. Below, in the Inwood valley, were the camps of several corps, and the impression of the strength of the position was such that he ordered the withdrawal of the troops, which took place the following day. It would have required a much larger force than he then possessed to have
effected any successful attack, and the French army had not so far, effected a junction with the Americans.

On the sixth of July they came together at Dobbs Ferry, and news of their union soon reached New York and caused General Clinton to take prompt measures to repel any attack upon the upper end of our island. The von Donop regiment was ordered into Fort Knyphaussen, where they were quartered in tents within and without the ramparts. Crowded within a restricted area they led what von Krafft described as an “execrable life.”

General Clinton came up to the fort on the fourteenth, “inspecting everything,” and during the following week the garrison was constantly on the alert, undergoing inspections and turning out at false alarms. More guns were sent up and frigates lay at anchor abreast of Fort Tryon, occasionally firing a few rounds at parties of Americans visible on Spuyten Duyvil Hill and on the crest of the Palisades.

A change was considered desirable in some of the outworks, and von Krafft, with thirty men, was set to labor at leveling some too-exposed portions of the embankments around Fort Tryon. This may have been due to a fear lest these works should be utilized, if taken by their opponents, as protection against the fire of the guns in Fort Knyphaussen.

The united force of the American and French now advanced again from the north, and went into camp around the site of Fort Independence. The French fleet was daily expected to arrive off the mouth of the port, when the occasion would be ripe for an attack upon or a regular siege of our Heights. As a preparatory step, a personal reconnaissance and observation of the whole neighborhood was made by Washington and Rochambeau from Tippett’s hill (Spuyten Duyvil) and from Fordham Heights and Morrisania. The scene around our neighborhood must have been of intense interest to the commander, as he compared it with its appearance when he himself had been in occupation and engaged in its defence. Its natural strength was known to him, and was now rendered more than ever apparent by the bare and naked hillsides shorn of all trees and shrubs and crowned and crossed by formidable earthworks through which peered the muzzles of the heavy ordnance. University Heights, the British fort “Number Eight,” was in view, strongly garrisoned and within protecting range of the twenty-four pounder.
guns of Fort George. Pontoons were being brought up the river to form a barrier to any passage of the Hudson. Manifestly a frontal attack would have been a costly and doubtful enterprise. Washington entered in his diary a full description of the scene.

It is in keeping with the remarkable vicissitudes with which our neighborhood has been associated in the past, that there should now appear upon the scene the fourth element of the forces engaged in the Revolution. The French corps, which was at this time united with the American, was composed of some of the finest regiments of King Louis, and was a complete and compact little army comprising representatives of each arm of the service. The force was under the general command of Lieutenant General the Count de Rochambeau, under whom a number of officers of noble rank, whose titles sound strangely in conjunction with those of the unpretentious patriots in whose cause they were engaged. The chief engineering officer was the well-known Marquis de Vauban and the aides-de-camp included the Marquis de Dumas, the Count de Fersen, Chevalier de Lameth and Baron Jean Louis von Clossen, a Bavarian whose spirited account of the affairs now to be described, was recently discovered at his castle of Gern, near Engel Farden, where his direct descendants reside.

The cavalry was a volunteer organization of about six hundred men under the command of the Duc de Lauzun, and was known as Lauzun’s Legion, the artillery being of about the same number under Colonel Commandant d’Abeville. The infantry, with their usual regimental features of grenadier and sapper companies, was composed of two brigades, the first including the Regiment Bourbonnois, Colonel, the Marquis de Laval, and the Regiment Royal Deuxponts, under the Count of that name; these forming the brigade Bourbonnois.

The brigade Soissonois included the regiment of that name under Colonel the Marquis de St. Maime, and the regiment Saintonge, Colonel the Marquis de Custine. Each of these included about nine hundred men in its roster, so that the entire French force was about four thousand five hundred strong. In their showy uniforms, white, blue and gold, and their well appointed accoutrements, they must have presented the strongest contrast to the American troops, of whom von Clossen recorded a description when he visited them at White Plains, just before the joint operations

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"To-day," he wrote on July fourth, "I visited Washington at White Plains, where I had ample opportunity for observing his brave little army. I could feel deep pity for these brave men, because of the poor clothing they wore. It consisted only of trousers, sometimes a ragged shirt and jacket of linen. Stockings were a wanting article, but their resolute appearance and excellent humor helped to supply the lack of proper clothing. One-fourth of the troops consisted of negroes and all looked cheerful and well." These were the comrades now assembled for the threatened attack on our Heights.

On July eighteenth, Washington and Rochambeau, with Quartermaster-General de Beville and General Duportail crossed the Hudson at Dobbs Ferry and landing at the northerly end of the Palisades, spent the day in reconnoitering the west side of Washington Heights and Inwood. Proceeding as far as Fort Lee, the officers took dinner there at the house of William Day, but evidently found that the Hudson side offered no prospects of successful attack. In the fort it was the day of duty of the company to which von Krafft belonged, and they were mustered by the British Inspector at seven a. m. in Fort Washington, and their movements in front of the fort could doubtless be clearly seen from the Jersey side. The next afternoon's tide brought up two frigates and some transport ships with reinforcements and additional guns, and these were joined by some British sloops that had been up the Hudson, bringing back with them a small American craft which they had taken.

The frigates took station alongside the fortifications, probably just above and below Fort Washington Park, and practiced gun firing at the parties of Americans visible on the Palisades. "Looking over towards the Heights of Jersey," says von Krafft, "we could see many Rebels there." It would have interested him and others to learn that the American and French Commanders were among them.

From the same point of vantage, more than five years before, Washington had watched the fierce assault on and defence of Fort Tryon hill, and had seen the flag descend which told of the loss of Fort Washington. It must have been a view of extreme personal interest to him. Returning to the east side of the river the commanders now put the troops in motion for the display of force
A HUT OF THE LEIB OR BODY REGIMENT at Arden Street, and a group of Inwood children enjoying an objective lesson in local history.

A FINE WIDE FIREPLACE OF STONE set in sand in the Hessian part of the Green Hill Camp at Inwood, with fire-dogs and pot-hook in place.
during which their observations could be made of the Harlem side of the defenses.

Washington's own account of the proceedings is as follows: "July 21st I ordered about five thousand men to be ready to march at eight o'clock, for the purpose of reconnoitring the enemy's posts at Kingsbridge, and of cutting off, if possible, such of Delancey's corps as should be found without their lines. At the hour appointed the march commenced in four columns, on different roads. Major General Parsons, with the Connecticut troops, and twenty-five of Sheldon's horse, formed the right column, with two field pieces on the North River road. The other two divisions, under Major Generals Lincoln and Howe, together with the corps of sappers and miners, and four field-pieces, formed the next column, on the Sawmill River road. The right column of the French, on our left, consisting of the brigade of Bourbonnois, with the battalion of grenadiers and Chasseurs, two field-pieces, and two twelve pounders. Their left column was composed of the legion of Lauzun, one battalion of grenadiers and chasseurs, the regiment of Soissonois, two field-pieces and two howitzers. General Waterbury with the Militia and State troops of Connecticut, was to march on the East Chester road, and to be joined at that place by the cavalry of Sheldon, for the purpose of scouring Frog's Neck."

"Sheldon's infantry was to join the Legion of Lauzun and scour Morrisania, and to be covered by Scammell's light infantry, who were to advance through the fields, waylay the roads, stop all communication, and prevent intelligence from getting to the enemy. At Valentine's Hill, the left column of the American troops and right of the French formed their junction, as did the left of the French also, by mistake, as it was intended it should cross the Bronx by Garrineau's and recross it at William's Bridge."

Washington in his diary continues the story of the events leading to the engagement of July twenty-first, 1781: "The whole army (Parson's division first) arrived at Kingsbridge about daylight and formed on the heights back of Fort Independence, extending toward Delancey's Mills" (that is Woodlawn and Williamsbridge, the mill being on the Bronx River) "while the legion of Lauzun and Waterbury's corps proceeded to scour Morrisania and Frog's Neck to little effect, as most of the Refugees had fled and hid themselves in such obscure places as not to be discovered, and by
stealth got over to the islands adjacent, and to the enemy's shipping which lay in the East River. A few, however, were caught, and some cattle and horses brought off."

Baron Closson tells us in detail of these occurrences:

"At daybreak the generals with their staff, in all forty mounted officers and dragoons, arrived on the mills at Kingsbridge. We rode along Harlem River, which separates us from the island of New York, and finally reached a hill half a mile to this side of the estate of Morrisania, forming the corner of the mainland" (probably St. Mary's Park at St. Ann's Avenue and East 143rd Street). "Opposite to it, and separated from it only by a stream of water about sixty feet wide, lies the island of Montresor" (now Randall's Island). "On the other side of Harlem River one sees the village by that name." The little village then stood near the present approach of the Willis Avenue Bridge, and at that time a Hessian detachment was quartered in its cottages.

"We had scarcely reached the top when we heard plaintive cries from Morrisania. At the same moment we observed two ships with armed men pushing off from the shore, and steering towards the island of Montresor, while on shore quite near to the house (Lewis Morris's Mansion) a number of Refugees had remained behind. Seeing the latter and making up our minds to attack them was the matter of a moment. After asking permission to do so from our generals, who were but fifty steps behind us, we darted off, Vauban, Dumas, Lauberdiere, Berthier and myself, all aides de camp of the generals; Captain Mollins and some American dragoons—at full speed to the house."

"We were soon made aware, by the bullets whistling about our ears, that besides the soldiers we had seen from above, there must be more of them hidden in the house itself. Also from the other side of the river, as well as from the island of Montresor, bullets were pouring upon us, and the bass to this military concert was played by a battery near Harlem, of the existence of which we had no idea before."

This battery was upon the summit of Snake Hill, now Mount Morris Park, at Madison Avenue and 124th Street, and commanded in those days a wide view over the flatlands of Harlem plain and Morris's estate on the Bronx side of the river.

"The whole affair," continues the enthusiastic aide, "went off exceedingly well. Berthier killed one man, and I wounded another
who had retired behind the house, and from there fired another shot at me, but then quickly flung his musket away. In all there were two men killed and one severely wounded on the enemy’s side, and, besides, we made sixteen men prisoners, while we, as if by a miracle, had all got off safely. Dumas’ horse was killed under him by a cannon ball, but he did not himself receive the least injury. Our pursuit of the fleeing soldiers had led us through an orchard. On this occasion my hat caught itself in the branches of a tree and had fallen to the ground. A false vanity at that moment made me think more of the military derisive proverb, ‘Ah, il a perdu son chapeau’ than of danger. I therefore alighted in the midst of a shower of balls for the sake of my hat, and returned some time after to the generals, who already believed me killed. On relating my story, I was laughed at by my comrades for my exaggerated selfishness. The generals even reproached me for my temerity, but General Washington, tapping me on the shoulder in his good natured manner, said to me: ‘Dear Baron, this French proverb is not yet known amongst our army, but your cool behavior during the danger will be’.

In the New York Herald some years ago, was a photogravure reproduction of a painting afterwards made by von Closen, in order to fix permanently in his mind the picture of the scene in which he then took part and of his “adored General,” as he sat on horseback surveying the events transpiring that beautiful summer morning. The dead Refugee infantryman and the wounded horse of the Marquis de Dumas lie prone in the foreground, as the Baron stoops to pick up his hat, reining in his horse, and in the rear is the group of general officers looking across the Harlem Kill to the islands, and watching the operation of the battery which von Krafft tells us was “terribly bombarding” them.

That young officer tells us how the affair appeared from his station above 181st Street and Broadway, where he with his company were quartered in the Fort:

“At 9 a. m. the combined forces of the Rebels and French, in whole columns, came marching over, where Independence had been, and up towards us, in different divisions, and 2 of them, below what used to be King’s Redoubt (near Jerome Reservoir) had guns with which they shot at our fleeing Refugees, and also at the camp of our Yagers, which latter had retreated within our line after taking down their tents. From Laurel hill (Fort George, 196th
Street) a few shots were fired from the fort with 24 pounders at the Rebels, whereupon they immediately retired behind the height. Afterwards we saw that several columns of the Rebels marched off behind No. 8 (the British fort in the Schwab estate just south of the University buildings) to the end of Morrisania, but being terribly bombarded from Harlem from Shnek-hill (Snake hill, Mount Morris Park) they were seen retreating into the thickest and returning again. A French regiment lay near No. 8 to protect the others. Altogether one could see by their camps which were on the plain above Independence, that they must be very strong. Tonight although we had certainly expected it (an attack) they were very quiet."
XIV
WASHINGTON'S SURVEY

The allied generals had, of course, no intention of a serious attack before the reconnaissance should have developed the positions held by the garrison of our Heights. The arrival of the combined army had been carried out with such exactitude that as Washington records,—“the enemy did not appear to have had the least intelligence of our movement, or to know we were upon the heights opposite to them, till the whole army was ready to display itself.”

The generals went to work to make their observations during the succeeding operations while the attention of the foe was fully occupied. “After having fixed upon the ground and formed our line, I began,” says Washington, “with General Rochambeau and the engineers to reconnoitre the enemy’s position and works; and first from Tippet’s hill opposite to their left.” Tippet’s hill is now the hill of Spuyten Duyvil, and so it was from a point opposite Inwood, or the “Cock-Hill,” that the generals made their first observations.

“From thence it was evident that the small redoubt Fort Charles (on the summit of Marble Hill) near Kingsbridge would be absolutely at the command of a battery which might be erected thereon” (that is on Spuyten Duyvil hill which dominates Marble Hill in the same manner today).

“It also appeared equally evident that the fort on Cox’s hill was in bad repair, and but little dependence placed on it. There is neither ditch nor frizeling, and the northeast corner appears quite easy of access, occasioned, as it would seem, by a rock.” The fort stood over the hilltop rather to the west of the extreme summit, which is the rocky eminence at the end of the present line of the Bolton Road, so Washington’s criticism can be easily understood.

“The approach from the inner point is secured by a ledge of rocks, which would conceal a party from observation till it got
within about one hundred yards of the fort, around which, for that or a greater distance, the ground has little covering of bushes upon it." The rocks are those on the east and southeast of the hill and in the absence of the timber, the destruction of which, as told by von Kraft is confirmed by the General, the bluff must have stood out boldly to view.

"There is a house on this side under Tippet's hill, but out of view, I conceive, of the crossing place, most favorable to a partisan stroke," referring possibly to the old Van Cortlandt house on the northeast of the hillside about the line of 238th Street. "From this view and every other I could get of Forts Tryon, Knyphausen, and Laurel hill, the works are formidable. There are no barracks or huts on the east side of the hill on which Forts Tryon and Knyphausen stand, nor are there any on the hill opposite, except those by Fort George. Near the Blue Bell there is a number of houses, but they have more the appearance of stables than barracks." This was undoubtedly, however, the location of the barracks and the dug-outs known as the Hut-camp, perhaps some of those in sight also being the barns of the Oblenis farm which sheltered the horses of the artillery and wagons near 176th Street.

"In the hollow near the Barrier Gate (192nd Street and Broadway) are about fourteen or fifteen tents, which are the only encampment I could see without the line of palisades." They were at 196th Street, and were doubtless part of the sanitary or "Tent Camp" described by von Kraft.

From Tippet's hill the observers could not see on the south-east side of Inwood hill the large dugout encampment between Payson and Seaman Avenues. The generals then evidently made their way through Kingsbridge and behind Fort Number Eight on University Heights, to some point near Highbridge, from which they re-commenced their observations.

"A continued hill from the creek east of Haarlem River, and a little below Morris's White house (his old headquarters at 162nd street) has from every part of it the command of the opposite shore, and all the plain adjoining is within range of shot from batteries which may be erected thereon. The general width of the river, along this range of hills, appears to be from one hundred to two hundred yards. The opposite shore, (that is along the present line of the Speedway) "though more or less marshy, does not seem miry, and the banks are very easy of access." It was the
same bank that had been scaled by the Forty-second Highlanders in
the assault of Fort Washington.

"How far the battery, under cover of the block house on the
hill northwest of Haerlem town" (Snake hill, now Mt. Morris
Park) "is capable of scouring the plain, is difficult to determine
from this side; but it would seem as if the distance were too great
to be within the range of its shot on that part of the plain nearest
the creek before-mentioned, and which is also nearest the heights
back of our old lines thrown up in the year 1776." This evidently
refers to the creek which at one time wound in across what is now
Manhattan field and Bradhurst Avenue across the marshland of
Bussing farm, the homestead of which stood till recent years at
147th Street and Eighth Avenue.

Turning to the east and looking across Morrisania, the General
observed, "It unfortunately happens, that, in the rear of the con-
tinued hill before mentioned, there is a deep swamp, and the
grounds west of that swamp are not so high as the heights near
Haerlem River. In the rear of this again is the Brux, which is
not to be crossed without boats below Delancey's Mills."

It is evident from the foregoing, that the commanders had
some idea of an attack on our Heights to be made by landing in
the low ground near Seventh and Eighth Avenues, and by scaling
the heights of St. Nicholas Park. Had the decision been made to
carry this into effect, another chapter would have been added to
the story of strife and bloodshed for the possession of these hills.
The next day Washington went to Throg's Neck "to see what com-
munication could be had with Long Island, and the engineers at-
tended with instruments to measure the distance across." With-
out the aid of shipping, however, the whole project was evidently
doubtful of ultimate permanent benefit, so "having finished the
reconnoitre without damage, a few harmless shot only being fired
at us, we marched back about six o'clock by the same routes we
went down but in a reversed order of march and arrived at camp
about midnight."
THE WAR ENDS ON THE HEIGHTS

While the American and French army were occupied with their observations and fighting in Morrisania, General Clinton arrived on horseback on these heights, and rode out to the front of the defences with a small party of officers, being saluted by blank charges from the guns of the forts. In Fort Knyphausen repairs to the parapet of the two northerly bastions were being made by twelve men under von Krafft, the earthwork having been damaged by the concussions of the recent cannonading.

As the attacking force moved away that night to Yonkers, the Yager Corps followed, but on account of their good order could not get near the rear-guard. Alarm was still felt lest another attack should follow, and a number of pontoons were floated up from New York and formed into a barrier, apparently at the mouth of the Spuyten Duyvil. A night alarm followed and the Yagers came in from their camp across the Harlem, bag and baggage, but nothing resulted. As we know, the American and French force was quietly withdrawing to the Jersey side of the Hudson and marching on its long tramp that ended in the capture of Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown.

Meanwhile, the unfortunate garrison, crowded within Fort Knyphaussen (Fort Washington) suffered from summer heat and storm, "almost burnt up by the sun and almost swimming in the rain," their only enjoyment being the supply of fresh vegetables from the gardens in the but camp in the valley, which their comrades in camp were tending. The daily practice was to fire all the guns of the fort once around in a circuit, the negligence of the gunners sometimes causing breaches in the banks which von Krafft had to repair.

On August thirteenth, he was again working on Forest Hill
(Fort Tryon) "making banquets on the palisades," and other preparations for active service were going on, some of the pontoons being taken into the Harlem River and made into a pontoon bridge across the stream "below No. 8," which was the fort on University Heights. This locates the bridge at the natural point for the use of such a convenience, probably at Bronson's Point, or 201st Street, where numerous remains of military occupation were uncovered.

These steps were evidence to the garrison that an expedition was brewing, but their surmises came to an end at the close of August, when it was reported around here that the "French and Rebels had all retired to Jersey." The troops were ordered back and forth, first on shipboard and then on land, while Arnold's spiteful expedition to New London failed to bring back any of Washington's forces, or to produce any permanent result. The wounded from that expedition arrived here on September ninth.

On the afternoon of September fourth, a dramatic incident took place on the Hudson side, when an English artillery-man deserted from Fort Knyphaussen, probably from the Fort Tryon end of the works. He quickly slipped off his clothing and sprang into the river, and being a good swimmer and diver, he dodged the shots aimed at him from the Stone Redoubt, and got safely over to the Jersey side.

Desertions and insubordination had become common, for the duty was severe and the fever was again spreading. Von Krafft relates how one man, condemned for the latter offence, ran the gauntlet within the fort six times between two hundred soldiers, a punishment, the brutality and severity of which can only be imagined from the fact that each such soldier was expected to strike at least one blow on the culprit's naked back.

The disaffection spreading among the Hessians, several desertions occurred, and by way of a reminder of what was in store for such conduct, a gallows was erected on September twenty-seventh, in front of the fort, probably near the site of the Bennett mansion. This sinister object must indeed have formed a curious, not to say hideous adjunct to the bare and desolate hilltop above the rigid lines of the fortress. The officers in general had remained very loyal to their colors, but there had been for a long time two exceptions, the young ensigns Fuhrer and Kleinschmidt, the latter a comrade of von Krafft, from the unfortunate regiment of Rall, who
had, it will be remembered, deserted when in the Yager mounted company of Chasseurs, on account of his debts, in the year 1778.

By way of warning to the rank and file there was now issued the following curious order:

"NOTIFICATION.—New York, the 2nd of October, 1781. His Most Serene Highness, the Landgrave of Hesse, having approved of the sentence given by the court Martial, viz: That the following officers, Ensign Fuehrer, of the regiment of Knyphausen, Ensign Kleinschmidt, of the regiment of Angelleli, and Ensign de Micklaskewicz, of the regiment of Landgrave, be hanged for Treason and Desertion to the Enemy, and that their effigies be hanged with their names and crimes thereunto marked, till their persons (now absent) shall fall within the reach of Justice;

"It is therefore hereby notified (agreeable to the Orders received) that, in consequence of the above mentioned sentences, the Effigies of the said Officers, and their names and crimes thereunto marked, are actually hanged on the gallows at New York and Fort Knyphaussen and that the officers and Judge Advocate of the regiment of Landgrave, who inadvertently signed a certificate to Ensign de Micklaskewicz, very probably demanded for bad purposes, have been punished by an arrest.

Ex Commissione Curiae Martialis

"JOHN JACOB LOTHEISSEN,

"Judge Advocate."

While the weird effigies were swinging in the autumn breeze, the regiment von Donop was hastily ordered away, and finally left our locality on October fourth, marching out upon the Post Road (Broadway—St. Nicholas Avenue) to the Fifth Milestone, to return no more to Washington Heights.

The war was drawing to a close and but one scene of military interest took place here. This was the visit of the young Prince of Wales, who was afterwards King William the Fourth, who had recently arrived in port as a junior naval officer. On October eighth, 1781, at the head of a force of five thousand men, he came to the Heights and passed the Morris House about ten o'clock a. m. where at the time von Krafft was visiting Lieutenant Colonel Heymel of the von Donop, who was then residing in the mansion. His arrival near the Fort was marked by salutes from its guns and the Prince in the midst of the column marched down through Inwood over the

Specimens from the collection of W. L. Calver.

A DUG-OUT HUT in the Green Hill Camp which was No. 24 of those explored. The fireplace was built of rough stones, the floor of beaten sand. The relics gathered by sifting the soil are in the pan at left.
King's Bridge as far as Valentine's Hill (Woodlawn), and then marched back again, for there was no fighting to be done, as no enemy was to be seen. However, he viewed the defences which had cost so much blood to acquire, and so much labor to retain, and we may hope he carried away with him a favorable impression of Washington Heights as a military position, shorn as it was then of its natural beauty of trees and shrubs, and as most of its built-up area is at present.

When peace was assured in 1783, the British army prepared to evacuate the city of New York. The day appointed was the twenty-fifth of November. A detachment of the Continental army came down from Newburg, under the command of General Knox, and crossing the King's Bridge, they marched through the Heights to Harlem, where they encamped.

General Washington and Governor Clinton had made arrangements for entering the city at the head of the troops and with the civil officers of the State of New York, to take formal possession of the military works there, and of the government. They went ahead as far as the Blue Bell at 181st Street on the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, where they awaited the advance of the American force, which passed the military and civic chiefs in review at the old tavern. This final event in the war is told by Lossing, from a description by an eye witness.

The rear-guard of that detachment of Continental soldiers was commanded by Major Robert Burnet. The veteran was still living at his home in Little Britain, a few miles from Newburg, and was then in the ninetieth year of his age. "We made our way to his home in the fading twilight of a hot summer evening, along a green lane flanked by old willows, and sat down in the broad passage of the Major's mansion. He had just gone to his bedroom, but returned at once, bidding us welcome, while he stood as erect as a man in the prime of life. His mind was clear, and his memory of the events of his earlier life was marvelous. With much emotion, he described the scene at the meeting where Washington read an address on the subject of the notorious 'Newburg Letters.' He dwelt upon events of the war in which he had been a participant, and he gave us a vivid account of the march of the American troops from the King's Bridge to Harlem and New York at the time of the evacuation."
“I remember well,” said the veteran, “our march up the hill, and the noble appearance of General Washington as he sat on his big bay horse, with his staff behind him, in front of the stone tavern, about two miles from the bridge, near the top of the hill. Governor Clinton was by his side, on an iron-gray gelding, with his associate officers behind him. All of these had their heads uncovered as we passed in review, and then they wheeled into line and followed us to our encampment at Harlem. It was almost sunset when we passed the tavern, and we marched at a quick step after that, and pitched our tents at dark. I remember the parole was ‘Peace.’”
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EPILOGUE

At the end of strife and struggle comes Peace, and thus appropriately closes our story of our Homeland, its trials and tragedies, its tears and triumphs.

Over its once wild and rugged highlands are now spread the peaceful homes of a quarter of a million human souls, and many of the old places have been smothered out of sight by streets and buildings.

But the memory of those old places remains to add an interest to our homes, and our recollections of those sturdy pioneers in bygone times of dangers and difficulty, are high incentives to worthy achievement, and a spur to equal effort on our part in our own time and generation.

The record now brought together, not in perishable monuments, but in imperishable print, may aid in stimulating an interest in the good works of our predecessors on the old Heights of New Haerlem, and an appreciation of the debt we owe to their hardy characters, their devotion and their self-sacrifice.

In our great City we reap today the benefits of the affectionate co-operation of people of different races and tongues, brought together by a common purpose and actuated by a mutual interest.

And by the same course the people of Washington Heights, led by their historic record, may by their good citizenship and good neighborship follow the way of Peace and Understanding, and, in a new phase of human progress, the old Names and Places shall live again.
We have wandered in thought o'er the golden Heights,
   We've walked through the storied Past,
Our way has been lit by its fading lights,
   And we take our own Road at last.

We shoulder the work of the present Day,
   Old Names and Old Faces fade,
But lo, as we travel our Life's Highway,
   We are finding the road They made.

We are walking through fields the old arms tilled,
   On the path that the old hearts sought,
We are quaffing the spring that the old tears filled,
   In joys the old sorrows bought.

We are climbing the stairs that the old hands laid,
   The steps that the old feet trode,
We're praying the prayers that the old souls prayed,
   And singing their hymns to God.

And when we have won to the last dark ridge,
   By the light that their lives has shown,
We shall walk by Their Faith on the Love-lit Bridge
   That leads to the Bright Unknown.
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