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THE HUGUENOTS OF COLONIAL NEW PALTZ AND NEW ROCHELLE:

A SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY

by

Paula Wheeler Carlo

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
The City University of New York

2001

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Nevertheless, Huguenots here attempted to retain as much independence as possible. New Rochelle, in contrast, appears to present a classic case of rapid conformity to Anglicanism. However, the content of sermons and other primary sources that have received little or no scholarly attention to date, suggest that this conformity was highly selective and that many distinctly Calvinistic beliefs and practices were retained by these French Anglicans at a time when mainstream Anglicanism was decidedly Arminian. Persistence of the French language demands reassessment as well. New Paltz inhabitants were bilingual, using both Dutch and French, until the time of the American Revolution. In New Rochelle bilingualism persisted until at least 1760, with English more commonly used for official public documents, while French was used in the private sphere and for religious purposes.

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TO JEREMY AND JENNIFER

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INTRODUCTION

France, between 1562 and 1598, was torn apart by a series of bloody civil and religious wars. These conflicts initally had crystallized around the issues of who should rule France during a royal minority, and whether or not Protestantism should be tolerated. When the last Valois king, Henri III, was assassinated in 1589 the establishment of a new dynasty became the central concern. One of the major contenders was Henri of Bourbon, King of Navarre, a Protestant (or Huguenot, as were called the French adherents of the late reformer John Calvin). The Estates-General, however, insisted that the King of France must be a Roman Catholic. After undergoing instruction in the Catholic faith in 1593, Henri abjured his Protestantism. Through conversion and bribery, Henri was able to secure the support of the Estates along with some local leaders, and he was crowned as King Henri IV in the following year. Early in his reign, Henri issued the Edict of Nantes (1598) which granted the Huguenots religious liberty within specified areas of France.

In the 1620's, however, Henri's son and successor, Louis XIII, acting with his chief minister Richelieu, ordered military attacks on these strongholds. This initiated a campaign to erode Huguenot civil and religious liberties in order to further royal absolutism. Religious diversity was perceived as a threat to the king's authority, political stability, and social cohesion. The Huguenots were particularly suspect since they had

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formulated justifications for armed resistance to tyranny following the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572, when thousands of their coreligionists were slaughtered.

During the 1620's and in the ensuing decades, substantial numbers of Huguenots left France in search of more hospitable environments. Those who remained in France either succumbed to pressures to convert to Catholicism or quietly persevered in their faith while endeavoring to prove their loyalty to the king. In the 1660's, Louis XIV initiated a series of brutal persecutions which culminated in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Despite risks of imprisonment, galley slavery, and even execution if caught while attempting to flee, many Huguenots escaped after the revocation. The ensuing diaspora of at least 160,000 persons has been called the largest forced migration of Europeans in early modern history.[1] The majority of these refugees fled to major Protestant cities in Europe, including London, Amsterdam, Geneva, Berlin, and Frankfurt. (Map 1 identifies major Huguenot escape routes ca. 1685.)

Geneva, the heartland of Calvinism, was an obvious and early place of flight during the religious wars of the sixteenth century, but it did not have the economic resources to sustain a floodgate of migration. The Calvinist United Provinces of the northern Netherlands became a potential refuge in the late sixteenth century as the Dutch struggled to achieve their independence from the Spanish Hapsburgs. England became another haven during the reign of Elizabeth I who granted patents to Huguenot émigrés to settle in the realm. The Huguenots were tolerated, and even welcomed, in certain Protestant states within the Holy Roman Empire. The Calvinist Palatinate (particularly after the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia which ended the Thirty Years' War) was one of these

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states. Brandenburg-Prussia became yet another haven when, in 1685, Elector Frederick William issued an edict that encouraged Huguenots to settle there.

For some refugees these havens would not be the final destination. They were displaced again as the wars in the reign of Louis XIV expanded French holdings on the continent after 1688, consequently endangering their religious freedom and, indeed, their very lives. Those in England were undoubtedly discomfited by the pro-Catholic predilections of James II in the 1680's or by the Test Act of 1673, which was modified in 1678 and retained as is in 1689, which barred them from full civic life unless they conformed to Anglicanism.[2] For still others, lack of economic opportunity or feelings of alienation impelled them to move elsewhere. These Huguenots eventually resettled in locations as far afield as South Africa and North America.

Jon Butler, in his introduction *to The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (1983) noted the paucity of research about non-English immigrants to America during the colonial period, and observed that the French Huguenots, in particular, were a group worthy of examination.[3] In "The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: End or Renewal of French Protestantism?" Philippe Joutard commented that even though documentation on the Huguenot diaspora is abundant "it has scarcely begun to be exploited systematically."[4] Despite the fact that in 1985, the tercentenary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a number of scholarly works appeared on the Huguenot diaspora, neither those published studies nor unpublished dissertations have as yet met the research needs identified by Joutard and others.[5] Indeed, a recurrent theme in papers presented in May 1997 at the conference, "Out of New Babylon: The Huguenots and Their Diaspora", held at the College of Charleston, was a call for further research on

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this topic. Even more recently, the American Historical Association's theme for its 1999 Annual Meeting in Washington, D. C. was "Diasporas in History." Presenters at the session on the "Huguenot Diaspora" injected new methods and trends into the study of this topic. Nevertheless, the gaps in research, particularly for the American Huguenots, continued to be quite apparent

All evidence suggests that the movement of Huguenot refugees to North America was complex and multi-faceted. Although the majority of French Protestants, approximately 2,000,[6] arrived during the decade following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, they were not the first to do so. Smaller numbers of Huguenots had arrived in the Americas as early as the second half of the sixteenth century, during the French Wars of Religion. Unsuccessful settlements had been started at Charlesfort (1562) and Fort La Caroline (1564) both in northern Florida, in Brazil (1555-1560), and in Port Royal, Nova Scotia (1604). Those Huguenots who arrived in North America in later decades selected destinations where Protestants of other ethnic backgrounds were settling, such as the English colonies of Virginia, Massachusetts, and the Carolinas, and the Dutch colony of New Netherland, which would later become New York.[7] Two rural communities in New York, New Paltz and New Rochelle, which were founded by and for French-speaking Protestants in the late seventeenth century will be the focus of this study. (Map 2 identifies the locations of these settlements.) One avenue of inquiry revolves around the many variables that influenced or induced French Protestant conformity, and in some instances the lack of conformity, to Anglicanism and assimilation into Anglo-American society.

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Some of the first Europeans in the 1620's to settle New Amsterdam, the seat of the colony of New Netherland, were French-speaking "Walloons." Among their ranks were French Protestants who had fled to the Netherlands during the French Wars of Religion (1562-1598), and during the renewed persecutions under Louis XIII and his chief minister, Richelieu, after 1620. The French and Dutch Reformed Protestants of New Amsterdam shared a church building at several different locations and conducted services in their respective languages both before and after the English take-over of the colony in 1664. The French finally formed a congregation of their own in 1688 when their numbers were swelled by the influx of new refugees following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[8] The French Church of New York continued to exist as an independent Reformed Protestant congregation throughout most of the eighteenth century. Services were conducted in French and church records were written in French. However, a host of problems and controversies assailed this congregation until its doors were closed in 1776 during the disruptions of the American Revolution. Although the church was reopened in 1796, church members in 1802 voted to join the Episcopal (formerly Anglican) fold.[9] To this day, weekly services are conducted in French at L'Église Française du Saint-Esprit on East Sixty-First Street in New York City.

French-speaking Protestants had also settled in predominantly Dutch-speaking Staten Island and founded a church there in the early 1660's. Initially these Huguenots experienced difficulties in finding and affording their own French pastor and had to be content with sporadic visits from Reverend Samuel Drisius of New York, who was able to preach in French as well as Dutch. In 1698, however, a French church building was erected, several years prior to the building of formal houses of worship for the Dutch or

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English. At that time, Reverend David de Bonrepos, who was himself a Huguenot refugee, ministered in this church to a congregation of thirty-six French, forty English, and forty-four Dutch. This congregation endured for several decades, but declined quickly after the death of de Bonrepos in 1734. Ultimately the Dutch and French Reformed congregations on Staten Island merged under the Classis of Amsterdam with a Dutch minister who was fluent in both languages. Some of the Staten Island Huguenots left the Reformed fold entirely and began attending Anglican St. Andrew's Church after it was built in 1712.[10] A few joined the small Moravian congregation on Staten Island.[11]

The village of New Paltz in Ulster County was founded in 1677 by twelve Huguenot men and their families. Prior to their arrival in North America between 1660 and 1675, the founders of New Paltz had left France for the German Palatinate where free exercise of Reformed Protestantism was guaranteed under the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. Scholars disagree as to whether or not, and for how long, the New Paltz church remained independent. Here the issue did not involve conformity to the Church of England, but rather to the Dutch Reformed Classis of Amsterdam. R. M. Kingdon, writing in "Why Did the Huguenot Refugees in the American Colonies Become Episcopalians?," argues that the French church may have joined with the Dutch as early as 1727, while Gilbert Chinard, in *Les Réfugiés Huguenots en Amèrique*, believes the church remained independent.[12]

New Rochelle in Westchester County was founded by and for Huguenot refugees in 1687. Most of the original settlers of New Rochelle had come to New York in the years surrounding the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Before this they had spent some time either in England or in the French West Indies. Owing to their comparatively large

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numbers and the initial homogeneity of New Rochelle, Huguenots in this community were able to have their own French church and their own French pastor almost from the outset. Nevertheless, pressure from British officials seems to have caused the.New Rochelle congregation to accept Anglican conformity in 1709.[13] Several families objected to this move and broke away in protest, forming a separate congregation which they felt better preserved the tenets of their faith. In 1728, according to the pastor of the French Anglican church, there were about 100 of these nonconformists in New Rochelle.[14] Meanwhile, until the 1760's, the Anglican congregation continued to have a minister who conducted services in French, kept church records in French, and supported a boarding school where French language and culture were part of the curriculum.[15]

This brief overview indicates a number of areas worthy of investigation regarding the relationship that developed in New Paltz and New Rochelle between the French Huguenots and other Protestant denominations. Older as well as more recent studies repeatedly suggest that the French churches were pressured to conform to Anglicanism. These studies fail to discuss in detail what form these pressures took, nor do they analyze other variables that may have affected moves to conformity. Moreover, insofar as New York is concerned, Anglican conformity does not appear to have been the norm, with the exception of the New Rochelle church and some individual Huguenot families in the other settlements who decided to attend Anglican churches. I will examine numerous factors that may have caused some of the French Reformed to embrace other denominations and to abandon some of their cultural traditions, while others did not do so. Determining factors include place of origin, path of migration, area of settlement and

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time of arrival, occupation and socio-economic class, gender balance, and the possible impact of international events.

Another issue to be discussed is the nature of Huguenot religious beliefs in New Paltz and New Rochelle during the first half of the eighteenth century. I will attempt to determine whether or not these beliefs affected other aspects of life in these communities. There exists a very extensive scholarly literature analyzing Calvinist beliefs in sixteenth-century Europe and there is a growing body of work examining such beliefs in seventeenth-century Europe. To my knowledge, however, no systematic study of Huguenot theology within either New Paltz or New Rochelle has ever been conducted, although a number of pertinent documentary sources are extant for both communities. For example, most of the records of these churches are available. There is extensive correspondence between these churches and either the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts or the Dutch Reformed Classis of Amsterdam. In addition there are seventy-five manuscript sermons, dated between 1724 and 1741 and written by the Reverend Pierre Stouppe, who was pastor of the New Rochelle church during that time period. By examining such hitherto unexploited materials we seek to gain a clearer picture of just how different, or similar, were the beliefs and practices of French Protestants in these two communities.

The seminal study of the Huguenots in America is Charles W. Baird's two volume *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (1885). This work contains a wealth of information and is referred to in nearly all subsequent accounts in English. Baird traces Huguenot paths of migration from France and provides an overview of their arrival in America. His work relies more heavily on narrative than on analysis and does

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not employ the methodologies and issues associated with the more recently-developed discipline of social history. For example, while Baird identifies the places of origin for many Huguenot refugees, he does not use this information to explain differences among Huguenot settlements in America. Indeed, he does not go much beyond the initial arrival of the French Protestant refugees in America. Other scholarly works published during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are limited by similar methodological deficiencies. The best of these dated studies include Gilbert Chinard's *Les Réfugiés Huguenots en Amèrique* (1925), which was never translated into English, and Arthur Henry Hirsch's *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (1928).[16] Although still useful, none of these works are definitive.

Jon Butler incorporates more up-to-date questions and methodologies in *The Huguenots in America: a Refugee People in New World Society* (1983). He begins his study with the migrations immediately preceding and following the revocation in 1685. The New World destinations he concentrates on are Boston, South Carolina, and New York, primarily Manhattan. Whereas the older scholarly studies identified above (as well as most of the anecdotal local histories by Huguenot descendants) portray the emigrants as primarily persecuted religious refugees, Butler emphasizes their desire for material gain in addition to their pursuit of spiritual ends as incentives for migration to North America.[17] While Butler's work is a vital and significant contribution to the field, it is not intended to be definitive. He does not take into account those Huguenots who arrived before the 1680's, nor does he pay much attention to those who arrived after the 1690's. Neither does he examine in great detail the Huguenot experience in rural areas such as New Paltz and New Rochelle. Because of the general nature of Butler's study, differing

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conditions that Huguenots faced in their several settlements within the colony of New York are given limited attention. In short, there is no in-depth scholarly analysis of the Huguenots of New Paltz and New Rochelle, and researchers are compelled to rely on a few general paragraphs in Baird, Chinard, and Butler, and the quasi-hagiographical, anecdotal local histories by Huguenot descendents.[18]

Generally speaking, the Carolina Huguenots have received more scholarly attention than their coreligionists in New York, undoubtedly because the latter location presents a more complicated and unwieldy task. Unlike the Carolina Huguenots, who had first migrated to England, where they were encouraged by the English government to migrate once again during and after the 1680's, the New York Huguenots were channeled through a variety of destinations on the continent as well as in England. In addition, some of them arrived as early as the first half of the seventeenth century. The Carolina Huguenots were the focus of a 1979 dissertation by Amy Ellen Friedlander, who found both religious and economic motivations in their migration to North America.[19] More recently, Bertrand van Ruymbeke asserted the primacy of economic factors and incentives in Huguenot decisions to leave Europe entirely.[20] Van Ruymbeke has also argued persuasively that it is more correct to speak of acculturation rather than assimilation for the Carolina Huguenots who influenced the religious, cultural, and possibly linguistic characteristics of the dominant group, creating a "creolized lowcountry pluralistic society."[21] In addition, he has argued in favor of an Atlantic perspective when studying the Huguenot migration. His Atlantic perspective included Great Britain, Ireland, the Atlantic coast of France, the United Provinces, and British North America.[22] Several fairly recent articles on American religion have advocated the value and validity

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of a transatlantic perspective for the study of religion during the colonial period.[23] In view of these arguments, a transatlantic approach would seem to be useful for the study of the New York Huguenots. However, the Atlantic world of the New York Huguenots, New Paltz in particular, will have to be broader than that of van Ruymbeke's Carolina Huguenots, since it must include certain Protestant German states.

Several unpublished doctoral dissertations explored selected aspects of the Huguenot experience in New York. One of these is an extremely complex study by Neil Duff Kamil, "War, Natural Philosophy, and the Metaphysical Foundations of Artisanal Thought in an American Mid-Atlantic Colony: La Rochelle, New York City, and the Southwestern Huguenot Paradigm, 1517-1730." Kamil argued that Huguenot artisans from southwestern France privately preserved their religious heritage through certain aspects of their material culture both before and after their arrival in New York.[24] "'In Behalf of the True Protestants Religion': The Glorious Revolution in New York" by David William Voorhees, explored the complicated relationship between Jacob Leisler, a wealthy merchant of Huguenot ancestry who led a local rebellion, and the Huguenot congregations in New York and New Rochelle.[25]

Two fairly recent published studies help to illuminate the experiences of non-English emigrants in colonial New York. In *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730*, Joyce Goodfriend convincingly argued in favor of the persistence of Dutch customs long after the English gained control of New Amsterdam.[26] Similarly, David Narrett, in *Inheritance and Family Life in Colonial New York City*, demonstrated the continued influence of Dutch inheritance patterns beyond the English takeover.[27] These arguments provoke further questions regarding the cultural

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persistence and practices of other ethnic groups. Goodfriend, for example, has effectively demonstrated the active involvement of Dutch women within Dutch Reformed congregations. What roles were played by French women who attended the New Paltz church that may have merged with the Dutch Reformed Church? Did their status differ from that of women in the Anglican congregation and the nonconforming congregation in New Rochelle? How were women depicted in the extant sermons? How visible were women in church records and in letters? Can we discern any distinctive inheritance patterns vis-a-vis females? Were French women treated as generously as Dutch women or as stintingly as English women in the last wills and testaments of men? Did these women leave any wills of their own? If so, what were they like?

Demographic analysis can provide revealing insights into the life of a community, particularly for those persons who might otherwise be hidden from history because of the lack of written records. This work will try to address questions such as how old were men and women when they first married? Was there an age difference between husbands and wives? How many children did they have? How many of these children survived to adulthood? At what age did people typically die? What were the average family and household sizes at different times during the colonial period? Census records and published genealogies are available to assist in this endeavor.

Huguenot attitudes towards slaves and slavery is another topic that will be considered. Butler touched on this issue, and the works by Friedlander and van Ruymbeke on South Carolina, likewise explored this topic. To be certain, the number of Huguenot slaveholders in New York was much smaller than in South Carolina, nevertheless slavery existed in New York both before and after the Revolution. Letters

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from the "Anglican Huguenot" pastors at New Rochelle to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts contain a number of references to slaves who attended services, were baptized, and who were admitted to the Lord's Supper.[28] Did the conforming church in New Rochelle attempt anything along the lines of the mission and school for African slaves in New York City that was funded by the S.P.G. and run by Elias Neau, an "Anglican Huguenot" who himself had been a galley slave?[29]

Patricia Bonomi viewed the Middle Colonies, and particularly New York with its religious and ethnic diversity, as a microcosm of the future United States.[30] Similarly, Michael Kammen argued that the experience of New York anticipated that of the nation.[31] Although the Huguenots who came to colonial New York were not as numerous as either the Dutch or English they were, nonetheless, an important presence that defies any simple characterization. As Jon Butler observed: "So many different immigrants entered so many different New World societies between 1607 and the 1980's that no single interpretive mode can encapsulate their many experiences; the story of one group was not necessarily that of another group arriving in a different time or place."[32] The Huguenots came from various parts of France and did not follow the same path of flight. Although both New Paltz and New Rochelle were founded by and for these French Protestants, they arrived at different times and under different social, economic, and political circumstances. In view of these variables, the complexity of Huguenot experiences prior to and after their arrival in these communities are topics worthy of more intense scrutiny.

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NOTES

1. Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 1. Butler's figures are lower than those of other researchers. Myriam Yardeni, for example, has estimated the number to be as high as 250,000 to 300,000 in *Le Refuge Protestant* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), 102-103. A partial explanation for this divergence may lie in the fact that Butler defines Huguenot very narrowly and concentrates on the revocation era, while others have taken into account the so-called Walloons and pre-revocation émigrés.

2. Laurence Huey Boles, "The Huguenots, the Protestant Interest, and the War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1714" (Ph.D. diss., Northern Arizona University, 1994), 39. Boles had specified Tests Acts of 1673 and 1689 but Stuart Prall has pointed out to me that the Test Act of 1673 was modified in 1678 and retained as is in 1689.

3. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 4-6.

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5. In addition to the volume cited above, the works by M. Magdelaine and R. von Thadden, ed. *Le Refuge Huguenot* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1985) and Yardeni's previously cited work, *Le Refuge Protestant*, concentrate on European havens of refuge.

6. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 49.

7. Peter Steven Gannon, ed., *Huguenot Refugees in the Settling of Colonial America* (New York: Huguenot Society of America, 1985) contains essays that discuss these diverse settlements.

8. Elizabeth G. Hayward, Jane H. Liddell, and Corinne I. Pigott, "New Amsterdam as a Huguenot Refuge," in *Ibid.*, 147.

9. John A. F. Maynard, *The Huguenot Church of New York: A History of the French Church of Saint Esprit* (New York.: French Church of St. Esprit, 1938), 205-17. For original documents relating to this transfer of affiliation, see French Church, New York City, "Proceedings of Trustees of *L'Église Reformée Protestant Française à la Nouvelle York*, Ms. coll., New-York Historical Society.

10. Most of the information in this summary has been gleaned from Charles W. Leng and William T. Davis, *Staten Island and its People: A History* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Compnay, Inc., 1930), 1: 104-105, 136, 139, 429-35. See also J. J. Clute, *Annals of Staten Island* (Original edition, 1877; reprint, Interlaken, N.Y.: Heart of the Lakes Publishers, 1986), 39; William T. Davis, Charles W. Leng, Royden

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11. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 191-92.

12. R. M. Kingdon, "Why Did the Huguenot Refugees in the American Colonies Become Episcopalians?" *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 49 (1980): 326; Gilbert Chinard, *Les Réfugiés Huguenots en Amèrique* (Paris: Belles-Lettres, 1925), 183.

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19. Amy Ellen Friedlander, "Carolina Huguenots: A Study in Cultural Pluralism in the Low Country, 1679-1768" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1979), 98, 116.

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21. Bertrand van Ruymbeke, "From Ethnicity to Assimilation: the Huguenots and the American Immigration History Paradigm" (paper presented at Strangers to Citizens

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Conference, London, England, April 5-7, 2000). I am grateful to Dr. van Ruymbeke for sharing a hard copy of his paper with me prior to its publication by the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

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27. David Narrett, *Inheritance and Family Life in Colonial New York* City (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

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30. Patricia Bonomi, *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

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Part One

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

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One

PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE

IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The French Protestants, or Huguenots, have often been described as Calvinists. To be certain, they regarded themselves as the heirs of French reformer, John Calvin (1509-1564), rather than of the German reformer Martin Luther (1483-1546), or any of the numerous Anabaptist preachers that could be found in southern Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands in the first half of the sixteenth century. But just what does the term "Calvinist" mean? Like Luther and other Protestant reformers, Calvin emphasized the primacy of the Bible, which he believed to be the revealed and inerrant word of God, as the cornerstone of faith, the denial of human free will after the Fall, and justification by faith without works. Both Luther and Calvin rejected the traditional accretions of the Roman Catholic church such as the doctrine of Purgatory, veneration of saints and of the Virgin Mary, indulgences, images, priestly intercession, and the implied infallibility of the Pope and Church Councils. On the other hand, Calvin differed from Luther in his doctrine of predestination and held that even before creation God, in his inscrutable wisdom, had predestined some to salvation and others to damnation, irrespective of individual merit or works. Calvin modified Luther's teachings on the

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Church and sacraments. While Luther upheld the supremacy of the state and had called on the Christian nobility to lead in the reformation of religion,[1] Calvin upheld a theocratic polity, thus subjecting the state to the church. In the question of the Sacraments, especially the Lord's Supper, Calvin attempted a compromise between Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation[2] and the Swiss Reformer Ulrich Zwingli's more radical view of mere symbolism. Although "Calvin's language is at times ambiguous, his thought seems to tend more in the direction of Zwingli, sometimes regarding the Sacraments as a testimony of God's grace, confirmed by an external sign."[3]

From the time of his conversion to Protestantism around 1533 until his death, John Calvin was constantly refining his understanding of the Scriptures as evinced in his numerous commentaries on both the Old and New Testaments, as well as in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which was first published in Latin in 1536 and in French in 1541. These were not the only editions of the *Institutes*, however, since Calvin continued to revise and expand this work for the remainder of his life. William J. Bouwsma, one of the more recent biographers of John Calvin, points out that the reformer always emphasized the gradualness rather than the suddenness of conversion and the difficulty of making progress in the Christian life.[4] From this perspective, the ever-evolving *Institutes* might be viewed as the written parallel of Calvin's own evolving spirituality and theology.

Calvin would have the opportunity to put his concept of a theocratic polity into practice as the leader of the city-state of Geneva from 1541 until his death. Calvin was convinced that God wanted him to create a model Christian community in this city that was in the midst of a religious revolution during the 1530's. Calvin, and fellow reformer

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Guillaume Farel, had been forced to leave Geneva in 1536 when they tried to discipline some of the leading citizens. By 1541, the situation had grown so chaotic that some citizens, who had been favorably disposed towards Calvin and his methods, invited him back to instill order and discipline. Upon his return to Geneva, Calvin drew up a constitution, the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances,* which recognized four offices within the Genevan church: pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. Pastors were responsible for preaching the Gospel, administering the sacraments, and admonishing members. Teachers had the duty of instructing the young in sound doctrine. The twelve elders were laymen responsible for enforcing discipline; each supervised one of Geneva's districts and was expected to visit every family in that district at least once a year. The deacons assisted the pastors in supervising poor relief, visiting the sick and the needy, and administering the city's hospital. The consistory was the core of the constitution of the Genevan church. It was comprised of the twelve elders and five pastors. The consistory met once a week to admonish, reprimand, and correct citizens who had opposed the official doctrine, stayed away from the church, or behaved in an unchristian way. It also had the authority to excommunicate.[5] On the other hand, Robert M. Kingdon asserts that,

> the Consistory as John Calvin constructed it in Geneva during his ministry was more than an integral part of a savage judicial system, it did indeed try to act as an educational institution and as a counselling service. Discipline to these early Genevans meant more than social control. . . .[The consistory] really tried to assist everyone in its city-state to live the kind of life it thought God intended people to live. . . .In Calvin's Geneva there was always someone available to help.[6]

The *Ordinances* would serve as an organizational model for Calvinist (also known as Reformed) churches in France.[7]

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After the death of Calvin in 1564, the leadership of Geneva fell to Theodore Beza, under whose tutelage "Calvinist" doctrines would continue to evolve.[8] Beza was rector of the Genevan Academy, which had been established in 1559 to train candidates for the ministry.[9] These ministers-in-training numbered about 1,500 in 1564.[10] Geneva was also the home to a rapidly expanding printing industry that churned-out books and pamphlets for zealous missionaries to distribute throughout Europe.[11] Geneva thereby established its preeminence as the center of a rapidly expanding international Calvinist movement. Moreover, because Geneva lay close to France's eastern border, it served as a haven for persons fleeing persecution in areas where Calvinism was not tolerated; a growing phenomenon in the second half of the sixteenth century. Geneva continued to perform this vital role throughout the seventeenth century.

The question of who became a Protestant and why, has long been a tantalizing topic. Certainly, there were some who were true believers--people who found something inherently appealing in the Protestant message, whether it was the emphasis on justification by faith rather than by works, the priesthood of all believers, or another doctrinal issue. Then there were those who perceived a political advantage in Protestantism. Henry VIII of England, who saw the Pope's refusal to respond to his request for a divorce as the one thing standing between him and the potential of male heirs, falls into this camp. Nor should we neglect the economically-driven converts. Protestantism, by no longer acknowledging the necessity of priestly intercession and the sacrament of holy orders, elevated all jobs (vocations) to the status of a calling (*vocare*). Furthermore, by eliminating the numerous "holy days" characteristic of the Catholic calendar, Protestants were accorded more time for the pursuit of "worldly ascetism"

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through hard work.[12] Another reason for the attraction of Protestantism for some was the corruption of the Roman Catholic Church with its sale of indulgences, sale of ecclesiatical offices, and the immorality and ignorance of some of the clergy. Finally, there must have existed a myriad of other incentives that are difficult to identify. Individual French converts to Protestantism undoubtedly fell into any one, or even several, of the above categories.

Lutheran Protestantism had first entered France during the early years of the reign of François I (1515-1547). As early as May 1519 "a Swiss student in Paris reported that Luther's writings were being received 'with open arms'. The Sorbonne or Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris did not condemn them until April 1521, so that they were able to circulate freely for more than a year."[13] Since Protestant ideas shared some commonalities with humanism and the New Learning, which François I supported, the king was hesitant to respond to the Sorbonne's calls to root out this new heresy. By 1530, Protestantism could be found in almost every province and had engendered support in most social groups. Following the Affair of the Placards in October 1534, in which placards attacking the Catholic doctrine of the Mass were displayed in a number of towns, and even on the door of the King's bedchamber, François I initiated a wave of persecutions. The message on the placards made it clear that the form of Protestantism taking hold in France at that time was not moderate Lutheranism but more radical Zwinglianism which unequivocally denied any Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Persecution continued throughout the reign of François I and under his successor Henri II (1547-1559). But as the numbers prosecuted for heresy increased, so did the numbers of converts, even after death became the only viable penalty for heresy in July 1547.[14] The

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situation only worsened following the accidental death of Henri II, as France was about to be plunged into a lengthy period of destructive civil wars.

The social, economic, and political tensions which preceded and, indeed, accompanied the civil wars, proved to be fertile ground for the growth and influence of the Huguenot movement. But the religious issue cannot be entirely divorced from the political sphere. For the sixteenth century--as for the preceding centuries-- religion and the state were inextricably bound together. In other words, the concept of separation of church and state did not yet exist. This idea of religious and political unity was expressed in the French aphorism: "*un roi, une loi, une foi.*" Even the German Peace of Augsburg of 1555 reflected this notion by requiring subjects to profess the same religious preference as their prince or overlord.

When the first war broke-out, the Huguenot population of France comprised at most 10 to 15 percent of the kingdom's population of some twenty million. Nevertheless, these converts were part of a disproportionately influential minority that had the support of over 2,000 churches within France.[15] As Robert M. Kingdon has pointed out, French ministers trained in Geneva and Protestant pamphlets printed in Geneva, poured into France on the eve of the first war in 1562 thereby further igniting an already volatile situation.[16] It has long been observed by historians of the period that Calvinism, for various reasons, held the greatest attraction for the more affluent classes. According to some sources, almost 40 percent of the nobility eventually joined the Huguenot movement.[17] Moreover, "the Huguenot strategy of seizing broadly scattered and defensible towns, coupled with the hiring of foreign mercenaries to supplement locally-raised troops, gave them a military strength disproportionate to their numbers. In

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this way the Huguenot minority remained strong enough to force upon the Catholic majority compromises at the end of each war."[18] Unfortunately neither side was ever completely satisfied with these compromises and war would erupt once again.

Robert J. Knecht asserts that the most likely explanation of the rapid diffusion of Calvinism among the nobility is clientage. "No nobleman of middle rank could expect to be admitted to the court, the Church, the army or the administration, or to be promoted therein without the support of a patron. . . .Thus it was that a nobleman who decided to become a Calvinist would carry with him into the new religion all his clients."[19] In addition, the actions of French noblewomen such as Marguerite d'Angoulême (sister of King François I), her daughter Jeanne d'Albret (Queen of Navarre and mother of the future King Henri IV of France), Louise de Montmorency (mother of Gaspard de Coligny, the Admiral of France and a leader of the Huguenot movement) who were patrons of the New Learning and Huguenot converts should not be ignored. The vital roles played by these and other women has been pointed-out by Nancy Lyman Roelker and other historians.[20]

The Huguenot movement also waxed strong in towns, cities, and centers of international trade where there were greater concentrations of merchants and skilled artisans--the middle classes--who were more likely to be literate (to read the pamphlet literature and to be attracted to a religion that placed greater emphasis on the laity having access to the Scriptures) and open to new ideas in contrast to those living in the more traditional countryside. Here again the roles of women, both Protestant and Catholic, in defending and advancing their beliefs should not be discounted.[21]

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There were a few areas in France where significant numbers of peasants became Huguenots. One of these was the Rhone Valley, which was a heavily-travelled route between the intellectual centers of northern Italy and the evangelical communities of the Rhineland. This area was also affected by numerous missionary preachers from nearby Geneva. Not far away lay the Cevennes of Languedoc, where remnants of the old Waldensian heresy lingered on. The Huguenot movement flourished here among the mountain people. (These areas can be located on Map 3.)

French peasants, for the most part, did not readily embrace Protestant beliefs and practices. Catholicism, with its alternating regimens of feasting and fasting, underscored the seasonal rhythms of the agricultural calendar and infused spiritual coherence into rural society. Frequent holy days fostered a sense of community and celebration in the midst of an otherwise routine and mundane existence. Peter Burke has argued that festive times like Carnival, during which it was acceptable to turn the world upside down, served as a "safety valve" for the release of tensions and resentments bubbling beneath the surface of daily life for the lower classes.[22] In this way, festivals served as a means of social control and perpetuated social stability. Reformed Protestantism, in particular, was contemptuous of these festivals and thereby menaced the traditional structure and patterns of life.

Although the eight civil wars that were waged in France between 1562 and 1598 are commonly referred to as wars of religion, there were many non-religious preconditions which helped to foster a bellicose spirit. The intermingling of political and religious motivations against the late sixteenth-century backdrop of economic instability and social change suggests a variety of causative interpretations for these conflicts.

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On the eve of the religious wars the French economy was in a disastrous condition: it had been in a steady state of decline since 1540 and the pace was accelerated during the decade following 1550. France was plagued by a debased coinage, brought on by the flood of small coins of mixed copper and silver which clogged the markets and drove more valuable coins from circulation.[23] The situation was further exacerbated when the 1559 Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis ended the war with Spain and re-established trade relations between the two countries, thereby increasing the influx of New World treasure from Spain into France. As a result, there was an upward inflationary pressure on prices. The years 1561 and 1562, immediately preceding the outbreak of the first war, saw increased prices; and once again in 1572 there was another rise in prices that coincided with the St. Bartholomew's Massacre which preceded the outbreak of the fourth civil war.[24] What made these inflationary movements even more deleterious was the decline in purchasing power experienced at all socio-economic levels. These were especially marked during the third and fourth quarters of the sixteenth century. The fiscal policies of the French king, Henri II, and the Spanish king, Philip II, during the war did nothing to ameliorate the situation. In fact, both monarchs aggravated the situation by overextending their credit limits in order to finance the war. When both powers were financially bankrupted in 1559, they had no choice but to negotiate a peace settlement. Such was the socio-economic situation in France on the eve of the religious wars. At a critical time, when political and religious tensions loomed menacingly, France desperately needed financial stability but did not have it.

Upon the death of Henri II, who died while celebrating the end of the war with Spain, his fifteen-year-old son, François II, became king. Because of the new king's

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youth, noble rivalries and discontents, which had long simmered beneath the surface, came to the fore. The new king upset the precarious balance-of-power by placing himself under the influence of the Guises, who were the uncles of his wife, Mary Queen of Scots. This move was not met with pleasure by the Bourbons, princes of the blood who believed that they had the legal right to govern during a royal minority. Nor did the Montmorency family, whose members harbored a longstanding animosity towards the Guises, smile benignly upon Guise ascendancy.

Political power was not the only factor at stake: the Guises represented an ultra-Catholic faction, while the Bourbons had recently embraced Reformed Protestantism. To further complicate the situation, Anne de Montmorency, the Constable of France, remained a devout partisan of the Roman Catholic faith, while his three nephews, François d'Andelot, Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, and Odet de Coligny, had become Huguenots.

With the approval and encouragement of the Guises, young François II perpetuated repression of the Protestant heresy, like François I and Henri II before him. This approach had also been agreed upon between France and Spain in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis.[25] In this way, repression of heresy became a vital component of Franco-Spanish relations during the latter part of the sixteenth century. Partly as a reaction to persecution and certainly even more so as a reaction to Guise political power, Louis de Bourbon, the Prince of Condé, plotted the Conspiracy of Amboise. Due to the minority of François II, Louis had encouraged his elder brother Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre, to assert his legitimate right to the regency. But Antoine was too weak and ineffectual to attempt this. Thus Condé planned to capture François II and the Guise

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brothers, Duke François and Charles the Cardinal of Lorraine, so that he could seize power for himself.[26] The plot was exposed and crushed in March 1560 and Condé was placed in prison to await trial for his treachery. The death of François II in December of the same year prevented this as charges against Condé were dropped and he was released.

The next heir to the throne gave the Protestant Bourbons even more right to assert their claim to the regency, for Charles IX was only nine-years-old. This time the Queen-Mother, Catherine de Medici, was determined to prevent a repeat performance of the conspiracy and to preserve regnal power for herself and her sons. She managed to convince Antoine to renounce his claim to the regency and in doing so was able to legitimize her own regency.

The regency of Catherine marked a change in state policy towards the Huguenots as well as a waning of Guise power as she tried to appease, balance, and reconcile the noble factions. At the same time, she had to be wary of possible Spanish displeasure and intervention. In the summer of 1561 she organized the Colloquy of Poissy, which brought together Catholic and Protestant theologians and other influential figures, including Theodore Beza from Calvinist Geneva, Zurich Reformer Peter Martyr, and the Cardinal of Lorraine. The Colloquy was an attempt to bring-about a consensus on certain theological points, such as the Eucharist, in order to reunite the French Church. The endeavor failed: Catherine had misjudged both the doctrinal fervor and the obstinacy of both sides.

Despite Catherine's attempts to achieve a balance of noble power, the rival factions could not be satisfied. While she tried to assuage the Guises and Bourbons, she had mistakenly neglected the Constable Montmorency. In addition, she had infuriated the

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Catholics by her ready acceptance of Beza and other Protestants at Court. As a result, the Catholic Constable allied himself to the Catholic Guises. Together they withdrew from Court, luring the weak and vacillating Antoine de Bourbon with them. They set-up a Triumvirate, the Holy League, and resolved to defend Catholicism whether the Crown approved or not.[27]

As Catholics withdrew from Court and the Huguenots continued to grow in numbers and in boldness, Catherine found herself isolated between the two factions. The threat of popular insurrection posed an additional danger to royal policy making.[28] To avoid further concessions to the Huguenots she formalized a compromise agreement she had made with them in 1560. Known as the Edict of January (1562), this agreement permitted liberty of conscience for the Huguenots. Protestant assemblies were to be allowed outside the town walls or inside private houses, but the Huguenots were forbidden to build churches.[29]

After 1560 armed clashes between Protestants and Catholics grew increasingly common, inflamed by religious, political, and economic tensions. However, it was a particular incident, the Massacre of Vassy on March 1, 1562, that was the immediate cause of the first war. On that day, the Duke of Guise and his troops attacked a Huguenot assembly legally worshipping in a barn outside of Vassy, leaving twenty-three persons dead and more than 100 wounded. Guise and his company marched on to a triumphant welcome in Paris.[30]

In response to this act of violence, the Prince of Condé sent-out a call to arms to the Huguenots whose forces assembled at Orléans. Meanwhile the Duke of Guise and the Constable mobilized their troops. Catherine sent orders to both armies to halt the

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hostilities but neither faction heeded her words. By May there was open fighting and the first war was underway. For nearly forty years the French people would know only strife, punctuated by all-too-brief periods of peace.

The Peace of Amboise, negotiated in March 1563 at the end of the first war, "embodied the essential compromise that marked every subsequent peace down to and including the Edict of Nantes. It promised freedom of conscience to all, but it limited the Huguenots' right to worship according to specific social and geographical criteria. Only noble households above a certain rank might establish religious services for their dependents. . ."[31] In addition, Protestants were forbidden to build churches (or Temples as the Huguenot churches were called) and services had to be held in homes or other private properties only in those suburbs or towns they held at the time that fighting ceased. They had to return all properties seized from the Catholic Church and in response to vociferous opposition in Paris, Protestant services were forbidden in that city and its suburbs. Subsequent peace treaties contained similar provisions, some slightly more favorable to the Huguenots, others less so.[32]

The fourth religious war was initiated by the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre which began on August 24, 1572. At that time thousands of Huguenot notables had gathered in the city of Paris for the marriage of Henri of Navarre, prince of the blood and heir to the throne of Navarre, to Marguerite de Valois, the daughter of Catherine de Medici and the late King Henri II. Whether or not King Charles IX or his mother, Catherine de Medici, gave the orders for Huguenots to be slaughtered has long been a subject of scholarly debate, although recent studies have convincingly refuted Catherine's complicity.[33] Nevertheless, the outcome of this bloodbath is well known: Gaspard de

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Coligny, Admiral of France and a pivotal leader of the Huguenot movement, was brutally murdered along with approximately 2,000 of his coreligionists in Paris. In *Beneath the Cross*, Barbara Diefendorf provides a compelling analysis of Parisian popular participation in the slaughter, that was facilitated by the vast gulf between Protestant and Catholic culture.[34] About 3,000 more Huguenots were slain in the provincial massacres.[35] Henri of Navarre, managed to preserve his life by converting to Catholicism, a tactic he would resort to once again in the 1590's. The Huguenot movement suffered additional casualties in the abjurations of less prominent persons. Philip Benedict has demonstrated that the Protestant community in Rouen shrank from about 16,500 to less than 3,000 in the wake of the massacres and has argued that these defections were typical in towns throughout France.[36] Others chose to abandon France altogether for foreign reformed communities in places such as Geneva and London where they could continue to practice their faith without persecution.

The Huguenot leaders who escaped from Paris took refuge in La Rochelle, one of the Huguenots' designated *places de sûreté* (fortified towns specified under various edicts). From here they conducted a war of survival until the crown decided to end the seven-month siege in July 1573. The terms of the Peace of Saint Germain were less favorable than previous treaties, as the Huguenots were only allowed to worship in La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nîmes, and even in these places it was permitted only in private.

The Massacre and the delimiting conditions of the Peace of Saint Germain initiated a new Huguenot offensive in opposition to the crown, which many Huguenots believed had sanctioned the massacres. Elaborate justifications of the right to resist a

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tyrannical monarch who had violated the laws of God and man were being worked out by Huguenot theorists like François Hotman, Theodore Beza, and Philippe du Plessis Mornay. In the *Francogallia*, published in 1573, Hotman argued that the ancient Franks and Gauls had an elective monarchy and thereby implied that the French monarchy should be elective and that kings could be deposed by a public assembly. Theodore Beza's *On the Right of Magistrates Over Their Subjects* (1574) posited that subjects were not bound to obey a king who had offended God and Christianity. Therefore, it was the duty of magistrates to overthrow such tyrants. Similarly, Hubert Languet and Philippe du Plessis Mornay, the authors of the *Defense of Liberty Against Tyrants* (1579), asserted that it was lawful to resist a tyrant who opposed God's law, the church, or the state. Moreover, they injected an international dimension into the debate by including foreign princes in the opposing coalition.[37] By the end of 1572, local Huguenot leaders in the south of France, where the movement was strongest, were putting resistance theory into active practice. They had forged a new political assembly and outlined a republican constitution that effectively created a separate Protestant state. This constitution was published in 1574 in a pamphlet entitled *The French Alarm Bell.*[38]

The monarchy had its own apologists, the best known of whom is the legal expert and political theorist, Jean Bodin. In *The Six Books of the Commonwealth*, first published in 1576, Bodin maintained that all political authority came from God and that kings were accountable to God alone, therefore they could not be deposed. He further argued that sovereignty was indivisible and could not be shared among individuals or institutions: for Bodin this indivisible sovereignty resided in the king.[39]

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The situation of the Huguenots would take a more promising turn in the mid-1570's after the death of Charles IX had led to the accession of his younger brother Henri III, who was also the elected king of Poland. The new king announced that "he would forgive the Huguenots their past offenses if they put down their arms, promised strict obedience, and lived as Catholics under the ancient laws of the kingdom. He permitted exile to those who refused to abandon their faith but made no other concessions."[40] For the Huguenots this meant a call-to-arms. Since he lacked funds, Henri III was unprepared to do battle and was forced to negotiate a generous settlement, the Peace of Beaulieu (also known as the "Peace of Monsieur") in May 1576. What made it even more humiliating was the fact that he had to negotiate with his own brother François, duc d'Alençon, who had become a leader of the moderate Catholic group often referred to as *Politiques*. Under this new edict the Huguenots were permitted to build churches and worship in any places that belonged to them or whose owners consented, with the exception of Paris and its immediate surroundings. They now had eight *places de sûreté*, instead of four and special chambers were created in the parlements to hear cases where religious differences might otherwise impede the rendering of justice. The king also had to express his "very great regret and displeasure" over the events of Saint Bartholomew's Day and agree to a number of other concessions.[41]

Now it was the ultra-Catholics' turn for militancy as they formed a Holy League, led by the Guises, to defend their faith. King Henri III became the target of both Huguenot and Catholic militants who spouted resistance theories. He was also politically and financially inept, and with the death of his sole remaining brother and heir in 1584, the childless Henri was faced with a succession crisis. Whenever Henri III's inevitable

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demise came about, the next in line to the throne would be Henri of Navarre (whose family line, the Bourbons, was descended from a younger son of King Louis IX). Navarre, however, had become a Huguenot again and this was unacceptable to the majority of French Catholics. Henri III tried to convince Navarre to reconvert to Catholicism, but the Holy Leaguers insisted that he would always be a pawn of the Huguenots and that Catholics would be persecuted should Navarre become king. In December 1584 the Holy League's activities intensified as they cemented a diplomatic alliance, the Treaty of Joinville, with France's arch-rival, King Phillip II of Spain. Under the terms of this treaty, a Protestant was not to be permitted to ascend to the French throne. Meanwhile, many cities and provinces throughout France were declaring their support for the League. Backed into a corner, Henri III revoked the Huguenots' liberties and vowed to eradicate Protestantism in order to gain nominal leadership of the Catholic forces. Naturally, war once again ensued. Inept as ever, Henri III ordered the assassination of the Duke of Guise, whose popularity among Catholics outshone his own. After Guise's assassination on December 23, 1588, Henri's popularity declined even more and he was denounced as a "murderous tyrant."[42] "The theological faculty of the Sorbonne declared Henri guily of *lèse-majesté* and therefore deposed him as King of France."[43] He turned to Henri of Navarre in the hope that together they could subdue the League, but in the midst of these negotiations in August 1589, Henri III was assassinated. Before his death he formally recognized the Huguenot Navarre as his heir.

Claiming the throne of France as King Henri IV did not mean an easy, peaceful transfer of power for Navarre. Over the course of the following years, Henri struggled to become king through a combination of military victories, conversion to Catholicism and

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instruction in the Catholic faith after July 1593, by various acts of bribery of ultra-Catholic leaders, and by appeasement of his former coreligionists, the Huguenots. It even entailed a declaration of war against Spain in January 1595. Since the Treaty of Joinville had been hammered-out ten years previously, Spain had been providing money and men to support the League as the need arose.[44] To further complicate the situation, King Phillip II of Spain sought to acquire the French throne for his own daughter Isabella, whose mother had been the French princess, Elizabeth of Valois, daughter of Henri II. Such a maneuver would have been in violation of French Salic Law, which did not allow for a female monarch and only recognized descent in the male line. Nevertheless, Spanish troops landed in Brittany in October 1590 and in 1591 additional Spanish troops invaded Languedoc and were garrisoned in Paris. The Spanish ambassador in Paris, Bernardino de Mendoza, had become the chief advisor and leader for the Parisian League after the assassination of the Duke of Guise. In the final analysis, Spanish aggressions and pretensions to the throne strengthened the position of Navarre, who emerged as the defender of France, drawing moderate and even some ultra-Catholics under the banner of Gallicanism. The bankruptcy of the Spanish crown in November of 1596 marked the collapse of Phillip's "crusade" against the Protestant heresy in France, as well as his ambitions for his daughter. The May 1598 Treaty of Vervins sealed the Franco-Spanish conflict and the Edict of Nantes of August 13, 1598 provided at least a temporary solution to the religious problem in war-weary and economically exhausted France.

The promulgation of the Edict of Nantes marks an important watershed in Huguenot history. Its revocation by Louis XIV in 1685 marks another decisive turning-point. What were the provisions of this Edict and what did it mean for the

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Huguenot population of France? Moreover, why did it pose such a problem for the successors of Henri IV who began chipping away at the Edict in the 1620's?

A seemingly strange characteristic of the Edict is that it contains no discussion of belief or doctrine. As Mack Holt points out, this was not because Henri IV was unconcerned with what his subjects believed, but was rooted in the fact that this settlement focused on religious coexistence. It attempted to deal with the very real problem of trying to integrate a corporate body of Huguenots into a Catholic state.[45] The bottom line was that it was Henri's intent to return all of his subjects to the Catholic fold, by persuasion rather than by force, in order to achieve religious unity and thereby insure lasting peace. Recent histories of the French Wars of Religion have argued that the toleration ensconced in the Edict was not intended to be permanent.[46] The aim was to eventually coax religious uniformity throughout France.

The Edict of Nantes is composed of four separate documents: ninety-two general articles, fifty-six "secret" articles dealing with particular towns and individuals that were exempt from the general articles, and two royal warrants (*brevets*).[47] The major difference between the two sets of articles and the warrants is that the articles were registered in the parlements while the warrants were not. "Henri was well aware that the most significant concessions granted to the Protestants would never be registered by the Catholic controlled parlements, so these were granted in the royal warrants. Finally, the general and secret articles were explicitly labeled 'perpetual and irrevocable,' while the warrants were clearly intended to be provisional, expiring in eight years."[48]

There was very little that was novel in the ninety-two general articles which were largely restatements of earlier Edicts, particularly, The Peace of Beaulieu (May 1576)

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and Poitiers (September 1577). These settlements had been somewhat more favorable to the Huguenots than others that had been negotiated at different stages of the wars. Nevertheless, the Huguenots were far from satisfied with the Edict of Nantes which underscored the Catholicity of the crown and of the realm as a whole. The Catholic mass was restored "in all places and parts of the kingdom," including those areas under Huguenot control where it had been previously banned (article 3). Hence, French Catholics enjoyed freedom of religion everywhere, whereas Huguenot freedom of worship was restricted to certain areas. The Huguenots were also obliged to "keep and observe" all the feast days of the Roman Catholic church and were forbidden from working on any Catholic holidays (article 20). In addition, Huguenot printed materials were subject to strict censorship (article 21), they had to observe Catholic laws regarding marriage and contracts (article 23), and were required to pay the tithe (article 25).

Catholics, on the other hand, found much that was intolerable in the Edict of Nantes. It allowed complete liberty of conscience for Huguenots who were guaranteed freedom of worship in all cities and towns that they controlled by August 1597 (articles 6-10). The Huguenots were permitted to build churches in areas that were under their control (article 16). They were granted full civil rights in respect to admission to schools, colleges, and universities, as well as the right to hold any public or royal offices, including posts in the parlements (articles 22 and 27). Most of the remaining general articles addressed the issue of fair treatment for Protestants in the courts. Under the secret articles, the Huguenots were permitted to hold their own consistories, colloquies, and provincial and national synods in the towns they contolled (secret article 34). They were also granted one official political representative at court to lobby the king. The most

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objectionable aspects for Catholics appeared in the two warrants which granted the Protestants unprecedented concessions. The first warrant provided an annual subsidy to pay the salaries of Huguenot pastors, probably to compensate for collection of the tithe from the Huguenots. The second warrant permitted the Huguenots to fortify approximately half of the 200 towns under their control. These fortified towns had garrisoned troops which were paid for by the crown. The remaining towns were permitted to have their own local citizen militias. As mentioned previously, the warrants were supposed to expire in eight years, so the concept of a Huguenot "state within the state" was not supposed to be permanent but rather a concession Henri had to make in order to induce the Huguenot nobles to cease fighting. The warrants were renewed by Henri in 1606, and as long as he was alive such Huguenot rights were protected. This situation would be altered after Henri's assassination by an ultra-Catholic fanatic in 1610.

When Louis XIII ascended to the throne in 1610 he was barely nine-years-old. His mother Marie de Medici, a Catholic who did not possess the same sensitivities towards the Huguenots as her late husband, acted as his regent. These were unsettling years for the Huguenots who were no longer confident that the Edict of Nantes would be enforced. Their situation became more tenuous in June 1617 when Louis XIII, encouraged by the Catholic clergy, issued an Edict of Restitution requiring all church property seized since 1569 to be restored to the Catholic church. "When opposition to this edict emerged in the Bearnese capital of Pau in the spring of 1618, Louis was forced to put together a royal army to enforce it upon the recalcitrant Protestants. It was even more troubling for the king when he learned that just as some of his own Protestant subjects were rebelling against royal authority in Pau, a similar rebellion by Protestants in Prague threatened

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Habsburg rule in Bohemia."[49] This was the beginning of a series of campaigns to root out resisters, particularly in the south and west where more than eighty percent of the Huguenots were concentrated.[50] Before any blood was shed, however, Pau submitted to the king's demands and local magistrates registered the Edict of Restitution.

News of this submission sent shockwaves throughout Huguenot communities. Huguenots living in the fortified port city of La Rochelle reinforced their military readiness and strengthed their political organization. The assembly at La Rochelle, which opened on November 28, 1620, "became the supreme authority of the Huguenot party, although it really only represented the militant wing of the entire Huguenot community."[51] In response, Louis warned the Rochelais of his intent to treat them as seditious rebels and offered protection to all those who were obedient to him. Their refusal to comply resulted in several royal military campaigns that proved to be disastrous for the Huguenots. "The campaigns of 1620-22 broke the back of the Protestant state and army."[52] Although many of the Huguenots' fortified cities had been lost, La Rochelle continued to resist royal authority. This resistance would finally be broken on October 28, 1628, following a fourteen month long siege. Isolated on its land side by the royal army and on its seaward side by royal fortresses on the islands as well as by a large dyke, the city was unable to get supplies and reinforcements from England and was literally starved into submission.[53] Out of a population of more than 25,000 at the beginning of the siege in August 1627, nearly half had died before the final submission and another 5,000 had fled, leaving about 5,000 to 8,000 Huguenots when the royal army, escorted by Louis XIII and Richelieu, entered the city.[54] Despite their discouraging

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military defeat at La Rochelle, Huguenot numbers declined only slightly throughout the kingdom, as most continued to hold on to their faith.[55]

At Alès, on June 28, 1629, Louis XIII promulgated the Edict of Grace, offering personal pardon and religious toleration to all who would submit. His clemency proved effective as town governments surrendered and Huguenot fortifications were replaced with royal garrisons. With their military power decimated, the Huguenots no longer seemed so menacing to the social and political fabric. For several decades the Huguenots would live in relative peace and security. Louis XIII and his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, were willing to tolerate the Huguenots so long as they could depend upon their political loyalty. Those who remained in France until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, proved themselves to be loyal subjects of the crown and, for the most part, coexisted peacefully with their Catholic neighbors. After the deaths of Richelieu and Louis XIII, they stood staunchly behind the young monarch Louis XIV during the disruptions of the Fronde in 1648-49.

This new-found domestic harmony enabled the crown to embark upon foreign military ventures and territorial expansion, as France became embroiled in the broadening European conflict known as the Thirty Years' War. Ironically, France intervened on the "Protestant" side in opposition to the Catholic Habsburgs, the long-standing rivals of France. Even after the Peace of Westphalia sealed the Thirty Years' War in central Europe, France continued to fight the Spanish branch of the Habsburgs until 1659. "The loyalty that the Protestants showed to the crown during the Fronde and the need to rally as much support as possible for the war against Spain led Mazarin [the new chief minister] to demonstrate more generosity toward the Huguenots

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on occasion. . . .In these years [the 1650's] the Protestants regained lost rights of worship or representation in city government in a number of localities."[56] However, after the Treaty of the Pyrenees ended the Franco-Spanish conflict in 1659 and as France emerged as the predominant power in Europe in the 1660's, a different dynamic entered the picture and the crown's tolerant attitudes toward the Huguenots began to dissipate.

During the period between the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598 and the Huguenot defeat at La Rochelle in 1628, a major doctrinal dispute had arisen within European Calvinism. This dispute revolved around the issue of predestinarian determinism, as advanced by Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor as head of the Calvinist movement. Beza took this concept to a greater extreme than had his predecessor. This trend provoked reactions from some theologians who tried to reconcile human free will with predestination. Dutch theologian, Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), a one-time student of Beza's, is most commonly associated with this reaction that became known as Arminianism. Arminius asserted that predestination should not be understood as divine power operating through sheer force, but as God's will operating through divine love.[57] He further argued that Jesus Christ died for all people and not only for the elect. In 1618-19 an assembly of the Dutch Reformed Church was convened by the States-General at Dort (Dordrecht) to address the Arminian controversy. Dutch theologians were joined by foreign delegations, primarily from Switzerland, the Palatinate, and England. (French theologians were forbidden by their government to attend the Synod.) The Synod approved five sets of articles that refuted Arminian claims. These articles asserted unconditional election, limited atonement, the total depravity of man, the irresistibility of

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was accelerated, Huguenots were banned from the practice of several crafts and professions, most notably law, and Huguenot doctors were forbidden to tend Catholic patients."[62] Louis XIV also encouraged a vast missionary effort and even offered tax exemptions and cash bonuses to peacefully coerce adherents of "*la religion prétendue réformée*" (the official term used when referring to the Huguenots) into the Roman Catholic fold. The combination of these factors made it increasingly difficult for many Huguenots to resist conversion.

After 1675 Louis initiated a more violent policy aimed at suppressing the movement entirely. The dreaded dragoons (squads of heavily armed royal troops) were unleashed on the provinces and quartered in the homes of Protestant civilians. Many Huguenots who had heretofore resisted non-violent coercion fell prey to the terror of the dragoons. "Murder, beatings, jailings, rape, and torture all served religious ends: as one bishop wrote, 'the dragoons have been good missionaries.' . . .Whereas about 750 Protestant congregations existed at the beginning of Louis XIV's rule in 1661, only 350 remained by 1680--an ominous decline in French Protestant strength even before the revocation."[63]

On October 18, 1685, Louis XIV signed the Edict of Fontainebleau, thereby revoking the Edict of Nantes. On October 22 the new Edict was registered by the Parlement of Paris. Under the terms of the revocation all Huguenot pastors were to leave the country, and all temples were to be destroyed. (Many Huguenot temples or churches had already been destroyed during the previous decade.) Huguenot schools were to be closed, children were to be sent to mass regularly, and everyone born into "*la religion prétendue réformée*" was to be rebaptized by Catholic priests. Not surprisingly, these

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measures resulted in large-scale abjurations. Some who signed papers of abjuration resisted passively, while continuing private Protestant worship within the family, a practice which had long been an essential ingredient of French Protestantism. In addition, the handful of ministers remaining in France continued to preach to small Protestant gatherings.[64] Armed rebellion occurred only in Languedoc and the Cevennes mountains from 1695 to 1705, in what became known as the Revolt of the Camisards. The remaining form of resistance taken by some Huguenots was flight. Unsuccessful attempts to emigrate by anyone outside the clergy resulted in confiscation of property and a sentence of galley slavery for men and imprisonment for women, while children were placed in Catholic orphanages. Both galley slavery and imprisonment frequently led to an early and untimely demise for the victim. Nevertheless, at least 160,000 Huguenots defied the Edict and fled to havens of refuge in Europe, in South Africa, and in North America.[65]

NOTES

1. Martin Luther, "An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality as to the Amelioration of the State of Christendom" in Lewis W Spitz, ed. *The Protestant Reformation* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), 51-59.

2. By consubstantiation Luther meant that after consecration the substances both of the body and blood of Christ and of the bread and wine co-exist in union with each other. F. L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, ed. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), s. v. "consubstantiation."

3. *Ibid*, s.v. "Calvinism."

4. William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 11.

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5. R. J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598*, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1996), 5.

6. Robert M. Kingdon, "The Geneva Consistory in the time of Calvin," in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, ed. A. Pettegree, A. Duke, and G. Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 34.

7. Barbara Diefendorf, "The Failure of Peace before Nantes," in *The Edict of Nantes: Five Essays and a New Translation*, ed. Richard L. Goodbar (Bloomington, Minn.: The National Huguenot Society, 1998), 3.

8. For example, many scholars have indicated that Beza placed more emphasis on predestinarian determinism than did Calvin himself. The multi-volume series, *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism*, ed. by Richard C. Gamble (New York: Garland, 1992) illustrates the breadth and scope of Calvinist thought over time and place.

9. A more detailed discussion of the Academy's purpose and role can be found in Gillian Lewis, "The Geneva Academy" in Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, and Gillian Lewis, ed., *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 35-63.

10. Knecht, *Wars of Religion*, 6.

11. The role of Geneva in these wars is discussed in detail in R. M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France* (Geneva: E. Droz, 1956).

12. The classic study is Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. and ed. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner, 1958).

13. Knecht, *Wars of Religion*, 2.

14. *Ibid*, 2-3.

15. Koenigsberger, "Western Europe," in *The Counter Reformation and Price Revolution, 1559-1610*, Vol. III: *The New Cambridge Modern History*, ed. R. B. Wernham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 286.

16. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion*, 103-6.

17. R. S. Dunn, *The Age of Religious Wars* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), 23.

18. Diefendorf, "The Failure of Peace," in *Edict of Nantes*, 4.

19. Knecht, *Wars of Religion*, 13.

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20. Nancy Lyman Roelker, "The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen in the Sixteenth Century," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2, 4 (Spring 1972): 391-418; Roelker, *Queen of Navarre: Jeanne d'Albret, 1528-1572* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); Margaret King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991),140-41, 161.

21. Natalie Zemon Davis, "City Women and Religious Change," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 65-95.

22. Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), 199-204.

23. F. C. Spooner, "The Economy of Europe, 1559-1609," in *The Counter Reformation and Price Revolution*, 28.

24. Henri Hauser, *Recherches et documents sur l'histoire des prix en France de 1500 à 1800* (Paris: Les Presses Modernes, 1936), 62.

25. Nicola Mary Sutherland, *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559-1572* (London: Macmillan Press, 1973), 3.

26. T. M. Parker, "Protestantism and Confessional Strife," in *The Counter-Reformation*, 94.

27. The Treaty of the Triumvirate (in French) may be referred to in the appendix of Sutherland, *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.*

28. Diefendorf, "The Failure of Peace," in *Edict of Nantes*, 3.

29. H. Koenigsberger, "Western Europe and the Power of Spain," in *The Counter Reformation*, 286.

30. Diefendorf, "The Failure of Peace," in *Edict of Nantes*, 4.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*

33. Nicola Mary Sutherland was one of the first to exonerate Catherine in *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew.* See also Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 93; Mack P. Holt, "Putting Religion Back into the Wars of Religion," *French Historical Studies* 18, 2 (Fall 1993): 540. Historians have also debated whether or not Philip II of Spain played any role in fomenting the massacre. For a recent overview

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of both sides in this argument see Jean-Louis Bourgeon and Jeanine Garrison, "L'Espagne a-t-elle fomenté la Saint-Barthélemy?" *Historia* 639 (March 2000): 12-13.

34. Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*, 93-106. In "Rites of Violence," Natalie Zemon Davis argues that the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was not an isolated event. It was significantly larger and more widespread than other outbreaks of violence between Protestants and Catholics during the Religious Wars but it was characterized by the same kinds of rituals. For example, Catholics often baptized Protestant corpses. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 152-187.

35. Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 94.

36. Philip Benedict, *Rouen During the Wars of Religion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 147.

37. Holt, *Wars of Religion*, 101. For a detailed discussion of the theological implications of this resistance literature see Yang-En Cheng "The Theology of the Calvinist Resistance Movement: A Theological Study of the French Calvinist Resistance Literature (1572-1579)" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1994). Edited and translated texts of these three important treatises can be found in Julian H. Franklin, ed., *Constitutionalism and Resistance in the Sixteenth Century: Three Treatises* (NewYork: Pegasus, 1969).

38. Holt, *Wars of Religion*, 99.

39. Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1955).

40. Diefendorf, "The Failure of Peace," *in Edict of Nantes*, 6.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid*, 8.

43. DeLamar Jensen, *Diplomacy and Dogmatism: Bernardino de Mendoza and the French Catholic League* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), 176.

44. *Ibid*, 54-55; also see J. H. Elliott, *Europe Divided, 1559-1598* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 308.

45. Mack P. Holt, "The Memories of All Things Past: Provisions of the Edict of Nantes (1598)," in *Edict of Nantes*, 28.

46. For example, Holt, *Wars of* Religion, 153-73; Knecht, *Wars of Religion*, 97.

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47. For a recent translation of the Edict see "The Edict of Nantes with its Secret Articles and Brevets," trans. Jotham Parsons, in *The Edict of Nantes*, 41-68.

48. Holt, in *Ibid*, 28.

49. Holt, *Wars of Religion*, 177.

50. Knecht, *Wars of Religion*, 98.

51. Holt, *Wars of Religion*, 178-79.

52. *Ibid*, 182.

53. For a brief discussion of English attempts to intervene see *Ibid*, *182-185*.

54. *Ibid*, 186. For detailed examinations of the siege of La Rochelle see Katherine Louise Milton Faust, "A Beleaguered Society: Protestant Families in La Rochelle, 1628-1685" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1980); also Neil Duff Kamil, "War, Natural Philosophy, and the Metaphysical Foundations of Artisanal Thought in an American Mid-Atlantic Colony: La Rochelle, New York City and the Southwestern Huguenot Paradigm, 1517-1730" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1988), pp. 2-97.

55. Philip Benedict, *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600-1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority* (Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 81, pt. 5, 1991), 103.

56. Philip Benedict, "*Un roi, une loi, deux fois*: parameters for the history of Catholic-Reformed co-existence in France, 1555-1685" in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 81.

57. George A. Rothrock, *The Huguenots: A Biography of a Minority* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979), 156.

58. Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s.v. "Dort, Synod of."

59. Rothrock, *The Huguenots*, 157.

60. The more liberal ideas of Arminianism exercised considerable influence on the formation of modern Dutch and European Protestant theology in general. The English church would experience the influence of similar ideas during the second quarter of the seventeenth century under Archbishop Laud. See Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, s. v. "Arminianism." For a more extensive analysis of

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the shift in Anglican theology from Calvinism to Arminianism see Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, 1590-1640* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987; Clarendon Press, 1991).

61. Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 18.

62. Rothrock, *The Huguenots*, 166.

63. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 15.

64. By signing papers of abjuration, male heads of families were able to retain their jobs, property, and status. Raymond Mentzer has argued persuasively that many of these "converts" continued to practice the reformed religion privately as part of family devotions, while publicly posing as Roman Catholics. For further discussion see *Blood and Belief: Family Survival and Confessional Identity Among the Provincial Huguenot Nobility* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1994), 169-179.

65. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 21.

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Two

THE HUGUENOT DIASPORA

Most studies of the Huguenot diaspora have focused on the large-scale flight that took place in the decade surrounding the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This observation holds true whether the destination was to somewhere in Protestant Europe or to North America.[1] More accurately, the diaspora should be divided into two distinct phases--from the 1560's through the 1620's, which is sometimes referred to as the "first refuge," and from the 1660's into the early eighteenth century, or the "second refuge." Indeed, it has been pointed out that the English words "refuge" and "refugee" first came into use around the time of the Revocation,[2] as the Huguenots referred to their host countries as *le Refuge*, and were themselves referred to as *réfugiés*. The initial Huguenot migration began with the onset of the Religious Wars in France (1562), increased in the aftermath of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572), fluctuated throughout the late 1570's and into the 1590's, then decreased with the accession of Henri IV and the Promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598. The tide swelled once again in the early 1620's as Louis XIII and Richelieu attacked Huguenot strongholds, then abated at the end of the decade as French involvement in the Thirty Years' War necessitated a tranquil homefront. The 1660's witnessed a renewal of persecution and flight that reached a crescendo around the time of the revocation and continued into the early eighteenth century. Throughout this ongoing exodus, most Huguenots chose destinations in

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Protestant Europe. European colonies in the Americas and in South Africa also attracted a small number of refugees in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Regardless of their time of arrival and place of settlement, many refugees clung to the hope that they would be able to return to France in the future and therefore strove to maintain intact their religious and cultural traditions.[3] This hope was particularly widespread during the first refuge as Huguenot fortunes fluctuated in accordance with successive peace treaties. The desire to return to France can be detected as well among some of the second wave of refugees who hoped that "God in his wisdom and in his own time would force the King to repent and permit their return with free exercise of their own cult and with their own pastors, temples, and schools."[4] The Peace of Ryswick (1697), which failed to impose the re-establishment of French Protestantism on Louis XIV, however, obliterated this dream for many Huguenots.[5] The present chapter will examine the experiences of those Huguenots who sought numerous havens of refuge, with the exception of the communities of New Paltz and New Rochelle in the colony of New York which will be discussed in greater detail in subsequent chapters. (Please refer to Map 1 for the major Huguenot escape routes ca. 1685.)

The governments of the host countries that received the Huguenots were, for the most part, welcoming and even helpful. During the wars of Louis XIV in the late seventeenth century, Protestant states envisioned themselves as partners in an international movement struggling for survival against a despotic, war-mongering King and an idolatrous Roman Catholic Church steeped in ignorance and corruption.[6] After all, what could be more salient evidence of the King's malevolence and the Church's intolerance than the plight of French Protestant refugees who had fled with little more

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than the clothes on their backs and harrowing accounts of persecution and death?[7] On the other hand, host populations could be less than welcoming and sometimes were openly hostile.[8] This would be the case in England during the economic downturn in the 1680's and 1690's, that coincided with the flood of revocation era émigrés. Workers in England and elsewhere did not look kindly upon the prospect of increased competition for jobs and business during hard times. In the final analysis, however, the refugees made significant contributions to their host societies by introducing cutting-edge technologies as well as by bringing beautiful and sophisticated craftsmanship in trades as diverse as tapestry-weaving and silversmithing. Such activities enabled their adopted homelands to produce their own luxury goods to satisfy the expanding material culture and to reduce reliance on French imports.[9]

THE EUROPEAN REFUGE

From the beginning of the French Religious Wars, the Swiss cantons harbored Huguenot refugees. This endeavor required massive efforts on the part of ecclesiastical officials, local authorities, and the general population.[10] Switzerland was the destination of about 30,000 Huguenots, making it one of the main countries of refuge. Geneva, Berne, and Zurich, in particular, received the greatest numbers of refugees.[11] Switzerland also served as a corridor of exodus for those en route to German states devastated by the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) that were eager to receive the émigrés.[12] For these German states, encouraging Huguenot migration made good demographic sense and was a boon to the economy as well. However, this was not always the case within comparatively small and landlocked Switzerland, where it was sometimes difficult for

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the refugees, particularly the merchant class, to earn a living. Despite this, the Huguenots with their knowledge of the comparatively advanced material culture of France, left their mark on the Swiss textile and clockmaking industries, and on banking, and commerce.[13] There was also much that was attractive about the French-speaking Swiss cantons, particularly the city-state of Geneva--the center of international Calvinism. Here the Huguenots were able to maintain their cultural traditions, such as language and religious doctrines and practices, without impediment or any coercion to adopt a new language or religion. In addition, since Reformed Switzerland had been receiving refugees since the 1560's, there were institutions, such as *la bourse française*, that offered assistance, economic and otherwise, to the refugees.[14] There were also pre-existing churches that did not have any financial problems or difficulties in acquiring pastors. Provided they could make a living and that there were no subsistence crises (as in the 1690's) French-speaking Protestant Switzerland posed no threats or challenges of cultural dissolution for the Huguenots.

After the federation of the seven northern provinces in 1579, the United Provinces of the Netherlands, with its relatively broad liberties, became a haven for all those persecuted for political or religious reasons. According to the influential Huguenot philosopher Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), the Netherlands was "the great ark of the refugees."[15] This small country received between 50,000 and 75,000 French Protestants in total, with large cities such as Amsterdam, The Hague, and Rotterdam each receiving about 15,000 refugees by the end of the seventeenth century.[16] The Huguenots encountered favorable conditions, for the most part, as the Dutch authorities facilitated the success and adjustment of the commercial and manufacturing classes as well as of

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artisans by according them all sorts of privileges, including tax exemptions, acceptance into guilds, business loans, and even material assistance for the needy.[17] The refugees represented a diverse social mixture, including both rich and poor. However, certain groups and professions dominated, particularly noble families, wealthy merchants, artisans, pastors, and military men. Among them were the aforementioned Bayle, author of the controversial *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* which would be published in his new homeland, and the apocalyptic theologian Pierre Jurieu. The freedom of expression that these exiles encountered in Holland unleashed an intellectual explosion, which made the period between 1680 and 1715 in this land one of the richest chapters in the history of French Protestant intellectual and political thought.[18] The Netherlands was a particularly popular destination for Huguenot pastors, who had been compelled to leave France prior to the revocation, and it would serve as a major supplier of clergy for the French Reformed churches throughout New York. In general, the adjustment was easier for the revocation era émigrés than it had been for the first wave of immigrants who established the French-speaking Reformed church (known as the Walloon church) in the sixteenth century. These churches, which could be found throughout the United Provinces, especially in large cities, raised monetary collections for the late seventeenth-century arrivals. Civil authorities cooperated as well and managed to raise impressive sums to distribute for relief.[19] On the other hand, those who had left France prior to the revocation were able to bring possessions with them, while the post 1685 refugees, due to the illegality of their exodus, usually fled with little more than their lives and the clothes on their backs.

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An option for those Huguenots who went to the Netherlands was the possibility of further migration to one of the country's colonial possessions. These colonies included such far-flung destinations as Ceylon, the South African Cape, and New Amsterdam. Nevertheless, the number of refugees that traveled to these Dutch colonies was relatively small (several hundred), when compared to the numbers that remained in the Netherlands and to the overall exodus of at least 200,000 or perhaps as many as 300,000 persons.[20]

In the final analysis, the Huguenot migration to the Netherlands was by no means a one-way street. The refugees made significant contributions to trade, manufacturing, printing, publishing (particularly political and theological materials), and journalism. The diaspora also served to diffuse the French language and culture, which was admired and emulated throughout Europe, and to internationalize university education.[21]

The Holy Roman Empire, which was divided along Lutheran and Catholic confessional lines before the Thirty Years' War, provided few opportunities for the Huguenots during the first refuge. There were some noteworthy exceptions, nonetheless, where religious toleration could be found at this time. As early as the sixteenth century, Frankfurt-on-Main generously welcomed peoples persecuted for their faith and Reformed communities of English, Flemish, and Netherlandish peoples were founded in the midst of this Lutheran city. Between 1628 and 1685 Frankfurt no longer admitted non-Lutherans, and both Jews and Calvinists who were already there could no longer become citizens.[22] After the revocation, however, the city became an important center of assistance for refugees because of its location on a principal east-west and north-south route where the Rhine and Main rivers converge. Although it was one of the imperial cities, Frankfurt possessed extensive political autonomy. Moreover, as an important

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commercial and financial center it was attractive as a place of residence to the Huguenot doctors, surgeons, ministers, military men, and in particular, to those with artisanal skills.[23] Because of its geographically fortuitous location, Frankfurt attracted a heterogeneous refugee population, ranging in age from the very young to the very old. Refugees included women in advanced stages of pregnancy, along with people in various stages of poor physical conditions. Owing to these factors, significant numbers died soon after reaching this destination.[24]

The demographic and economic devastations of the Thirty Years' War made the prospect of receiving Huguenot refugees very attractive for certain parts of the Empire that had been particularly hard-hit by the war. Indeed, the Huguenots were not only welcomed, but were lured to migrate to these areas. Encouraged by generous incentives, approximately 44,000 French-speaking Protestants migrated to the various German states; about 20,000 of these refugees went to Brandenburg alone.[25] To entice the Huguenots, Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg (1640-89), who was himself a Calvinist, published the Edict of Potsdam the same year that the Edict of Nantes was revoked. This edict, which was distributed clandestinely in France, enumerated advantages the Huguenots would enjoy if they chose to settle in Brandenburg. It granted them broad liberties to establish homogeneous communities in Berlin and other locations where the French language and French Reformed Protestantism were freely exercised. Not only would the Huguenots be given religious liberty, but they would be freely admitted to their respective trades and manufacturing facilities would be constructed for their use. Moreover, they would be given abandoned homes and land that had been depopulated by the war. Nobles and military men would

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receive military posts. In addition to these material advantages, the Great Elector offered them an unprecedented incentive: the possibility to remain French and to live in French communities nearly sealed-off by themselves. Wherever their numbers merited it, the Calvinist refugees would have a French pastor, a French judge selected by them to settle disputes amongst themselves according to French laws, and to jointly settle, with the assistance of a German judge, any disputes they might have with Germans. A special commissioner would distribute money, building materials, and tools for work. Additionally, they would have a system of French schools. The drawback for some refugees, particularly for those in poor health, when they compared Brandenburg with England, Holland, or Frankfurt, was the greater distance they would have to travel in order to reach Brandenburg. Also, this locality was not as familiar to them, nor was it as economically developed as England or Holland or, for that matter, France. Because of the unique privileges they were afforded, Huguenots who settled there sometimes encountered outbreaks of anti-French xenophobia. Nevertheless, these Huguenot communities, which were virtual states within a state, retained their distinctive identities until the end of the eighteenth century.[26]

The foremost promoter of the Huguenot cause in Hesse-Casel was the landgrave Charles (1671-1730), the nephew of Frederick William. Influenced by his uncle's largesse in the Edict of Potsdam and desirous of rebuilding his war-ravaged state, Charles broadened these privileges by adding a tax exemption and the possibility of transferring these privileges from father to son. Toward this end, several Huguenot villages were established in Hesse-Cassel, which after Brandenburg, received the largest number of French Protestants in the Empire.[27] Refugees arrived here in waves: the first, from 1685

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to 1687, was comprised of French from Champagne, Paris, Metz, Dauphiné, Languedoc, and Vivarais fleeing after the revocation. Between 1698 and 1700 the Vaudois, who were being pursued by the Catholic Duke of Saxony, arrived. They were joined by another group of Vaudois between 1720 and 1722. Like their counterparts in Brandenburg, these refugees received money, building materials, tools, and the opportunity to pursue a career or occupation. Here, too, they were sometimes greeted by manifestations of xenophobia. Nevertheless, the integration of these French-speaking communities was fairly rapid, particularly in urban areas, and was accomplished by the third generation between 1760 to 1780.[28] Quite remarkably, this assimilation was largely because of the fact that Germans, who were attracted by the privileged status of the French, eagerly intermarried with the refugees in Hesse-Cassel, thereby enabling the offspring of these exogamous unions to acquire those amenities accorded to the French. Despite the seeming integration through exogamy and public use of the German language, use of French in private life continued until the time of Napoleon.[29] Likewise their distinctive religious practices and organizations continued until the late seventeenth and even into the eighteenth century: at Louisendorf a French church endured until 1871.[30]

The Electoral Palatinate, which had adopted Reformed Protestantism as outlined in the Heidelberg Catechism, suffered tremendous devastation during the Thirty Years' War. From 1622 on it had been occupied, first by Spanish, then Swedish, and finally by French troops after 1635. With only a fraction of the population remaining at the war's end, the entire territory needed to be reconstructed. Under the terms of the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), Reformed Protestantism became the official religion of the Palatinate. However, large numbers of Lutherans and Catholics could be found here as

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well. After 1650 there were three Reformed parishes (French, German, and Dutch) in the newly rebuilt city of Mannheim. The French Reformed community here consisted of 2,500 persons who cooperated and coexisted with the other Calvinists as well as with the local Lutherans. Moreover, between 1677 and 1680, they cooperated in building a "Church of Concord" which was utilized by both confessions. Nevertheless, this harmonious period was shortlived when a dynastic change in 1685 brought the Catholic line of the Palatinate-Neubourg dynasty into power and a war of succession ensued. Louis XIV intervened in the conflict and many Calvinist refugees who had entered the area during the preceding era of tolerance left.[31]

Huguenots also migrated to the neighboring duchy of Wurtemberg which had suffered extensive devastation during the Thirty Years' War. While Wurtemberg was Lutheran under the terms of the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, Huguenots were permitted to enter this devastated and depopulated area. Some of the smaller German states received the Huguenots under relatively generous terms as well. For example, the Huguenot village of Friedrichsdorf in Hess-Hombourg continued to use the French language until the beginning of the twentieth century.[32] On the other hand, most Lutheran princes were unwilling to assist the refugees and several of them, including the Elector of Saxony, were openly hostile. The few Huguenots who arrived in Dresden and Leipzig were not expelled, but were tolerated only because they practiced their faith clandestinely.[33]

In the final analysis, wherever the Huguenots settled in the Holy Roman Empire, it was usually a mutually beneficial arrangement. The Empire was able to rebuild and recover from the devastations of war and to advance its material culture by incorporating the Huguenots' sophisticated artisanal skills. The Huguenots, on the other hand, were able

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to live comfortably and to worship without fear of persecution in some areas. Myriam Yardeni, who has extensively researched the Huguenot experience in the German states, argues that it was in Germany that the dream of "utopia became reality" for those refugees who lived in purely French villages.[34] She further points out that it was also in Germany that the process of integration and assimilation was slowest. This was not because of difficulties posed by the rulers or by native inhabitants, but because the broad privileges that were granted to the Huguenots enabled them to remain separate and distinct from the German population without incurring any penalties, financial or otherwise.[35]

Several northern European states were the destinations for smaller numbers of refugees in the seventeenth century. Denmark, for example, received about 500 Huguenots, mostly nobles, military men, and tradesmen, under the condition that their children would be raised in the Lutheran faith. Likewise, Sweden accepted some refugees, allowing them to establish a French-speaking Lutheran church. In 1689, Czar Peter the Great, influenced by the example of the Netherlands and Brandenburg, and with the impression that the refugees could be economically beneficial, extended his protection and privileges to Huguenots who wished to migrate to Russia. Small French Protestant communities were established in Moscow and St. Petersburg. The latter community, in the new capital included nobles, military men, doctors, surgeons, merchants, artisans, clockmakers, tailors, jewelers, milliners, carpenters, and gardeners, all of whom would be useful in Peter's attempts to westernize Russia.[36] Approximately 2,000 Huguenots fled to all of these destinations combined.[37]

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The tide of Huguenot migration to England rose and fell with alternating waves of persecution and toleration for Protestants in France and was influenced as well by attitudes of the English government. Small numbers of continental Protestants entered England during Edward's brief reign and founded England's earliest foreign Protestant churches, but found themselves obliged to leave when Mary became Queen in 1553. With the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, England became a haven once again and would remain so thereafter. The 1560's and 1570's were times of turmoil for Reformed Protestants in France and in the provinces of the Low Countries under Spanish control. According to Robin Gwynn, the foreign Protestant churches in England had well over 10,000 members as early as 1573, the majority of them religious refugees. The number of aliens in London and in southeastern England grew substantially over the following decades, swelling their numbers to about 15,000 by the 1590's.[38] The flow of refugees decreased in the early seventeenth century with the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in France and a truce in the Low Countries. Renewed persecution of the Huguenots in France in the 1620's fueled emigration anew and continued to do so throughout the century. The revocation era witnessed a dramatic increase that made the foreign congregations in England predominantly French. During the reign of Louis XIV, approximately 40,000 to 50,000 Huguenots migrated to England. Moreover, by 1700 "French exiles comprised about five per cent of London's population, at a time when one in every ten inhabitants of England lived in and around the capital."[39]

Other than freedom from persecution, why were so many Huguenots drawn to England, and to London in particular? The capital had many connections to the continent through the Court, through its merchants, and through its resident foreign communities. It

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was also a center of relief assistance and offered numerous prospects of employment. Additionally, the capital had pre-existing French/Walloon churches that offered them assistance, financial and otherwise, as well as a sense of religious and linguistic community. Those who settled outside of London usually chose a location based upon geographic convenience coupled with the means of making a livelihood. In view of these factors, refugees from northwestern France were more likely to choose a location with close proximity to the English channel, such as Canterbury, Dover, Faversham or Rye, or even Southampton on the southern coast, while those from southwestern France gravitated to the southwest of England to cities such as Plymouth, Dartmouth, Exeter, and Bristol. In the Channel Islands Huguenot émigrés were quickly assimilated into the French-speaking environment and did not form a distinct and separate community. According to Gwynn, the attractions of England for the Huguenots were so numerous that this nation might have become home to even more refugees if a Protestant, rather than a Catholic, had been on the throne in 1685. The overwhelming majority of Huguenots came to England only after James II had published his Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, which promised his subjects liberty of conscience and free exercise of religion.[40] However, a general naturalization act, that would allow resident foreigners to become citizens, was not passed until 1709.[41]

The ways in which Huguenot refugees were treated prior to the Declaration of Indulgence were heavily dependent on several variables: the predisposition of the monarch, the international scene, and domestic considerations such as the economy and political or religious tensions. The reign of Elizabeth (1558-1603) was marked by the emergence of the Anglican *via media*. Nicholas Tyacke describes the Church of England

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in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign as one that was Catholic in form or outward ceremony, but Calvinist or Reformed in substance or theology.[42] Problems emerged for the alien Reformed communities during the tenure of Archbishop Laud (1633-1645), who regarded the southeast as the center of Puritan opposition to his attempts to reshape Anglican theology into a pre-Reformation mold. Not only Puritan congregations, but also foreign Reformed churches fell under suspicion at this time. However, both the French and Dutch congregations were able to forestall Laud's pressures for conformity to the Church of England by appealing to King Charles I. They declared that they supported not only their own poor, but also the English poor in their respective parishes. Moreover, by the time they were supposed to have conformed to Laud's brand of Anglicanism, the archbishop had fallen from power.[43] Nevertheless, Reformed congregations were in a difficult situation during the English Civil War in the 1640's: their theological roots were closer to the Puritan and Presbyterian revolutionaries, yet their protector was the King whom these revolutionaries were attacking. At this time, foreign congregations were torn by dissention between rival factions of royalists and parliamentarians.[44] Ultimately, many Huguenots in England would dissociate themselves from the Presbyterian forms of French Calvinism, with its potential for republicanism, particularly after the Restoration in 1660. This disavowal led some French churches to conform to Anglicanism. Nevertheless, even those French churches that did not conform made it clear that they were not centers of agitation.[45] Although the nonconforming French churches insisted that they were not anti-monarchical hotbeds of dissent, Restoration-era policy only licensed those new congregations that accepted the Anglican liturgy when translated into French.[46] However, as Bernard Cottret points out, the use of ritual in these "conforming"

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churches was highly selective. "The ministers neither wore a surplice, nor did they make the sign of the Cross, while the laity did not kneel at Communion. All the elaboration of form and gesture. . .did not find favor with the French Anglicans who followed the very Low-Church Anglo-Norman ritual."[47] Robin Gwynn further observes that "all in all the evidence suggests that the conformists were Anglican in name rather than by deep conviction."[48]

While the refugees rarely suffered from outbreaks of hostility and were able to make a living, they still suffered legal and economic disabilities. As legal aliens and subjects of a foreign prince, their position was severely limited under English law. "They could bring personal actions in the courts, take leases, and even purchase property, but they were obliged to pay higher taxes and dues than their English counterparts. Even their children born in England were still considered to be foreign."[49] As the refugee ranks swelled after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the English government took decisive steps to protect and assist them. Moreover, even before the revocation the English government began to offer mass grants of free denization in 1681, which provided foreign refugees with greater security. As denizens they could not convey rights of inheritance nor did they have any trade advantages, but they were no longer mere aliens. For example, master craftsmen could now expand their businesses and take on additional apprentices.[50] These patents of denization vastly improved the status of the Huguenots in England, until their lot was further ameliorated by an Act of General Naturalization in 1709.

The revocation era also witnessed emergency relief parish collections for the newly-arrived refugees. Between 1681 and 1695 these collections amounted to more than

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90,000 pounds, to which William and Mary added another 39,000 pounds from the Civil List between 1689 and 1693.[51] During the closing years of the seventeenth century, hatred of their common enemy, French Catholic monarch Louis XIV, and the overthrow of the English Catholic monarch James II in 1688, united Protestants in England under the banner of the Protestant cause and abhorrence of popery.[52] When the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, which ended the wars of Louis XIV, failed to incorporate clauses of benefit to French Protestants, all hopes of returning to their homeland were obliterated.

The majority of Huguenots who went to England remained there permanently and eventually were assimilated into English society. However, several thousand of these Huguenots were encouraged to relocate to Ireland, under the English presumption that the "remarkably well-bred and civilized French. . .would help greatly to improve the ruder Irish both in manners and religion." It was also hoped that the Huguenots would improve Irish manufactures, particularly linen.[53] By the eighteenth century, colonies of Huguenots of all classes and occupations could be found throughout Ireland, especially in cities such as Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Wexford, and Portarlington. They were not only active in the learned professions and linen manufactures but joined the ranks of goldsmiths, silversmiths, and glassmakers.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REFUGE

An estimated 2,000 Huguenots did not select a European haven of refuge as a permanent home, but instead elected to remove to a European colony in the Americas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, Huguenot attempts to found a refuge in the Americas has a history as long as that of the European refuge. From 1555 to 1565, the

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Huguenot Admiral of France, Gaspard de Coligny, spearheaded several abortive New World projects for France. The first of these was Antarctic France in Brazil (near present-day Rio de Janeiro). This endeavor failed by 1560 largely because of the reluctance of the French crown to send military assistance to the new colony.[54] The second of these schemes was initiated with the outbreak of the first religious war in France in 1562 and involved a settlement, Charlesfort, in northern Florida. Charlesfort soon disappeared, but was replaced in 1564 by Fort La Caroline, also in northern Florida, near the mouth of the St. John's River.[55] Fort La Caroline likewise proved to be a shortlived settlement, ended by the Matanza Massacres which were carried out by Spain in the fall of 1565. The Huguenot dream for an American refuge temporarily withered following the murder of Coligny during the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in August 1572. Without the support of the French crown and an influential and charismatic leader, plans of this nature were not feasible. And with the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598, an American refuge no longer appeared necessary.

Unlike Great Britain, which sometimes used its overseas colonies as repositories for religious dissenters, France did not advocate such a policy for most of the seventeenth century. There is evidence, nonetheless, that Huguenots were present in some of France's early voyages of exploration to Canada in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The first permanent French colony in North America, Port Royal in Nova Scotia was founded by Pierre du Gast, a Huguenot. Both Protestants and Catholics could be found in Port Royal and in Acadia as a whole, but this was an inhospitable territory for several reasons: harsh climate, English raids, and complaints by Catholics that the presence of Protestants impeded Christianization (i.e. Roman Catholic Christianization) of the native

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inhabitants. After the assassination of Henri IV in 1610, the Huguenot presence in Acadia dwindled considerably.[56] With the accession of Richelieu as chief minister, Huguenots were forbidden to migrate to French Canada. Hence, French Protestants desirous of a New World refuge, would have to become part of English or Dutch colonial endeavors. Those who moved on from their European havens of refuge to a colonial outpost, more often than not "did so very soon after their flight from France."[57] Regardless of their ultimate destination, "young people dominated the Huguenot migration to America."[58]

The resumption of religious troubles in the 1620's revived the concept of an American refuge. In 1630, Antoine de Ridouet, Baron de Sancé, a prominent Huguenot leader, negotiated an agreement with England for the Huguenots to create a settlement named "Carolana" in North America. This project seems never to have materialized for reasons which are not clear.[59] In 1630, however, "a group of French Huguenot colonists set sail for a Carolina destination. . . but the ship's master landed them unexpectedly in Virginia."[60] This settlement along the James River, in what is now Norfolk county, disappeared within a few years leaving no records of what had transpired. Nevertheless, some French names appear in the Virginia land books as early as 1623 and continue to increase in number throughout the seventeenth century.[61] During this time Virginia was desperately in need of settlers; consequently a generous naturalization policy was offered to foreigners and most Protestant sects were tolerated. The great year of Huguenot migration was 1700, with the settlement of Manakin Town on the outer frontier of civilized Virginia. At the time, Manakin was not a town and was impossible to reach by water and difficult to reach by land. Despite these drawbacks, Manakin Town was transformed within a few years from a poor and mean isolated oupost into a prosperous

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endeavor. The original Huguenot settlers of Manakin Town eventually were assimilated into old Virginia families and their ranks included George Washington's maternal grandfather, Nicholas Martiau.[62]

Britain's New England colonies were another destination for the refugees during the seventeenth century and Huguenots could be found in several towns in Massachusetts as well as in Rhode Island and Connecticut. The most popular destination, however, was Boston. Before 1660 their numbers throughout the region and in Boston were negligible, then as persecution mounted in France, the Huguenot migration resumed with greater force than ever before. By the mid 1680's, Boston had received as many as 100 refugee families, most of whom had emigrated from London, although some had settled first in the French West Indies (where they had been allowed to migrate until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes) or South Carolina. They arrived when Boston was in the midst of turmoil following the vacating of the Massachusetts charter in 1684 and the creation of the Dominion of New England in 1686. At the same time, the Puritan clergy were attacking the state of malaise in Massachusetts religion. The émigrés were welcomed by the Puritan clergy as a salient example of the precarious state of reformed beliefs and practices and of the need for constant vigilance in religious matters. At the same time, they were feared by some Bostonians as possible "French Catholics in disguise who were sent by the Antichrist to multiply the colony's woes."[63]

The enticements of Boston, when compared to the rest of New England, were many. The city was an important port with a deep harbor that offered commercial opportunities for Huguenot merchants. It was an intellectual center, with cultural and educational facilities. In addition, Boston had been spared from the brunt of epidemics

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and Indian attacks that plagued the rest of New England. Since the Huguenots had been favorably received in England, some of the refugees may have assumed that the predominantly English population of Boston and the Congregational system of church government that was similar to the polity of the French churches would ensure them a hospitable environment. "Boston's reputation as the capital of New World Protestantism probably encouraged some French Protestants to settle there, just as it probably encouraged some Bostonians to welcome them. On the other hand, Boston's relative homogeneity in religion and nationality may have smothered the small refugee population's cohesion and sustained resistance to conformity." [64]

Nevertheless, there were serious drawbacks to Boston that may have prevented more Huguenots from choosing this as a place of migration. The climate was harsher than that of the Middle or Southern colonies and certainly more so than that of France. The colony, as stated previously, was in a state of turmoil in the late seventeenth century. Finally, non-Congregationalists were supposed to be barred from voting or holding office. Nevertheless, Boston's Selectmen regularly allowed Huguenots to vote.[65] Moreover, several Huguenots were elected as city constables beginning in 1704--a surprisingly early integration into Boston's political affairs.[66]

Likewise, Huguenots quickly entered into Boston's economic life. André and Benjamin Faneuil (of Boston and New York, respectively) built one of the largest merchant firms in the mainland colonies. André's heir, Peter Faneuil, funded the construction of the two-story meeting hall and marketplace that would be named Faneuil Hall in honor of his generosity. Moreover, the estate of Pierre Bowdoin made him one of

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the wealthiest merchants in Boston and the prominence of his descendants led to the naming of Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine.[67]

Not only were the Huguenots rapidly embraced into the economic and political life of Boston, but they were also, quite literally, embraced in marriage with Boston's English residents. Initially French men were more likely than were women to take a non-Huguenot spouse; but after 1730, the ratio began to equalize.[68]

The French church in Boston experienced defections as early as the 1690's, when the congregation experienced several ministerial crises. Most of those who left joined Congregational churches, such as Cotton Mather's Second Church. From 1696 to 1715 the church entered a period of stability with the installation as pastor of Pierre Daillé, former minister of the French Church in New York. The major problem for the church during Daillé's tenure was difficulty in paying him an adequate salary. Daillé even applied to the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for a supplement, but was rejected because he lacked Anglican ordination and served a nonconformist congregation. He probably obtained aid from several wealthy Huguenot merchants, including the aforementioned André Faneuil and James Bowdoin, which enabled him to remain as pastor of the French church in Boston until his death in 1715.[69] After Daillé's death, he was quickly replaced by a young minister, André le Mercier. Originally from Normandy, le Mercier studied theology and was ordained in Geneva, then after going to London, he was recruited for the Boston church by André Faneuil. At this time a new building was constructed for the French Church. However, this was not a clear-cut indicator of the overall health of the church. Some Huguenots were married in other local churches, and the offspring of exogamous marriages were, more often than not, baptized

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in these other churches. At the same time, leading Huguenot merchants were making contributions to a variety of Protestant churches.[70] Then because of plummeting revenues, in 1748 the French church in Boston disbanded after the building was sold to another congregation. Jon Butler singles out this year as marking the demise of the Huguenots as a distinct group in Boston.[71]

Of the approximately 2,000 Huguenots who chose to settle in British North America, nearly one-half went to what would become South Carolina.[72] The overwhelming majority who removed to South Carolina had originally fled to England where they were actively recruited to help settle the new colony. Bertrand van Ruymbeke, one of the most recent students of the Huguenot migration to South Carolina, indicated several factors accounting for the strong appeal of this location. Carolina was entering its most active period of colonization during the 1670's and 1680's, at a time when the Lords Proprietors were investing more funds and pursuing a more effective policy to lure much-needed settlers to the area. Moreover, economic opportunities were real, including the possibility of land ownership. The Lords Proprietors were also quite tolerant in religious matters and promised freedom of worship. In addition, the notion of a "Carolina" settlement was not completely alien to the Huguenots who undoubtedly had read accounts of the earlier endeavors at Charlesfort and Fort Caroline where their forebears had been martyred. Indeed, the Lords Proprietors conducted an advertising campaign that was directly aimed at the Huguenots whom they believed to be hard-working, fairly well-educated, and indebted to England for giving them refuge. Further, they were presumed to be a docile and pliant population, accustomed to privations and hardships. Most importantly, the Huguenots were sought after for their

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expertise in essential trades. These French-language promotional pamphlets described South Carolina as having an ideal climate, fertile soil, luxurious vegetation, and a form of democratic rule. They neglected to mention Spanish and Indian threats, extremely hot summers, lethal epidemics of malaria, and alligators. On the other hand, since about half of the Huguenots who migrated to South Carolina hailed from the French Atlantic provinces of Aunis, Saintonge, and Poitou, they were already familiar with low-lying, mosquito-infested marshes and malaria.[73] In additon to touting the aforementioned advantages of South Carolina, the promotional literature emphasized the abundant economic opportunities of which the colonists could avail themselves. In view of this, van Ruymbeke has argued that the Huguenot migration to South Carolina was largely for economic rather than religious reasons.[74]

Huguenots began to arrive in South Carolina as early as 1679 and significant numbers continued to emigrate to this colony until the end of the century. South Carolinian life in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries provides a highly distinctive contrast to life in Boston during the same period. While Boston's economy was rooted in trade and commerce, South Carolina's lay primarily in agriculture. While the importance of slavery was negligible for Boston, it soon became the economic lifeblood of South Carolina. Moreover, as early as 1700, two of three surviving South Carolina Huguenot estate inventories included slaves.[75] Whereas Boston was infused by austere religiosity, South Carolina pulsed with materialistic opulence and sensuality. As such, laymen, rather than clergymen, predominated in the early refugee settlements in South Carolina. Furthermore, the colony lacked a permanent Huguenot minister until the mid-1690's.[76]

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Despite their prior training and experience in artisanal skills and commerce, many Carolina Huguenots turned to agriculture as a means of subsistence. Undoubtedly they were able to make this transition fairly easily as most were young and therefore had not invested substantial numbers of years in a nonagricultural occupation. Additionally, they had migrated from predominantly agricultural regions in France and probably had some familiarity with farming methods. Another factor to be considered is that the Proprietors gave very generous land grants to settlers, such grants must have enticed some away from their previous trades, particularly in view of the fact that the wine and silk-making industries, for which the Huguenots had been recruited, did not prove as lucrative or successful as expected. Once they became involved in agriculture, Huguenots were just as likely to rely on slave labor, as were non-Huguenots in South Carolina. Those Huguenots who did not become farmers and planters engaged in a wide variety of occupations, including teaching, metal-working, beer-brewing, and candy-making, to name a few. Huguenots also dominated the silversmith trade in Charlestown for most of the colonial period.[77]

Although the Huguenots enjoyed broad liberties in South Carolina prior to 1697, the Naturalization Act of that same year was a significant milestone as it "drew a crucial distinction between *de facto* and *de jure* liberties. Memory of the misuse of law in France and recent, if limited, outbreaks of anti-Huguenot sentiment in South Carolina led them to seek all the legal devices they might claim to protect the property and position they had obtained in the colony since 1680." Even those who had already become denizens in London registered themselves for naturalization after passage of this Act. While naturalization could not banish all anti-Huguenot prejudice from the colony, it protected

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their property, ensured voting privileges, and facilitated assimilation.[78] Indeed some Huguenots were contracting exogamous marriages as early as the 1720's. Unlike the exogamous unions in Boston, however, Huguenot women were more likely to marry outside their ethnic group than were Huguenot men, with this tendency being the most marked in the 1720's and then once again in the 1760's.[79]

In addition to their rapid entry into South Carolina's political and economic life, Huguenots were being absorbed into the colony's elite society as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, there were some Huguenot refugees who defied this general pattern of material prosperity and who either remained or became poor. As was typical of the majority of indigent English settlers at the time, the extremely poor Huguenots were women with dependent children.[80]

By the time of the American Revolution, persons of Huguenot ancestry could be found all over South Carolina. Nevertheless, the largest numbers of Huguenots and their descendants were concentrated in Charleston (originally Charles Town). It was in Charleston that the only independent French Reformed congregation in the colonies has survived, albeit tenuously, until the present day.[81] In addition to the Charleston church, four French congregations were founded prior to 1706: St. James, Goose Creek, St. James, Santee, Orange Quarter and, St. John's, Berkeley. St. James, Santee, at its own request, accepted Anglican conformity in 1706; the remaining churches (excluding Charleston) were absorbed into the Church of England soon after. Several factors accounted for these changes: growing use of the English language particularly among the second generation; desire to fit-in and no longer be viewed as foreigners; feelings of indebtedness to England; and the very practical difficulty of finding, paying, and keeping

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a suitable French Reformed pastor. Anglican conformity provided the refugee churches with clergymen as well as funds to help pay them and to build and maintain churches. Arthur Henry Hirsch argues that Anglican conformity was a result of economic, social, and ecclesiatical pressure.[82] Nevertheless, the research of Hirsch and others has demonstrated that for most Huguenot laymen, conformity was not imposed without dissent or struggle and that certain Reformed practices endured after conformity.[83] The most salient evidence in this regard is a 1713 report to the Bishop of London on the state of the church in South Carolina by Commissary Gideon Johnston, who wrote:

> And I found Mr. Thomas, [a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel who occupied the parish of St. James, Goose Creek from 1702 to 1706] who died before I arrived there, made as bold with the canons and Rubrick, as People would have him. For he baptized with and without the sign of the Cross, Godfathers and Godmothers, and would administer the Communion kneeling, sitting, or standing as People would have him. By this means, tho' he never made one true Convert to the Church, that I could hear of, yet it is certain he wonderfully ingratiated himself with our half faced Church-men and dissenters, who cried him up, according to their usual Cant, for a peaceable and moderate Person. But whatever injury he did the Church of England, by thus playing fast and loose with the Canons and Rubrick, yet the greatest mischief of all was, that some of the clergy observing the reputation he had acquired among the populace, by these base and unlawful condescensions, were too easily prevailed upon to follow his Example.[84]

Later in his report Johnston specifies those persons in the colony who neglected the practices of the Church of England: James Gignilat (the Swiss pastor of St. James, Santee in 1710), John La Pierre (the French pastor of the French church in Charles Town from 1712-1713), and Claude Philippe de Richebourg (Gignilat's French successor). These pastors argued that the conforming churches in England were allowed "to use the English or Geneva liturgy indifferently according as their people would have it."[85] Even after being reproached, they continued to make use of the Geneva way.[86] Most protests had all

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but disappeared by the 1720's, save for a handful of Huguenots who continued to refuse Anglican communion, who requested a Calvinist funeral (which was sometimes difficult in the absence of a Reformed cleric), or who insisted on burial in the cemetery of the French Church in Charleston even if the funeral had been performed by an Anglican clergyman.[87] Although the Charleston congregation managed to maintain its independent existence, it was not unaffected by ministerial problems and by loss of members to other churches or who abandoned religion altogether. Its history in the 1770's and later has been a spotty one, marked by temporary closures and even by physical destruction of the building. The building that stands at present dates from 1845 and serves largely as a memorial church whose "members" gather each October to commemorate the 1685 revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[88]

Some Huguenots chose to settle in less typical locations and during the eighteenth century and French Protestants could be found in every one of Great Britain's North American colonies. Indeed, several hundred Huguenots moved one or more times following their initial arrival in North America. For example, after the colony of Georgia was established in the 1730's, some prominent Carolina Huguenots, including Cornelius du Pont and Henry Laurens, either relocated to this area or became absentee owners of plantations in Georgia while they remained residents of South Carolina. Despite this wide dispersion, the major Huguenot settlements were centered in Massachusetts, particularly Boston, South Carolina, and New York.

New Jersey and Pennsylvania both offered religious policies that were as tolerant as those of New York. Nevertheless, neither colony attracted numbers of Huguenot refugees comparable to those that flocked to nearby New York.[89] In this connection, it

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seems plausible to argue that since some French-speaking Protestants had previously migrated to New York when it was the Dutch colony of New Netherland, this must have been a decisive factor. In addition, New York City's growing significance as a port and commercial center as well as the relative religious, ethnic, and economic diversity of the colony as a whole may have influenced decisions to settle there. These factors helped to make New York one of the most popular North American destinations for Huguenots.

NOTES

1. The most important contemporary study of the Huguenots in North America is Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983). Comprehensive and fairly recent studies of the European refuges can be found in Myriam Yardeni, *Le Refuge Protestant* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985) and M. Magdelaine and R. von Thadden, ed. *Le Refuge Huguenot* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1985). Yardeni briefly mentions the English and Dutch colonies in the Americas and South Africa. All three of these works focus on the second refuge of the revocation era. While much research still needs to be done regarding the Huguenot experience in England, those who have endeavored to do so have not neglected the Elizabethan-era refugees of the late sixteenth century. One of the best of these studies is Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: the History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985). A slightly more recent, but narrower study is Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement, 1550-1700.* (Cambridge: University Press, 1991).

2. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, 1.

3. Edith Weber, "L'Hymnologie Huguenote, Origine et evolution dans les Pays du 'Refuge'," *Cahiers de sociologie aeconomique et culturelle, ethnopsychologie* (June 1987): 122. Charles Littleton describes members of the French Church in London as having "one foot in England and one foot back on the Continent" in "Social interactions of aliens in late Elizabethan London: evidence from the 1593 Return and the French Church consistory 'actes'," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 26, 2 (1995): 151. Likewise, Andrew Spicer points out the slowness of assimilation due to linguistic differences and continued personal and economic links to the continent during the first refuge in "A Process of Gradual Assimilation: the Exile Community in Southampton, 1562-1635," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britian and Ireland* 26, 2 (1995): 186-97.

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4. Ragnhild Hatton, "Louis XIV and the Revocation of Nantes," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 24, 4 (1986): 296-302.

5. Robin Gwynn, "Disorder and Innovation: The Reshaping of the French Churches of London After the Glorious Revolution," *From Persection to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, ed. O. P. Grell, J. I. Israel, and N. Tyacke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 269-70.

6. The concept of a Protestant International has been examined by J. F. Bosher in "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 52, 1 (January 1995): 77-102. Bosher (p. 93) argues that "for the average Huguenot merchant, religion was stronger than nationality, and he was usually ready to link his fate with American, Dutch, English, or any other Protestant merchant." Accordingly, he built his life and business upon partnerships in marriage and in trade with fellow Protestants.

7. For a translation and analysis of some extant escape accounts see Carolyn Lougee Chappell, "The Pains I Took to Save My/His Family": Escape Accounts by a Huguenot Mother and Daughter after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes." *French Historical Studies* 22,1 (Winter 1999): 1-64. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, 91-94, gives a brief overview of the perils of escape.

8. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, 3-4, highlights some of these hostilities.

9. Gwynn provides a good introduction to Huguenot contributions in English crafts and trades. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-78. Also see Roger Howell, Jr., "'The Vocation of the Lord': Aspects of the Huguenot Contribution to the English-Speaking World," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 56, 2 (1987): 133-51.

10. Remy Scheurer, "Passage, Accueil et Integration Des Réfugiés Huguenots en Suisse" *Refuge Huguenot*, ed. Magdelaine and von Thadden, 61.

11. Yardeni, *Refuge Protestant*, 86.

12. Scheurer, "Passage, Accueil et Integration," 47.

13. *Ibid.*, 60-62.

14. *Ibid.* 57, 62.

15. Yardeni, *Refuge Protestant*, 66.

16. Hans Bots and Rene Bastiaanse, "Le Refuge Huguenot et les Provinces-Unies, Une Esquisse Sommaire," *Refuge Huguenot*, 64; Yardeni, *Refuge* Protestant, 66.

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17. Yardeni, *Refuge Protestant*, 69; Bots and Bastiaanse, "Refuge Huguenot et les Provinces-Unies," 66.

18. Yardeni, *Refuge Protestant*, 66, 69.

19. Bots and Bastiaanse, "Refuge Huguenot et les Provinces-Unies," 67.

20. Yardeni, *Refuge Protestant*, 102-103, estimated the overall exodus to be 250,000 to 300,000 persons, Philip Benedict, on the other hand, estimated the number to be about 200,000, including 20,000 from the first refuge and 160,000 to 180,000 during the second refuge. *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600-1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority.* (Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 81, Pt. 5, 1991), 44. Gwynn placed the number that went to the South African Cape of Good Hope at 400. *Huguenot Heritage*, 24.

21. Bots and Bastiaanse, "Refuge Huguenot et les Provinces-Unies," 78-81.

22. Michelle Magdelaine, "Francfort-sur-le-Main, Plaque Tournante de Refuge," *Refuge Huguenot*, 31.

23. Jacob Leisler, who was executed for treason in New York in 1691 for his involvement in a rebellion, was born in Frankfurt to the Reverend Jacob Victorian Leisler, a French Reformed pastor of a refugee congregation in that city. The papers of both Leislers are being edited and translated by David William Voorhees at New York University.

24. Magdelaine, "Francfort-sur-le-Main," 36.

25. Included in these figures are some French-speaking peoples who may not have come from France proper, including Belgian Walloons and Swiss Reformed. Yardeni, p. 75. It is not unlikely that some of these "Walloons" and "Swiss" were the children or grandchildren of Huguenots from the first refuge.

26. Yardeni, *Refuge Protestant*, 76-81; Jurgen Wilke, "Statut et Pratiques Judiciaires des Huguenots en Brandebourg-Prusse (1685-1809)," *Refuge Huguenot*, 111-13.

27. Yardeni, *Refuge Protestant*, 143.

28. *Ibid.*, 150.

29. *Ibid.*, 151-54.

30. *Ibid.*, 153.

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31. Thomas Klingebiel, "L'Allemagne du Refuge, Tensions Confessionnelles et Reforme Religieuse," *Refuge Huguenot*, 102.

32. Catherine Yon, "Le Refuge a la Campagne, L'Exemple de la Hesse," *Refuge Huguenot*, 143-45.

33. Yardeni, *Refuge Protestant*, 85.

34. Yardeni, "Refuge et Integration, le Cas d'Erlangen," *Refuge Huguenot*, 161.

35. *Ibid.*, 175.

36. Yardeni, *Refuge Protestant*, 92-93.

37. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, 24.

38. *Ibid.*, 30-31. These numbers include both French-speaking and Dutch-speaking refugees and include the somewhat amorphous group known as Walloons. The numbers would have been even larger by the 1590's except for the fact that the late 1570's and 1580's were plague years in southeastern England.

39. *Ibid.*, 35-36.

40. *Ibid.*, 38-40.

41. *Ibid.*, 58

42. Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: the Rise of English Arminianism, 1590-1640* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987; Clarendon Press, 1991) offers an exhaustive examination of the evolution of beliefs and practices in the Church of England during these crucial years.

43. Ole Peter Grell, "The French and Dutch Congregations in London in the Early Seventeeth Century," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 24, 5 (1987): 372-75.

44. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, 56, 94.

45. Cottret, *Huguenots in England*, 265-67.

46. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, 57.

47. Cottret, *Huguenots in England*, 178.

48. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, 99.

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49. Spicer, "A Process of Gradual Assimilation," 190.

50. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage*, 57.

51. *Ibid.*, 58.

52. Cottret, *Huguenots in England*, 190-91.

53. Grace Lawless Lee, *The Huguenot Settlers in Ireland.* (Cambridge, Mass: Clearfield Pub., 1936; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1993) Quote is from a 1697 letter to the Right Honorable Robert Molesworth on "The True Way to Render Ireland Happy and Secure" and appears on p. 256 of the 1993 edition.

54. John McGrath, "Polemic and History in French Brazil, 1555-1560," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (Summer 1996): 385-97.

55. Bertrand van Ruymbeke, "The Huguenot Emigration from the French Perspective," *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (1992), 21. For further discussion of Huguenot attempts to settle both Brazil and Florida in the sixteenth century, see Frank Lestringant "Geneva and America in the Renaissance: the Dream of the Huguenot Refuge, 1555-1600," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 26,2 (1995): 285-95.

56. Edith Janet Sloan, "Perilous Early Canada," *Huguenot Refugees in the Settling of Colonial America*, ed. Peter Steven Gannon (New York: Huguenot Society of America, 1985), 75-88.

57. Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1885), 2:166.

58. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 57.

59. van Ruymbeke, "Huguenot Emigration," 23.

60. Jane Hawkes Liddell, "Why Huguenots Flocked to the Carolinas," *Huguenot Refugees*, 248.

61. Gabrielle Maupin Bielenstein, "How Huguenots Fared in Virginia," *Huguenot Refugees*, 90-91.

62. *Ibid.*, 96. For a more detailed discussion see Allison Wehr Elterich, *The Diligence and Disappearance of Manakintowne's Huguenots* (1999; reprint, Spartanburg, South Carolina: Reprint Company Publishers, 2000).

63. Butler, *Huguenots in* America, 73-74.

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64. *Ibid.*, 71.

65. *Ibid.*, 74.

66. *Ibid.*, 80.

67. *Ibid.* Some information has also been obtained from Elizabeth Gardner Hayward, Jane Hawkes Liddell, and Corinne Ingraham Pigott "Challenges in Salem, Boston, New Oxford, and Narragansett," *Huguenot Refugees*, 102-126.

68. Butler, *Huguenots in* America, 83-84.

69. *Ibid.*, 77-79.

70. *Ibid.*, 83-85.

71. *Ibid.*, 72, 89.

72. Bertrand van Ruymbeke, "Le refuge huguenot en Caroline du Sud: terre d'exil ou terre promise?" *Bulletin de la Soçiaetae de L'histoire du Protestantisme Français* 141 (avril-juin 1995): 206.

73. Bertrand van Ruymbeke, "The Huguenot Emigration from the French Perspective" *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (1992): 26-27.

74. van Ruymbeke, "Le refuge huguenot," 194-206.

75. Butler, *Huguenots in* America, 101.

76. *Ibid.*, 93.

77. *Ibid.*, 95-101, 131.

78. *Ibid.*, 104.

79. *Ibid.*, 106-107, 132.

80. *Ibid.*, 126-27.

81. *Ibid.*, 141-43.

82. Arthur Henry Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1928; reprint, with a new introduction by Bertrand van Ruymbeke, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 91-94.

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83. Arthur Henry Hirsch, "Some Phases of the Huguenot-Anglican Rivalries in South Carolina Before 1730," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 13 (1928-29): 1-22; Butler, *Huguenots in* America, 116-120; Amy Friedlander, ed., "Commissary Johnston's Report, 1713," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (1982): 259-71.

84. Friedlander, "Johnston's Report," 260.

85. *Ibid.*, 267.

86. *Ibid.*, 262-63.

87. Hirsch, *Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 91; Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 139.

88. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 141-43.

89. For further information on the Huguenots in New Jersey see Timothy Field Beard, "Complexities in New Jersey," *Huguenot Refugees*, 183-93; for Pennsylvania see William Buchanan Gold, "Havens in Pennsylvania and Delaware," *Huguenot Refugees*, 205-16.

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Part Two

NEW PALTZ, 1677-1776

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Three

THE HUGUENOT SETTLEMENT OF NEW PALTZ

THE ROAD TO NEW PALTZ

The founders of the village of New Paltz in Ulster County were among those French-speaking Protestants who arrived in the New World prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Like the Huguenots who left France after the revocation, they spent several years in a European place of refuge before coming to North America. Unlike most of those who left France after 1685, the founders of New Paltz came from cities such as Calais and Lille, located in the border regions of France and the Spanish Netherlands (present-day Belgium and the Département du Nord in France), rather than from Huguenot strongholds in southwestern France. The French-speaking inhabitants of these northern regions, which were not always part of the French royal domain, were usually called Walloons. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the borderlands were wracked by a prolonged war between Spain and the Netherlands, as the latter was trying to win independence from the Spanish Habsburgs. In 1609, after more than forty years of conflict, the predominantly Protestant, Dutch-speaking northern provinces of the Netherlands secured their *de facto* independence.

The southern provinces, primarily Roman Catholic, remained under the control of Spain and were called the Spanish Netherlands. Calvinism, however, had secured

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converts among some of the French-speaking inhabitants of that region, leading to the formation of Walloon churches there as early as 1563. French-speaking Protestants in the Spanish Netherlands endured brutal repressions in the late sixteenth century that continued into the seventeenth century. Likewise, Reformed Protestants in France faced intermittent persecutions in the late sixteenth century and a full-scale onslaught in the 1620's. Starting in the 1630's, the borderlands were plagued by French-Spanish military conflicts so that parts of the provinces of Picardy, Artois, and Flanders were transferred back-and-forth between the embattled powers for the rest of the century.[1] (Please refer to Map 3 for the locations of these provinces.)

During these times of war-torn unrest, Protestants left the borderlands seeking safe-havens in Protestant Europe. The most obvious choices were England, which lay directly across the Channel and included the French-speaking islands of Jersey and Guernsey, or the independent northern Netherlands, which could also be reached by a water route. At the time when these people wanted to migrate, the English political situation was in flux: the King had been executed in 1649 and the monarchy would not be restored until 1660. Prior English monarchs had guaranteed protection for foreign religious refugees, but the uncertain atmosphere during the Cromwellian period did not create an attractive choice for people in search of safety and security from persecution. After 1648 they were given another option--the German Palatinate (*Die Pfalz*). However, getting to the Palatinate was a major deterrent, since they would have to take an overland route through hostile territory. Nevertheless, in addition to the "push" factor of persecution, there was a significant "pull" factor to draw them to this state.[2] At the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War some German states were particularly devastated;

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the Palatinate was one of them. It was also a state where free exercise of Reformed Protestantism was guaranteed under the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. The Elector Palatine was very eager to repopulate his state, particularly with Reformed Protestants who had skills in essential trades. He gave French-speaking Protestants who settled in the Palatinate an offer that was hard for them to refuse, including tax breaks, exemptions from military service, and assurances that if they wished to leave within the next twenty years that they could do so without any penalties or loss of assets.[3] Among the French-speaking Protestants who availed themselves of this generous and mutually-beneficial arrangement were the future founders of New Paltz. They arrived in the Palatinate at different times between 1650 and 1672 and clustered in cities, particularly Mannheim.[4]

As much as they were grateful for the privileges they enjoyed in the Palatinate, some of these refugees would uproot themselves once again in search of a new home in North America. Why they decided to do so is not certain, but it may have been because they feared the ongoing aggressions of Louis XIV: indeed, the French king tried to become the Elector Palatine in 1685. Perhaps fearing a repeat of their experiences in the borderlands and the frightful implications for them if the French should ever invade their new home, some Huguenots began to leave. Popular and anecdotal histories of New Paltz, many of which have been written by Huguenot descendants, frequently attribute the second migration to North America as stemming from a desire to preserve intact their language, customs, and religion.[5] However, in view of Myriam Yardeni's research on Huguenots in the German states, this explanation by itself is not entirely convincing. Yardeni has argued that French Protestants in the Palatinate and in other German states

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that actively recruited them, were able to preserve their language and cultural traditions longer than elsewhere because of the unique privileges they were afforded.[6] Kenneth Hasbrouck, a local historian of New Paltz and a descendant of one of its founding families, has pointed out that none of the founders ever placed the names of their parents in family Bibles. He speculates that they were well-known persons, perhaps of noble background, who hesitated to do so out of fear of French reprisals should they be apprehended. Even in North America they neglected to record this information as it was still possible that France might gain control of the British colonies.[7] Hasbrouck also postulated that the frequent variations in the spelling of family names may have been done to disguise their backgrounds.[8] What we can say with certainty about their backgrounds is that they were free men and women who came to North America without any obligations of indenture or outside assistance.

Although the founders of New Paltz shared ties of kinship or friendship before coming to America, they did not all arrive at the same time as one group, but rather as separate family units of husband, wife, and offspring during the 1660's and 1670's.[9] In this way they resembled the South Carolina Huguenots who also migrated as family units. Bertrand van Ruymbeke has pointed out that seventy percent of those Huguenots who went to South Carolina arrived as families.[10] The Huguenot migration likewise shared affinities with the earlier Puritan migration in that most arrived as families, or that family members soon came after the arrival of the male head. This pattern sharply contrasts with the settlement of the Chesapeake Bay Region where young, single males predominated for most of the seventeenth century as has been demonstrated by the research of Carr and Walsh.[11]

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The first group of future founders of New Paltz arrived in New Amsterdam in April 1660 aboard a Dutch ship called the "Gilded Otter." The party included Antoine Crispell and his first wife Maria Blanchan, her father Matthew Blanchan, and several other members of the Blanchan family. Louis Du Bois and his wife, Catherine Blanchan, who was Maria's sister and the daughter of Matthew, arrived with their two young sons, either with the others or in the following year. They had left the Palatinate for the Netherlands, which then became their point of departure for the New World. Some of the other Huguenot families chose a different route of departure. The Hasbrouck, Deyo, and Bevier families departed from London and arrived in Boston in 1675.[12] By that year all of the founders had arrived in the New World.

Whether their point-of-entry was New Amsterdam/New York or Boston, they encountered welcoming environments. French-speaking Protestants had been living in New Amsterdam for several decades. Like the newest arrivals, these French-speaking Protestants came from the borderlands of France and the Spanish Netherlands, but they had migrated first to the northern Netherlands, rather than the Palatinate, and then to New Amsterdam as the Dutch were establishing a colony there. The latest migrants encountered an atmosphere that was ethnically diverse and religiously tolerant, at least for Reformed Protestants. Even after the British conquest in 1664, New York remained tolerant and diverse, perhaps becoming even more so than under the administration of Peter Stuyvesant. There were plentiful job opportunities in a variety of occupations. The other point-of-entry, Boston, was less diverse in religion and ethnicity than was New York, but Boston was regarded as the capital of New World Protestantism and the Puritans, like the Huguenots were Calvinists. Nevertheless, the future founders did not

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choose to remain in either New York or Boston and within a few weeks or months they moved on to Wiltwyck (Kingston) which was situated on the Hudson River approximately halfway between New Amsterdam and Fort Orange (Albany). At that time, Kingston was predominantly Dutch in population, language, and culture and would remain that way well into the eighteenth century. Once again, the future founders may have moved to this more remote area in the hopes of greater security and of clustering together with friends and kin who had shared a similar path of migration from the borderlands to the Palatinate and, finally, to the New World.

The occupations of the New Paltz founders before their arrival in New York are not known, although the genealogical records which, for the most part, are compiled by descendants, usually argue that they were of noble background and that because of their prominence, they feared reprisals by the French.[13] But one did not have to be a noble to fear seizure by the French government. The prosperous Huguenot merchant, Elias Neau had left France prior to the revocation and taken-up residence in New York where he received papers of denization. Perhaps feeling a false sense of security, Neau visited Europe on a business trip where he was apprehended and as a consequence, was consigned to galley slavery. Eventually his release was negotiated by the English government and Neau returned to New York.[14] The fear of capture must have been very real for any Huguenot who left France either before or after the revocation, after all, how can one's language or accent be disguised? Even in North America Huguenots were not entirely free of threats of capture by the French. More on this subject later.

While the likelihood that they were of noble blood is not impossible, it is improbable for several reasons. After the 1620's the military power of the Huguenot

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noblesse d'épée (nobles of the sword) was significantly weakened and they were no longer a significant force within the Huguenot movement. By this time the urban middle classes, particularly merchants and artisans, were dominating the movement. It was extremely costly for a member of the old military nobility to leave France. Such individuals typically possessed land as opposed to liquid assets. Emigration for these nobles would mean loss of livelihood in addition to their lands, unless the nobleman was granted a high-level position in the army as was the case in Brandenburg-Prussia for refugees of the military nobility. For the *noblesse de robe* (nobles of the robe), who possessed jobs in the government bureaucracy, emigration would mean loss of occupation and prestige. Raymond Mentzer, who has studied Protestant noble families in seventeenth-century France, has argued that the male heads of noble families were more likely to abjure and convert to Roman Catholicism in order to retain their land or government positions. Meanwhile, they continued to exercise their Protestant religious beliefs in private while the affiliations of other family members remained intact.[15] In contrast, because of their desirable, marketable skills, merchants and artisans were usually welcomed and even recruited by Protestant heads-of-state who hoped to improve their own economies and manufactures. Moreover, merchants had the added advantages of greater freedom of movement, with business and other connections outside of France, and with more flexibility in transferring capital. All of these factors would facilitate their exodus from France and resettlement elsewhere. J. F. Bosher has called these connections the "Protestant International." Bosher described the typical Huguenot merchant as someone who built "his life and business upon partnerships in marriage and in trade with fellow Protestants. . .[and who] was usually ready to link his fate with American, Dutch,

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English, or any other Protestant merchant." Those merchants who remained in France often "survived within the communities of foreign Protestants in certain French ports where, by diplomatic negotiation, Lutheran, Anglican, or Dutch Reformed churches were permitted."[16] Bosher's work provides a contextual understanding for Huguenot exogamy and even for transfers of religious affiliation in both Europe and America.

One piece of the puzzle that does not fit the merchant and artisan theory is the fact that the New Paltz founders moved away from the commercial hub of New York which would have offered them greater opportunities to carry on their occupations. Although they settled in close proximity to the Hudson River, they were still too distant from New York to effectively ply these trades. Instead they removed to what was then a relatively remote, rural area that was largely dependent on farming. However, they were not the only Huguenots in British North America who followed this pattern: most Huguenots in Staten Island and New Rochelle farmed, as well as a majority of those who settled in South Carolina (with the exception of Charles Town). In doing so they showed themselves willing and able to adopt new and different lifestyles and occupations.

Another characteristic that would have facilitated their adjustment to a new lifestyle and occupation was the fact that most Huguenots who came to the colonies were relatively young--couples in their twenties and early thirties or children who arrived as part of a family unit.[17] Most of the *émigrés*, therefore, were at a juncture in their lives when they could begin afresh in a new occupation. In contrast, older refugees or those in poor health were more likely to remain in a European location, rather than undertake the rigors of re-migration.[18] There are a few exceptions to this paradigm of young families in the settlement of New Paltz. Christian Deyo, one of the founders of New Paltz, was born

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around 1610 and migrated to New York in 1675 when he was sixty-five years-old. His five children, however, were born between 1644 and 1662, making them no older than thirty when they arrived in America. Louis Du Bois and his wife, Catherine Blanchan, were among the "older" migrants, thirty-four and thirty-one-years-old, respectively when they arrived in New Netherland with their two young sons, Abraham and Isaac. Antoine Crispell was twenty-five and his wife, Maria Blanchan, was twenty when they arrived in Wiltwyck (later known as Kingston) in 1660. The birth dates of Hugue Freer and his wife are unknown, but all of their children were born in the colonies after 1668, which implies that at least Marie Freer was young. Louis Bevier and his wife, Marie LeBlanc, were under thirty when they migrated. Simon Lefevre was no more than twenty-five when he arrived in Kingston and he did not marry Elizabeth Deyo until ten years later. The Hasbrouck brothers, Jean and Abraham, migrated separately in the 1670's when they were each about thirty-years-old.[19]

The tract of land on which Kingston was situated had been acquired from the Esopus Indians in 1652 by an Englishman, Thomas Chambers. The general area was presumed to be a safe haven for European settlers because the Esopus had recently signed a peace treaty with Peter Stuyvesant.[20] By the early 1660's European settlers, including the families of Louis Du Bois, Matthew Blanchan (father-in-law of Louis) and Antoine Crispell, moved to a place near Kingston that they called New Village (later Hurley). Here Louis and his father-in-law worked the land and jointly owned a distillery. In January 1663 Louis allegedly ran into difficulties with the commissioners in Kingston who feared that mischief would arise from his sales of "firewater" (liquor) to the

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Indians.[21] Despite the presumed risks of selling unlimited amounts of alcohol, European settlers would persist in doing so because of the substantial profits it generated.

Within a few months much more than mischief arose. The Esopus, who had not entered into any agreements to cede more land to Europeans, responded with a series of raids (that would become known as the Esopus Wars) on New Village and Kingston. During one of these raids in June of 1663, women and children were slaughtered, homes were burnt, and forty-five persons, mostly women and children, were taken captive. Among the captives were the wife and three young sons (Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob) of Louis Du Bois, Antoine Crispell's wife and child, and two children of Matthew Blanchan, Jr. They were safely recovered three months later by a search party of "210 [white] men, forty-one Indians, and seven negroes" led by Captain Martin Krygier. Krygier's official report does not include the names of the volunteers, but it is not implausible that Louis Du Bois and his brothers-in-law, Matthew Blanchan, Jr., and Antoine Crispell, were among those who joined the search for their family members, as Ralph Lefevre and the genealogists of the Du Bois and Crispell families have claimed. The report does not detail the exploits of any individuals in the search party, although it does describe the general pillage of Indian villages. Krygier tells us that by late September of 1663 the Esopus were nearly decimated: some twenty-seven or twenty-eight warriors, fifteen or sixteen women and a few children remained without any houses or huts. Nevertheless, they conducted one more raid on October 2. Seven days later, the twelve "savages" who still survived were sent to the "Manhattans."[22] Krygier does not say what fate awaited them in Manhattan, but enslavement is a possibility.[23] In his *History of New Paltz*, Ralph Lefevre related some additional details about the redemption of the captives and the

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derring-do exploits of Louis Du Bois as a member of the search party. For example, Lefevre tells us that when the search party found the captives they were about to be burnt at the stake by the Indians. The captives, however, had delayed their execution by singing Psalm 137, which "greatly pleased and distracted" the "savage red men," and thereby enabled the search party to rescue them. Lefevre also claims that Louis Du Bois went in advance of the party and slew an Indian after narrowly escaping severe injury or death.[24] None of these harrowing details were included in Krygier's report. Moreover, Krygier's report gives no indications that the captives had undergone any serious maltreatment, although his chronicling of the previously mentioned raid demonstrates that the Esopus were not averse to using violence and destruction under certain circumstances. Indeed, these stories would seem to contradict Krygier's report which stated that the Indians were busy constructing a fort when the search party came upon them, therefore, the details cited by Lefevre should be used with caution. In view of this information it is quite possible that these tales are merely fabrications passed-down by subsequent generations of patentee families wishing to embellish an already interesting story and, perhaps, to reinforce ongoing suspicions and wariness of the native inhabitants that was characteristic of the history and literature of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. The more recent field of memory studies can offer an alternative explanation of such embellishments. Marco Sioli, for example, has pointed out that memoirs of Huguenots living in frontier areas often equated their own experiences with Indians with the Huguenot persecutions by Catholics in France.[25]

One of the areas the party explored in search of their kidnapped relatives lay thirty miles to the southwest of Wiltwyck (Kingston) in the Shawangunk Mountain

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region. (Please refer to Map 2 for the general location of New Paltz.) On May 26, 1677 twelve Huguenot men purchased 39,683 acres of land from the Esopus Indians. Their purchase included all the land, hills, bodies of water, etc. that lay within the four corners of the patent which stretched from the high hills at Moggonk (Mohonk), then southeast toward the river to a point named Juffrous Hook, then north up along the River to the island called by the Indians Raphoes (Pell's Island), west toward the high hills to a place called Wanatahoes and Tawaentaqui (a point of white rocks in the Shawangunks near the Rosendale Plains) then along the high hills southwest to Moggonck.[26] It comprised all of the present-day town of Lloyd, about two-thirds of New Paltz, one-third of Esopus, and one-fourth of Rosendale.[27] In September of that year they received a formal patent for this land from Governor Edmond Andros. The twelve purchasers and founders of New Paltz, usually referred to as patentees, were Louis Du Bois, his two sons Abraham and Isaac, Christian Deyo, his son Pierre, brothers Jean and Abraham Hasbrouck, Louis Bevier, brothers Andre and Simon Lefevre, Antoine Crispell, and Hugue Freer.[28] Their contact with Governor Andros may have been facilitated by the fact that the one of the patentees, Abraham Hasbrouck, had served in the English army with Andros.[29] Under the terms of their patent, the patentees were obliged to pay "yearely and every yeare unto his Royal Highnesse use as an acknowledgement or Quitt Rent att the Redout in Esopus five bushells of good Winter Wheat unto such Officer or Officers as shall be empowered to receive the same." The patent also gave them liberty to open a "high way" between their holdings and Rondout Creek for their convenience.[30]

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RELATIONS WITH THE ESOPUS INDIANS

Histories of the founding of New Paltz, most of which have been written by local historians who are descendants of the patentees, have tended to romanticize this transaction. Ralph Lefevre, for one, argues that "the Paltz people honestly paid for the land and treated the Indians kindly."[31] Granted, the value of the goods that were exchanged for the land for *le nouveau Palatinat* appears to be more generous than the sum of money for which Manhattan was supposedly purchased, according to traditional tales.[32] Nevertheless, rather than attributing this allegedly fair deal to the moral superiority of the Huguenots over the Dutch, as Lefevre and Hasbrouck have suggested,[33] a more plausible expanation would be hard-headed realism. European women and children, including Huguenot family members, had recently been held hostage by the Indians because Europeans had overstepped the boundaries of their land. They obviously did not want to see a repeat performance of war and hostage-taking. The original contract for this deed of sale has been preserved and it contains the signatures or marks of the twelve Huguenot purchasers as well as the marks of the Indian signers. The goods that were exchanged for this land were as follows:

> 40 kettles, 10 large, 30 small: 40 axes; 40 adzes; 40 shirts; 300 fathoms of black network; 400 fathoms of white network; 60 pairs of stockings, half in small sizes; 100 bars of lead; 1 keg of powder; 100 knives; 4 kegs of wine; 40 oars; 40 pieces of duffle cloth; 60 blankets; 100 needles; 100 awls; 1 measure of tobacco; 2 horses, 1 stallion and 1 mare.[34]

This transaction must have been a mutually beneficial exchange, with the Huguenots acquiring the desired tract of land and the Indians obtaining many goods, particularly cloth and metal implements, that they themselves did not produce. In view of the fact that some of these Huguenot families had had first-hand experience of Indian wrath it seems

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surprising that they would supply them with goods that would facilitate war-making. However, this may have been the only way that the deal could have been negotiated. Allen Trealease has pointed out that the Esopus were initially reluctant to sell more land to Europeans. Indeed, Royal Governor Andros personally entered into the negotiating process in order to persuade the Esopus to cede more land. After the intercession of Andros, Indian resistance collapsed and the next day the Huguenots were permitted to negotiate directly with the Esopus to obtain a tract of land for New Paltz.[35] In light of this, it could be argued that the Indians had driven a hard bargain to acquire the tools necessary for their own protection. The Huguenots, likewise, must have had concerns for their own safety and well-being since their patent was a great distance from other white settlements, placing them outside the range where they could be easily protected by the English forces stationed in Kingston.[36] In view of the likelihood that their first homes may have been mere dugouts[37] and lacked nearby military protection, it made sense for the Huguenots to try to remain on reasonably good terms with the Esopus. When we consider that the 1703 population of New Paltz was only 130 persons, including sixty-nine children, we are confronted with a telling indicator of their weakness and vulnerability.[38]

Why were they willing to place themselves into such a vulnerable position when there were other places to live that offered protection, job opportunities, and even the chance to become involved in local government? Louis Du Bois, for example, was magistrate of the towns of Horly (Hurley) and Marbletown in the 1670's.[39] Descendants of the founders of New Paltz have long argued that their ancestors had a strong desire to preserve their French language and customs and because of this desire chose to remove

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themselves from the heavily Dutch Kingston and its surrounding environs.[40] Moving to a new area, untouched by the organizational structures of other Europeans also gave them a unique opportunity to forge out their own mechanisms and to be the masters of their own affairs in church and in local government rather than to be beholden to English or Dutch political structures or to the Dutch or English churches. In addition, the fact that they were able to peacefully acquire a substantial amount of land adjacent to the Hudson River may have been a decisive factor in their choice of location. The ways in which they actualized this desire for independent autonomy will be discussed more fully below.

While there is no evidence of major altercations between the Huguenots of New Paltz and the Esopus, a February 1683 petition to the Kingston courts requesting the purchase of more land, reveals that there must have been underlying tensions. In this petition, Louis Bevier and Jean and Abraham Hasbrouck inform the court that they "must keep a great fence between [them] and the Indians. . . ."[41] The following year another transaction took place with the Esopus. In exchange for merchandise worth the sum of ninety pounds, eleven shillings, and which included many of the same items as the last purchase, the Indians ceded approximately 5,000 acres of land "lying and being on the west side of Hudson's River beginning from the south side of ye land called Palls now Inhabited by Frenchmen and extending thence southerly to Hudson's River." Like the 1677 transaction this document contained the marks of the Indian negotiators.[42] After the 1684 transaction references to tense relationships with the Esopus recede from the record. Additional adjoining plots of land, each less than 3,000 acres, were purchased through colonial governors in 1715, 1721, 1748, and 1753.[43] However, there are no records of negotiations with the Indians for these transactions. Nevertheless some Esopus

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still remained in the area since the Minutes of the Board of Supervisors of Ulster County indicate that numerous bounties were paid to the Indians by the Board of Supervisors for killing wolves until at least 1727.[44]

What happened to those Indians who, in the 1670's and early 1680's, had seemed to be such a menacing presence to white Europeans? The pattern that European-Indian relations followed in Ulster County is not that different from patterns elsewhere in North America. Initially the Native inhabitants might have been helpful to the handful of settlers that arrived, presuming that these families had not come to wage war and hoping they might be of use in their struggles with other Native inhabitants, as was the case in Massachusetts. In the Chesapeake, the Powhatan Confederacy had initially operated from a base of power by selling vital foodstuffs to desperate and starving colonists who sickened and died of malaria and other environmentally-related illnesses almost as quickly as they arrived. After several decades of relatively peaceful cohabitation, these relationships soured. As increasing numbers of Europeans arrived demanding more and more land, the Indians would inevitably strike back, as they did in the Esopus Wars in New York and King Philip's War in Massachusetts which took place in the 1660's and 1670's. In the long-run the most devastating weapons of the white man were his diseases, particularly smallpox. The combined forces of war with Europeans and with other Indians, flight to other areas, and most importantly, infectious diseases (against which the Indians had no resistance) acted in concert to decimate Indian populations all along the Atlantic coastline. As Gary Nash has written, "hardly an Indian tribe in the eastern part of the continent escaped the dread disease [of smallpox]."[45] The native inhabitants of the Hudson Valley were no exception to the plague of disease. According to historian

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Edward Ruttenber, official reports in 1689 indicated that there were 250 River Indian warriors (those who like the Esopus lived in the Mid-Hudson Valley). By 1698 that number had decreased by nearly two-thirds to only ninety warriors.[46] In view of the foregoing it is plausible to conclude that Huguenot-Indian relations at the close of the seventeenth century were placid, not because of the benevolent and enlightened policies of these French settlers, but because the dramatically diminished numbers of Indians no longer posed a significant threat to the increasingly numerous Europeans.

The Indians were not the only potential threat that concerned the Huguenots in the 1680's and 1690's. Fears of a French invasion were a real and ongoing possibility throughout the colonial period. When Louis Du Bois was magistrate of the town of Hurley in the 1670's he reported to British officials that there were two Frenchmen in the town who refused to take the oath of allegiance. An official communication, dated June 5, 1674, reveals that the Frenchmen were to be ordered to depart "unless they take the oath of allegiance to the government and remain quiet in case of attack by their nation."[47] On December 30, 1689, Peter Reverdye wrote to the Bishop of London expressing fear that the French had a design on New York and that the 200 French families in New York will be "put to the torture if the French takes itt."[48] Certainly Reverdye's concern was more than hysterical hype, coming as it did in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution in England and the resumption of war between England and France in May 1689. Indeed, there exist French instructions for the invasion of New York, dated June 7, 1689, which contained the following order: "...send to France the French Refugees [found] there, particularly those of the pretended Reformed religion."[49] Moreover, France, as it engaged

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in a series of wars for empire with its arch-rival Great Britain, continued to be a potential threat to Huguenot security in the colonies into the 1760's.

CREATING A HOME IN THE WILDERNESS

As in the creation of any successful frontier settlement, the building of New Paltz must have required tremendous amounts of cooperation and hard-work. This labor was carried-out in incremental stages by whites as well as by growing numbers of slaves. (Slavery in New Paltz will be discussed in the following chapter.) Initially the land was held and worked in common. The staple crop was almost certainly wheat and this appears to have been a common medium of exchange in the area. For example, according to the terms of the New Paltz patent the annual quitrent was five bushels of good winter wheat.[50] Flax, which would be spun into thread and then woven into linen cloth, was also grown. In 1703, after working the land in common for twenty-five years, the land was divided into twelve portions and each patentee, or his designated descendant, drew lots to determine who would now own each plot of land. Consequently, individual deeds of land ownership were drawn-up as the owners and possessors of the patent were "desirous to convey to each partner his share of the land. . . ."[51] As more of the patentees died-off and some of their descendants moved away from New Paltz, further divisions of land would take place. To facilitate this process and to forestall disputes that would have to be adjudicated outside of New Paltz, an elected body was created, known as "The Twelve Men." The activities of this institution will be discussed more fully below.

Although the New Paltz patent was relatively large, the six homes that still stand on Huguenot Street today were situated quite close to one another. All the homes are

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within viewing distance of one another and a walk between the farthest points takes only two or three minutes. Undoubtedly this was done for security purposes, so they would be able to help one another and provide companionship. Their earliest homes, out of necessity, probably consisted of earthen dugouts, which were nothing more than a large square hole dug six or seven feet into the ground, with walls, and floors lined with timber and a wainscot ceiling.[52] After a year, or perhaps several years, the dugout would become the cellar for a one-room wood or stone structure erected on top of the dugout. Family traditions hold that most of the stone houses on Huguenot street date from the 1690's. If this is accurate, where did they live in the interim? Would they have remained in these crude dugouts for nearly twenty years? This arrangement seems highly unlikely for people of some means. An alternative explanation is that simple wooden structures were built on top of the dugouts and then torn down and replaced by stone. Yet another possibility is that the stone buildings were constructed ten or more years earlier than is commonly assumed. Regardless of the temporary living arrangements, these limestone and fieldstone homes, with walls some two feet thick, were made to last. Indeed, they are still standing on what may be the oldest street in America.

The stone homes began as one room structures that may have been built atop the dugout cellars. (Some of the homes, the Bevier for example, even had a sub-cellar.) The cellar area, which served as the original cooking, eating, sleeping, and living area, became the kitchen and eating area, and the room constructed on top became a bedroom for the entire family. Within a few years more rooms were added to the first floor, adjoining this family bedroom. There were two basic floor plans for these stone homes in New Paltz. The first, which according to architectural historian Helen Wilkinson

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Reynolds was typical of Dutch stone homes in Ulster County, had a hall in the center and one or two rooms on each side of the hall.[53] The second, which was not described by Reynolds but which is found in several New Paltz houses, consists of several rooms, usually three, connected railroad style whereby one must pass through one room to enter another room. In either case, a chimney was typically placed in the gable end or in the center of the edifice. This hearth, with the warmth it provided, was the center of family life, not just for cooking, but for sleeping as well. Grain was typically stored in the attic.[54] As room additions and renovations were made to the original structures over the next 250 years, descendants of the original settlers or their tenants continued to live on Huguenot Street into the twentieth century. Apparently this attachment to one locality was not unique to the Huguenots of Ulster County but was typical of other inhabitants of the area during the colonial period.[55]

One of the first of these stone dwellings to be built in New Paltz was the home of patentee Jean Hasbrouck. (figure 1) Constructed in stages between 1694 and 1712, it is a good example of medieval Flemish architecture and shares many of the features common to Dutch farmhouses in the Hudson Valley.[56] The ground floor consists of four rooms divided by a long central hallway. Below is a cellar and above is a huge loft or garret. There are several architecturally interesting characteristics of this house, including one surviving jambless fireplace in the ground floor kitchen. (figure 2) A jambless fireplace lacked sides, with the cooking being done on an open hearth under a large smoke hood.[57] Upon viewing this fireplace one is immediately aware of the tremendous difficulties and even dangers that cooking presented. Women would prepare food in long-handled frying pans and in heavy iron pots that were suspended over the fire. Their long dresses

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undoubtedly put them at risk of catching fire. Likewise crawling babies or toddlers would have encounteed life-threatening dangers if they strayed too close to the blazing hearth.

In the upper story was a loft, that served as a storage area for grain and other produce. This loft contains what may be the largest interior chimney in America, constructed out of locally made bricks. (figure 3) "The frame construction system for building the roof which spans the forty-two foot width of the house, may be unique. Certain elements of the framing are typical of Dutch barns found here, but some of the bracing does not follow Dutch, English or even German conventions. Questions arise as to whether this shows the development of a new truss design or whether this exhibits some other ethnic roots. . .[or] French influences."[58] The loft was so large that it has been speculated that the Jean Hasbrouck house may have also served as inn and that overnight guests may have slept in one of the two small rooms at one end of the loft. (figure 4) Another possibility is that this is where the family's slaves may have been housed if they were not kept in the cellar.

For most of the eighteenth and into part of the nineteenth century a busy store and tavern occupied the north side of the building.[59] The record books of this store are extant from 1749 to 1813, although the store may have been in operation for several decades before and after these dates. Entries were kept in French until around 1777 when Dutch entries began to appear. Most transactions were settled by barter which included payment in grains, animals, butter, fabric and skins, knitted clothing, a cart and a wagon. Until 1756, cash transaction amounts were recorded in francs and then in either francs or shillings. These account books indicate that many finished garments such as camisoles, culottes, suits, overcoats, gloves, and stockings were available for purchase and therefore

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discloses that local women did not have to make such items from scratch. They also sold cloth, yarn, indigo, thread, buckles, and buttons from Philadelphia for the more ambitious. The store also supplied a wide array of foodstuffs, including some limited meats, tea, and rum. Other available goods included books, paper, turpentine oil, cannon gunpowder, snuff, soap from York (i.e. New York) and scissors.[60]

Jean's younger brother, Abraham Hasbrouck, constructed his own stone home about the same time, as did Hugue Freer. These two homes are constucted in the railroad style with three adjoining rooms. As in the Jean Hasbrouck home, these dwellings almost certainly began with the kitchen cellars, over which one bedroom was built, and then additional rooms were added in later years. The rooms in the Freer home are smaller than those in the Abraham Hasbrouck home, undoubtedly reflecting the former family's poorer economic status. As in the Jean Hasbrouck home, the original windows were very small casement-type, with outside shutters, which were enlarged during the eighteenth century. Despite the enlarged windows, the interiors of these homes remain rather dim, even in broad daylight. These homes also have attics but they are long and narrow in comparison to the more squarely-shaped attic of the Jean Hasbrouck house.

The interior of the Abraham Hasbrouck house contains several interesting features. The walls are colored with a stain of whitewash and blueberries that dates from the eighteenth century. (figure 5) Indeed, it is believed that all of the homes originally had brightly colored walls and that the outside stones were whitewashed. The middle room on the first floor of this home contains a wall bed that was probably used for an elderly or very sick person so he or she could be part of family activities throughout the

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day without moving from the bed. The doors could be fully or partially closed to provide extra warmth and privacy for the inhabitant of the wall bed. (figure 6)

Construction on the Bevier house was begun in 1698 and followed the same pattern as described above of cellar, one room, additional rooms, and attic. (figure 7) Like the Abraham Hasbrouck home it consists of three connected rooms, all of which are quite spacious, probably more so than those in the Abraham Hasbrouck home. This home originally had a jambless fireplace in the cellar kitchen, but sometime during the eighteenth-century modifications were made to convert it into an English or working fireplace with sides and roof. The upper left section of this fireplace contains a small oven for baking bread (figure 8) Regardless of the type of fireplace, it is possible that cooking implements such as Flemish skewers, with intricate curlicues that diffused the heat, may have been in use by the middle of the eighteenth century. (figure 9) Beneath this cellar kitchen is a small and claustrophobic sub-cellar or root cellar. In 1740, the Dutch Eltinge family took-over this home perhaps because they had ties of marriage with the Bevier family, consequently it is referred to today as the Bevier-Eltinge house. Under the ownership of the Eltinges and possibly even earlier, a store was operated out of the large room at one end of the house. The account books for this store are continuous from 1768 to 1781, and there are some additional records dating from the 1820's and 1830's. Some of the items for sale at that time appear to be a bit more "upscale" than those sold in the Hasbrouck store. The account book for 1768 contained the following items for sale: black and white lace, calico, silk, ribbons, black cravats, chocolate, coffee, oysters, wine, teapots, and rugs. They also carried more mundane goods such as stockings, worsted mittens, linen and cotton handkerchiefs, knee buckles, duck and goose shot, pen

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knives, carpenter's compasses, broadaxes, nails, gunpowder, barrels, bridles, flints, snuff, brown sugar, writing paper, and rat traps. All-in-all the goods sold in both the Hasbrouck and the Eltinge stores suggest that a vibrant material culture existed in rural New Paltz in the mid-eighteenth century.[61]

It is very likely that all or most of these homes would have contained a *kas*. (figure 10) The *kas* was a distinctively Dutch piece of wooden furniture that resembled a modern-day armoire and served primarily as a linen closet. Although none of the eighteenth-century *kases* currently on display in the homes on Huguenot Street can be authentically traced to the patentee families, they were very popular throughout the Hudson Valley area at that time. Since colonial homes did not have closets, this was a convenient and attractive place to store certain items. Another feature that would typically be found in these homes was a Bible box that was hung next to the door. In the event of a fire, which must have been a very real fear because of the fireplaces, the Bible could be taken by the fleeing family. The Bibles of these Huguenot families often contained important family records of births and marriages, and therefore were costly and irreplaceable. Moreover, some, if not all of the families brought their French Bibles with them from Europe, willed them to their heirs, and even preserved them to this day.[62]

The remaining structures in the village, the Deyo House and the Du Bois Fort, will not be discussed here because, unlike the homes discussed above, they underwent significant renovations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to facilitate their habitability by family descendants or tenants. Regardless of these additions, when in their original states they would have appeared very similar to the aforementioned houses.[63]

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The church, which was reconstructed in 1972 to emulate the original 1717 structure, will be discussed below.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Ralph Lefevre, whose rather dated *History of New Paltz* is still regarded as the pre-eminent history of the town (primarily because there have not been any others of its scope), has described the earliest government of New Paltz as a "pure democracy."[64] Of course the modern-day mind must temper its expectations of just what is meant by democracy here. If democracy means a nucleus of white, male, heads-of-families, who own property within the New Paltz patent, and who are almost certain to be descended from a patentee or married into a patentee family, then colonial New Paltz was a "pure democracy." If our notions of democracy include women, people of color (Indians and blacks), people with little or no assets, or people who were neither born into nor married into a patentee family, then New Paltz was not democratic. However, the latter scenario errs by trying to juxtapose a modern mentality on the eighteenth century. In the context of European Christian notions of government that were in place at that time, the system appears to be no less "democratic" than most others and perhaps more democratic than some.

Until 1703 the land was held in common by the patentees. At that time, out of fear that the royal governors or an avaricious neighbor might try to reduce the size of the patent, the surviving patentees or heirs of the deceased patentees decided to create written evidence of the individual ownership of twelve separate lots.[65] By 1712, nine of the twelve patentees had died. By the end of the next decade they would all be gone.

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While the original families may have been able to sit-down and negotiate any problems or disputes that arose among them, subsequent generations were undoubtedly less able to do so because of the larger numbers of people involved. They may not have felt the same united sense of purpose that the founders apparently had had. The deaths of the founders and even of some of their children during the first quarter of the eighteenth century also meant that estate divisions, particularly of property within the Paltz patent were potentially problematic. In 1726 the colonial legislature passed an "Act for the Easier Partition of Land." In view of its provisions, Abraham Du Bois, the last surviving patentee, and the heirs of the other eleven, which included twenty-one men and three women, drew up a document that became known as the "Contract of 1728."[66] Based on the provisions of this contract, twelve men would be elected by freeholders at yearly town meetings to represent the interests of the families of the twelve patentees. The institution they created would enable them to circumvent the need for outside legal intervention whenever New Paltz inhabitants contested the will of a parent and facilitated the partitioning of land in cases of intestacy.[67] We know that a system of town meetings was in place, by at least as early as February 23, 1711/12, the date of the earliest document alluding to a town meeting. After 1728 the annual elections of the "Twelve Men" took place every April, usually on the first Tuesday, and remained in place for most of the eighteenth century. Some would even argue that it endured into the early nineteenth century.[68] However, in the years following the Revolution, the incorporation of the township of New Paltz into the New York State Government implies that some changes must have transpired and the prerogatives of the Twelve Men were diminished.

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The 1711/12 town meeting is the first for which a written record of proceedings exists. This meeting was primarily concerned with land boundaries and the construction of fences. The minutes clarify the respective boundaries of each piece of land in the patent and require owners to erect fences, three rails high, to clearly delineate property lines. Owners were also obliged to "make and repair a good and sufficient fence along his pasture." Neighboring pasturelands were to be divided by five-rail fences, with half of the cost provided by one neighbor and the remainder by the other neighbor. Those who did not keep their fences repaired would be fined six shillings. Persons who opened the gates with "malicious intent or neglect" would have to pay three shillings. Once collected by a designated individual, these fines would be used to pay the costs and charges of the town. Horses and "Kettel" that did damage would be confiscated until a fine of nine pence was paid.[69] From the tone and requirements set forth in these minutes, it seems reasonable to conclude that there must have been internal boundary disputes and incidents of damaging "cow-beasts," and runaway sheep and hogs who rifled through the corn fields. To circumvent escalating arguments these written rules and the clear-cut penalties for infractions of the rules were established. Apparently the enforcement of these regulations and penalties was highly effective since there are no records of appeals, boundary disputes, or internal feuds in New Paltz in the court records.[70]

Sixteen years later another step toward a more formal organization was taken with the election of the first group of twelve men on April 21, 1728. In order to qualify for these positions they had to be "able and sufficient men, freeholders and inhabitants who have an interest within the Paltz patent, representing the twelve patentees." Elected that year were Jacob Hasbrouck, Daniel Du Bois, Solomon Hasbrouck, Samuel Bevier,

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Isaac Lefever, Daniel Hasbrouck, Josiah Eltinge, Abraham Deyo, Hugo Freer, Isaac Freer, Nathaniel Lefever, and Abraham Bevier, Jr. All agreed to act in the several ways as elected except Abraham Bevier, Jr. who produced Noah Eltinge to act in his stead, undoubtedly because the Beviers and Eltinges had marital ties between them.[71] That year the land was divided into "four tiers of lots extending in a north and south direction across the patent. Each tier was in turn subdivided into twelve northern and twelve southern tracts. The twelve men then each chose by lot both a northern and a southern tract of land."[72] The primary duty of the twelve men in the future would be to settle divisions and partitions of lots after the decease of owners and placing stones in the ground to denote these divisions. The records also indicate that a commons continued to exist. Not surprisingly, well into the second half of the eighteenth century, the names of the patentees or of persons who had married into patentee families still dominated among the twelve men.

As was mentioned above, there is little evidence of internal disputes among New Paltz inhabitants, however, from the 1740's there were a number of boundary disputes with outside persons.[73] Moreover, in 1744 the twenty-four landowners in New Paltz agreed to bind themselves for the next fifteen years to jointly pay all assessments made by the Twelve Men for expenses in defending the claim of title of any owner of the New Paltz Patent.[74] It appears that the Twelve Men successfully mediated any internal problems that may have arisen, thereby circumventing the need to settle disputes in the courts. It also suggests that the inhabitants of New Paltz were content to allow these elected officials to deal with the potentially contentious issue of land divisions and were willing to pool their financial resources to hire attorneys, whenever it was deemed

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necessary, for the purpose of protecting their property interests. This situation contrasts sharply with some eighteenth-century New England towns which were frequently in turmoil over land divisions and payment of legal fees.[75]

The New Paltz patentees accepted roles in Ulster County affairs as well as in the affairs of their own village. Indeed several of them became involved from an early date. For example, Louis Du Bois was a magistrate in Hurley prior to the purchase of New Paltz, Abraham Hasbrouck was a Justice of the Peace for Ulster County in 1693[76] and the 1700 militia records indicate that Hasbrouck served as a Captain, Moses Cantine (a Huguenot inhabitant of New Paltz) as a Lieutenant, and Louis Bevier as an Ensign.[77] In addition to the Twelve Men, there were a number of other elected positions in the precinct of New Paltz. Like the Twelve Men, the persons who filled these positions were elected annually at a town meeting of freeholders and inhabitants usually held on the first Tuesday of April. Bartlett notes that the records from 1766 to 1817 are entirely missing and that some others are incomplete. The results of the 1751 election are extant, however, and include the following names and positions:

> Constables: Nathaniel Lefevre, Benjamin Du Bois, Abraham Bevier, Gerret Freer, Jr., Abraham Lefever, Adrian Newkirk:
> Supervisor: Abraham Hardenbergh
> Assessors: Hugo Freer, Simon Du Bois, Adrian Newkirk, Abraham Bevier, Jr., Jacob Hasbrouck, Benjamin Du Bois, Noah Eltinge, Daniel Hasbrouck, Johannes Low
> Collector: Jacob Hasbrouck
> Overseers of the Highway: Peter Deyo, Christian Deyo, Hugue Freer
> Overseers of the Poor: Hendricus Du Bois, Abraham Lefevre, Adrian Newkirk [78]

Not surprisingly, the names of patentee descendants or spouses dominate this list. In this way, they demonstrated a willingness to participate in county government as well as in institutions of their own creation, such as the Twelve Men. "Outsiders" who are able to

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break-into New Paltz town government included the German Abraham Hardenbergh, who was one of the wealthiest persons in New Paltz in the 1750's and 1760's and affluent Dutchmen, such as Eltinge and Low, who had married into patentee families. Obviously, then as now, money and family provided important political as well as economic and social connections. It is also noteworthy that some of these men held more than one position and that the needs of the poor were to be overseen by secular officials, whereas forty years earlier this had been the exclusive domain of the church.

EDUCATION

There is little information available about education in New Paltz during the eighteenth century. Surprisingly, some material exists concerning the earliest years of the settlement. In August 1689, just eleven years after the settlement had begun, the proprietors (i.e. patentees) of New Paltz, "out of their good will" deeded a lot of land and a small cottage to schoolmaster Jean Cottin. The boundaries of this lot were clearly denoted in the deed, one side of which bordered on the land reserved for building a church, which would also be used as a school. Cottin was permitted to "cut wood convenient to his purpose for building" and he was given "pasturage for two cows, their calves, a mare, and a colt." In exchange, the signers of this deed requested that he not sell this land to anyone who was not of "good life and manners," and that they would not be required to retain him as schoolmaster any longer than they deemed fit and proper.[79] In 1701 Cottin sold this house and lot to Hugue Freer, after which he married Catherine, the widow of patentee Louis Du Bois, and went-on to conduct a profitable career as a

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merchant in Kingston, having made many connections with prosperous New York merchants.

The next schoolmaster was Jean Tebenin (or Theuvenin as it usually appears in original manuscripts). Based on documentary evidence, it is certain that he taught school in New Paltz between 1696 and about 1700, and it is possible, but not verifiable, that he was teaching there once again in the 1710's and 1720's.[80] There are several pay receipts in the Archives of Huguenot Historical Society in New Paltz, that place him in the position in the late 1690's. Whether or not he was schoolmaster at a later date is speculation based on the fact that he was living in New Paltz at the time of his death around 1730. Tebenin died without any heirs and both of his wills made bequests to the New Paltz community.[81]

Presumably education would have been centered on the basics of reading, writing, and arithmetic, with Bibles and catechisms figuring prominently as reading materials, since these are the kinds of reading materials that we know with certainty were available in New Paltz in sufficient quantities. Both Cottin and Tebenin knew French as most of the extant documents written by them are in that language. Cottin undoubtedly knew Dutch since he sometimes attended Dutch Reformed churches and had dealings with Dutch merchants. His knowlege of English is less certain. Whether or not Tebenin knew Dutch and/or English is unclear, since all the existing documents written by him that I have come across are in French, including his last will and testament which conveys concern on his part about the possibility that the French language might cease to be used for religious services in New Paltz. Since he was an educated man, it would seem very likely that he would have had more than a passing knowledge of Dutch which was the

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predominant language in Ulster County at the time. In view of this, it is plausible to presume that instruction by both of these men would have been conducted in French and quite possibly in Dutch as well. Whether or not English instruction took place is impossible to ascertain. As demonstrated by their wills, both of these men appear to have been sincerely religious, "of good character and manners," and these qualities, including church membership (which probably helped to define good character and manners) may very well have been prerequisites in the selection and hiring of a schoolmaster.

There are no documents that identify a schoolmaster in New Paltz for most of the eighteenth century, other than the aforementioned speculation about Tebenin continuing in this capacity. Nevertheless, the inhabitants were being educated, more or less, possibly within their own homes by their parents or by the person(s) to whom they were apprenticed. With regard to the latter option, there is an extant contract of apprenticeship in the household of Pastor David de Bonrepos for orphaned eleven-year-old Sara Freer. This three-year contract, which began at the end of 1699, suggests that there may not have been a resident schoolmaster during this time, since members of the de Bonrepos household were asked to educate young Sara as best as they could in addition to her being taught the art of dressmaking by Blanche Du Bois, the wife of David de Bonrepos.[82] Wills sometimes mention books, particularly Bibles and other devotional materials, that are to be given to specified heirs, and the existence of documents written and signed by the patentees and their descendants implies that most, particularly the men, possessed a basic literacy, although their spelling is far from standardized.[83] At this early time it appears as if they wrote down words and names as they sounded to the ear. This suggests that education may not have been a rigorous ongoing program that continued

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over a number of years for all persons, but was rather a "hit and sometimes miss" process. The closest we come to an educational document is a ciphering book that belonged to Abraham Hasbrouck, who was one of several patentee grandsons of the same name, but it is unclear which one it was.[84] Some entries are dated from the 1730's and they show Abraham to have the penmanship of a literate, educated, eighteenth-century gentlemen. This infers that Abraham had had some training in writing standard eighteenth-century script, possibly by a family member, if not a schoolmaster. Abraham was not alone in this skill since a number of patentee descendants exhibited this handwriting style whenever they signed documents. Moreover, the typical script had improved by the middle decades of the eighteenth century. Abraham's ciphering book also contains many pages of arithmetical calculations, suggesting that he was very fond of working with figures or that this was schoolwork he was required to complete.[85]

A public school was not constructed in New Paltz until 1812. The stones used to build this school were some of the same stones that had been used to build the first stone church. The stones had been saved for future use when the church was dismantled in 1773 and replaced by a larger church.[86] This was a fitting use of building materials since earlier generations of New Paltz children may have been instructed within the stone walls of the church.

"OUR FRENCH CHURCH"

Houses of worship are among the primary building blocks of a community and colonial New Paltz was no exception. According to Charles Stitt (who was a pastor of the New Paltz church in the nineteenth century) one of the first structures erected in the new

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settlement was a wooden edifice, which served the dual purpose of church and schoolhouse.[87] The still extant manuscript records of this church tell us that on January 22, 1683, "Mr. Pierre Daillé, Minister of the Word of God, arrived at New Paltz, preached twice on the Sunday following, and proposed at a social gathering of the families, to elect by a majority of votes of the head of families, an elder and a deacon to assist the minister in guiding the members of the church that meets in the Palts."[88] This first entry reveals several vital characteristics of the New Paltz church, and of Reformed Churches in general. First there is the central importance placed upon preaching in a Calvinistic service: Daillé preaches not once, but twice. Next there is the involvement of the congregation in church governance, as heads of families vote to select an elder and a deacon. Another essential characteristic is the offices themselves, since elders and deacons comprised that uniquely Calvinist institution known as the Consistory. Larger congregations typically had more elders and deacons, but the two offices were necessary because each had different functions to perform in the church. Under the "Ecclesiastical Ordinances" which Calvin drew-up for the Genevan church in 1541, there were four offices in the church: pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. Elders were charged with enforcing discipline, supervising the district, and visiting each family at least once a year, while deacons assisted the pastor in supervising poor relief, visiting the sick and needy and administering the city's hospital.[89] As part of the consistory they would make decisions about church finances, screen persons who desired admission to communion, exercise discipline within the church and perhaps the community as a whole, and collect and disburse monies for poor relief. The office of elder traditionally had more preeminence than the office of deacon and deacons were sometimes advanced to the

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position of elder. The first men to be selected for these solemn responsibilites in the New Paltz church were Louis Du Bois, a major organizing force behind the purchase of New Paltz, as elder, and Hugue Freer, as deacon. The fact that the voting was done at a social gathering implies that the church was a social as well as a religious organization within this tiny community.

The first record book of the New Paltz church is eighteen pages long and dates from 1683 to 1702. The earliest entries are in the hand of Louis Du Bois, which suggests that another duty of the elder or deacon was to maintain church records. In 1690, Louis was replaced by Hugue Freer as elder. Subsequent entries are in the writing of Louis Bevier who succeeded Freer as deacon. It is quite possible that Freer was illiterate since all but one of the extant documents contain his mark rather than his signature. If this was the case, it would explain why he did not keep the church records. Most of the entries in the first record book denote baptisms, although a few marriages and deaths are also recorded. A few entries may be in the hand of Abraham Hasbrouck.

The records indicate that Daillé remained as a part-time pastor, splitting his time between the New Paltz and New York churches. The last time that Daillé is referred to in the New Paltz records is on April 18, 1692 when he performed the marriage of Esther Hasbrouck to Peter Guimar. Although we have no surviving manuscript sermons from Daillé, he was, in all likelihood a learned and dedicated man. Prior to the closing of Reformed schools of theology in France, Daillé had been a Professor of Theology at the Protestant Seminary at Saumur.[90] After his arrival in North America, he showed himself willing to travel about in order to minister to disparate settlements of fellow Huguenots. In 1696 he left New York for a position in the Boston church where he remained until his

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death in 1715 at age sixty-seven.[91]

Daillé's successor at New Paltz was David de Bonrepos, who ministered both in Staten Island and in New Paltz from 1696 until at least June 19, 1700 when church records indicate that he received "Andre Le Feve and Sammuel Baivyer at the Lord's table." Three entries from 1699 provide information regarding the age at which persons were first "received at the table of the Lord." The ten persons who are identified were born between 1676 and 1682, making them seventeen to twenty-three years-old. The implication is that partaking of communion was an adult experience in that one had to have reached an age of accountability and made a public confession of faith. Admission to communion was not an automatic rite of passage. The next entry is dated February 21, 1702, when Christian Deyo and Mary Le Conte were married, but the records do not say by whom. Given the fact that Sara Freer had a contract of indenture in the de Bonrepos household that was supposed to end in 1702, it is quite possible that the marriage was performed by David de Bonrepos.[92] Around this time, de Bonrepos left New Paltz to continue his part-time services at the French Reformed church in Staten Island where he remained until his death in 1734, and to assume an additional part-time position as minister of the New York French Church, which was much closer to Staten Island than was New Paltz. He remained in both positions until the New York Church hired a full-time pastor in 1709.[93] After the departure of de Bonrepos, New Paltz was without a regular pastor for about thirty years.

In addition to these early consistory minutes and records of marriages and baptisms, several manuscript pages of charitable disbursements for the poor in New Paltz have survived for the years 1698 to 1712. They are written in French and amounts are in

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French currency. Most of the entries are from 1698 to 1703; the next entry is dated 1708 and is followed by only a few more records. Nearly all of the entries appear to be in the distinctive hand of Louis Bevier who was deacon for much of that time and whose responsibility it would have been to distribute such monies.[94] The names of recipients do not appear in any of the entries, unlike accounts for the poor in other communities I have examined.[95] I can not with certainty account for the lack of these records in later years, although there may be several explanations. One of these is that subsequent records were lost or destroyed. Another scenario is that such disbursements were no longer needed once the families had established themselves, since New Paltz, unlike New York or European havens of refuge, did not continue to receive waves of Huguenots and other refugees into the eighteenth century. However, this latter explanation is not completely satisfying in light of schoolmaster Jean Theuvenin's wills, dated 1719 and 1730, which mentioned distribution to the poor of proceeds from the sale of his French Bible.[96] Finally, it is possible that charitable disbursements were now handled by elected secular officials: this was evidently the case in 1751 as seen from that year's election results which included "Overseers of the Poor."[97]

It is difficult to reconstruct the history of this church during these intervening years. The next entries were recorded in 1718 and 1720. Then another gap exists until 1729. The entries from 1718 include the baptisms of two children, written in Dutch, and a longer entry in French which mentions that a church has been built in New Paltz and lists the names of contributors to the building fund. The December 17, 1720 record assigns seating in this new church building. These entries, however, give us a sense of who the influential persons in this church were at that time. All but one of the

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contributor's names are patentee related. The non-patentee name is that of Eli Ean, a Huguenot refugee who was married to Elizabeth Crispell, the daughter of a patentee. Two women are listed among the countributors--Mary Hasbrouck, the widow of patentee Abraham Hasbrouck, and Mary Du Bois, widow of Isaac Du Bois. Both of these women died before the church was completed. Because of their contributions to the building of the church they were each given two spaces in the pews which were used by other family members. Since Mary Hasbrouck's two seats were in the front row, she presumably must have made a substantial contribution. Neither single women nor women whose husbands were still alive made contributions on their own, which is not surprising if one is familiar with the literature on colonial women. In light of this, widows, or at least these widows, should be regarded as women of considerable influence and autonomy.[98]

It seems rather strange that a stone church was built at this time even though there had been no regular minister in New Paltz since at least 1702 and there would not be another minister until the 1730's. During the long periods when the church was without a pastor, some congregants may have trekked sixteen miles to the Dutch Reformed Church in Kingston where couples could be married, their children baptized, and eligible persons could share in communion. Another possibility is that a minister from Kingston may have visited New Paltz from time-to-time in order to perform these rituals.[99] The existence of a new stone church building and assigned seating arrangements suggests that the faithful of New Paltz did not make the trip to Kingston on a frequent basis. If they did visit Kingston, it may have been only on those Sundays when communion was celebrated, which would be four times annually in a Reformed church. At other times they probably worshipped in the New Paltz church with services led by a

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lay reader.[100] This reader might have been one of the resident schoolmasters, Jean Cottin and later Jean Theuvenin, in New Paltz in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, or even an elder or deacon. The idea of simple worship services led by a literate lay person in the absence of an ordained minister is not completely alien to the French Reformed tradition. During times of persecution French Huguenots had often worshipped in private: this practice continued even after Reformed pastors were driven-out and Protestantism was made illegal in France in 1685.[101] Perhaps this kind of "underground" worship had been practiced in the repressive atmosphere of the borderlands before the patentees and their families left for the Palatinate. Calvinist services are not known for elaborate, mysterious rituals. Indeed they have been described as "four walls and a sermon." Several, if not all of the patentee families had brought Bibles with them to North America.[102] Certainly the schoolmasters were highly literate, and it is certain that some, perhaps most, of the patentees knew how to read and write (even if their spelling was capricious), since they had kept records and made notes of births and deaths in family Bibles. All but two, Christian Deyo and Hugue Freer, regularly signed their names on official papers. With these skills, passages could be read from the Bible, or perhaps even recited from memory. In a December 10, 1751 letter to the Dutch Reformed Classis of Amsterdam, members of the consistory of the New Paltz church affirmed that "besides maintaining Family Worship, they [had] in their midst the public service of pure Religion. . . Whenever there was no minister a sermon was read in French."[103] We learn from the will of patentee Jean Hasbrouck that he had in his possession a book of sermons written in French by Pieter Du Mallin.[104] They also point out that around 1727 afternoon services began to be held in Dutch to accommodate

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Dutch families that had taken-up residence in the community.[105] Sporadic attendence at Kingston, supplemented by weekly services at New Paltz also helps to explain the widely disparate ages at which children were baptized. (Baptismal patterns are discussed below)

What kind of music, if any, did they have? Early Huguenot hymns were closely modeled on Calvin's Geneva Psalter of 1542. The words, for the most part, were based upon the Psalms and a few other Scriptural sources, such as the Ten Commandments.[106] The metrical rhythms of these hymns are simple: they closely resemble medieval plainsong and do not require any musical accompaniment. Barbara Diefendorf has observed that the singing of psalms played an important role in congregational rituals and family worship for French Protestants. This was particularly true for those who were forced to worship clandestinely during times of persecution and civil war. "Unable to receive the sacraments or even to hear sermons with any regularity, they nourished their faith in private through the reading and singing of psalms and through meditation on their texts."[107]

The original church building in New Paltz had seating for fifty-five to sixty people. This building was used until 1772 when a larger building was constructed. The old church building was dismantled in 1795 and the stones were used to erect a schoolhouse which still stands on North Front Street in New Paltz. Although the 1717 building no longer exists, there were sufficient descriptive records for a replica of the church to be reconstructed in the 1970's. The building then, as now, measures thirty-two square feet with a sloping roof topped by a cupola, from which a man or boy would sound a horn or conch shell to call people for services.[108] During the eighteenth century a bell was installed in this cupola. The square exterior, steeply sloped roof, and cupola of

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the New Paltz church closely resembles the French churches in New York and in New Rochelle at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as well as existing sketches of Reformed churches in France in the seventeenth century. The exterior of the New Paltz church has clean and simple lines. (figure 11) The windows are large in comparison to the windows in the homes. In comparison to the rather dim household interiors, the church is "flooded" with light, reminiscent of the oversized windows in the homes of Huguenot weavers in Spitalfields, London or in Canterbury. The pulpit is placed in the center of one side and is set on a platform three steps up from the floor. (figure 12) The pews do not face the pulpit, but rather face one another. All-in-all, architecture, music, and order of service combine to create an atmosphere of simplicity, even austerity.

The next entry in the church records is dated March 11, 1731. On that day, elders and deacons were elected under the leadership of the Reverend Johannes van Driessen. The new elders were Nicolas Roos and Andries LeFever, while Samuel Bevier and Salomon Hasbrouck were chosen as deacons. In the following years Louis Du Bois (descendant of the same-named patentee) and Christian Deyo (descendant of patentee of the same name), as well as Jacob and Daniel Hasbrouck would join their ranks.[109] What is apparent from these elections is that the patentee families still held a considerable share of ecclesiastical clout in New Paltz, with only one newcomer breaking into their ranks. We also find entries stating that van Driessen was paid ten pounds per year in New York money for his services. Van Driessen was originally from Belgium, therefore he was fluent in French, perhaps even Dutch. However, he had not been ordained by the

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Dutch Reformed Classis of Amsterdam but rather by the Presbytery of New Haven, after undergoing an examination at Yale University.[110]

Van Driessen's lack of ordination in the Dutch Church would generate many problems for himself as well as for the New Paltz Church. Beginning in the 1720's, a controversy was developing in the Dutch Reformed Church between the Coetus and Conferentie factions. The former group supported greater autonomy for the Dutch Reformed churches in America, including the establishment of an American Coetus which would promote cooperation and resolve disputes between local churches and which advocated the education and ordination of clergy in America. In contrast, the Conferentie faction insisted that all Dutch Reformed churches were subordinate to the Classis of Amsterdam and that Dutch Reformed ministers had to be educated in Europe and ordained in Holland. Van Driessen, who was making rounds at Hurley and Marbletown as well as at New Paltz, had never been ordained in Holland. Further complicating the situation is the fact that New Haven was the center of Congregational independency, which completely lacked any hierarchy outside of individual congregations. The Reformed Churches, on the other hand, had a Presbyterian system of governance, with a limited hierarchy outside the local churches. Both systems of church governance are in contrast to the Anglican Church which had a hierarchical Episcopal system of governance. In a March 23, 1732 letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, Reverend Peter Vas of the Kingston Church complained of the "intrusion" of Johannes van Driessen into the churches at Hurley, "the Paltz," and Marbletown. He wrote that the people of the Paltz acknowledged van Driessen as pastor and arranged for him to adminster the sacraments three or four times during the year. Further, van Driessen had

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set up a consistory in New Paltz.[111] In another communication later that year, it was reported that van Driessen and his brother, the Reverend Peter van Driessen, had criticized Reverend Peter Vas and his church publicly in a tavern. Moreover, the people of New Paltz no longer came to communion nor did they pay the promised salary to the Kingston church.[112] So it appears that there are at least two reasons for the Kingston Church's venomous dislike of van Driessen. There is the obvious economic reason centered on the fact that Kingston lost members and, therefore, revenues whenever New Paltz had its own pastor. The theological reason stems from the ongoing disputes within the Dutch Reformed Church itself: van Driessen and his accepting congregation at New Paltz effectively thumbed their noses at the need for overseas ordination and asserted that an individual congregation had the authority to choose its own minister. Although this dispute between Kingston and New Paltz would temporarily subside after the departure of van Driessen, these issues had not been laid-to-rest permanently and would erupt once again in the 1750's.

Meanwhile, the New Paltz Church seems to have been satisfied with van Driessen who remained there as pastor until 1736 when he removed to Acquahonack (Passaic). Under his ministry, the people of New Paltz could marry and baptize their children without having to make the long journey to Kingston. The records indicate that nineteen persons joined the church and about thirty children were baptized under van Driessen. It is during van Driessen's ministry, which came after a long dry spell without a pastor, that members of the New Paltz Church regularly began to refer to the institution as "Our French Church." Perhaps they did so in an attempt to hold on to or to assert whatever "Frenchness" still remained in the community which was experiencing an influx of

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persons of Dutch descent and which was located in the midst of a Dutch sea. Perhaps, with the encouragement and complicity of the independently-ordained van Driessen, it is an indicator of an ongoing desire to remain as an independent French Reformed congregation.

One of the long-standing scholarly controversies concerning the New Paltz Church is whether or not the church was under the authority of the Dutch Reformed Classis of Amsterdam, and if it did come under the control of the Classis, when did it do so? Robert M. Kingdon has argued "It is certain that the New Paltz congregation was accepting the authority of the Coetus of New York and the Classis of Amsterdam in 1750, and there is substantial evidence that they were accepting this synodical authority as early as 1727."[113] In contrast, Ralph Lefevre, a historian and patentee descendant, has claimed that the New Paltz Church was an independent French Reformed Protestant congregation, that was not subject to the Classis of Amsterdam and that "knew no authority higher than its own membership" until the early 1750's.[114] Finally there is the viewpoint of Gilbert Chinard who believes that the church remained independent until 1772.[115] What we can say with certainty about this question is that the records are scanty and that the status of the New Paltz Church, whether an independent French Reformed or a Dutch Reformed and under the authority of the Classis of Amsterdam, is far from self-evident.

What evidence does Kingdon use to support his argument? Kingdon's article contains only a paragraph about New Paltz. In fact, he discusses New Paltz and Staten Island in the same paragraph, citing them as exceptions to the typical model of Anglican conformity for Huguenot churches in the American colonies. He argues that the French

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churches in both of these areas ultimately became Dutch Reformed. Kingdon's argument in favor of rapid conformity to Anglicanism, and in these two cases the merger with the Dutch Reformed Church, supports his larger thesis of a more rapid than usual assimilation for the French Huguenots when compared with other ethnic or religious groups. Kingdon cites a 1750 letter from the New Paltz church to the Classis of Amsterdam which he feels supports his argument that New Paltz had previously submitted to the Classis of Amsterdam several decades earlier. Kingdon correctly points out that New Paltz, in this letter, was insisting on its independence from the Kingston church. His argument becomes less defensible when he asserts that it did not remain an independent French Reformed Church.[115] Certainly the New Paltz church recognized and respected the authority of the Classis, but its precise relationship to the Classis is perplexing throughout the colonial period. The communication in question is titled "Testimony of Samuel Bevier and Daniel Hasbrouck as to the Independence of the Church of New Paltz from the Church of Kingston and the consequent legality of a certain Consistory." Bevier and Hasbrouck argue that

> The Paltz, as a French Reformed Church, had always been accustomed to be provided with a minister and consistory of its own, but as they were now vacant, however, they were willing to promise to unite with Kingston for the support of a minister from Europe; but with this understanding that whenever they could have a minister of their own again, they might then consider themselves released from this promise.[117]

After examining the correspondence as well as the records of the New Paltz Church, I cannot say with certainty whether or not they had submitted to the authority of the Classis of Amsterdam prior to the 1750's. However, I am more inclined to believe that they were not under the jurisdiction of the Classis of Amsterdam or aligned with any

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individual Dutch Reformed Church for several reasons. Typically they selected ministers who were not sent to them or approved by the Classis: the controversial Johannes van Driessen is a prime example. After van Driessen left they appear to have been without a regular pastor until the early 1750's. In the interim some baptisms had been performed by Jean Joseph Brumeau de Moulinars, who had been a pastor of the French Church in New York in the early 1720's. After leaving the New York Church, Moulinars served from about 1726 until 1741 as the minister to the Huguenots in New Rochelle who refused to conform to Anglicanism. Some baptisms were also performed by the Reverends Isaac Chalker, Theodorus Frelinghuysen of Albany, and J. C. Fryenmoet, but there are no indications that any of these men had been engaged by the New Paltz congregation on a regular basis.[118] In 1751, Reverend John Henry Goetschius performed several baptisms and marriages, installed a new consistory, and admitted more than twenty persons to membership.[119] If the New Paltz Church had aligned itself with the Classis of Amsterdam it then seems strange that its members did not tap into the resources of the Classis in order to find a permanent pastor.

It was not uncommon for French Reformed Churches in Europe and in North America to share resources and cooperate with other Reformed churches. For example, the French/Walloon and Dutch Reformed Churches in London in the seventeenth century exchanged church buildings once a month.[120] We also know that the French and Dutch Reformed communities in Frankfurt cooperated to provide assistance to the German Reformed church in Dusseldorf.[121] In early New Amsterdam, later New York, the French and Dutch Reformed shared a church building until the French were able to construct their own church after the revocation.[122] Likewise on Staten Island in the late 1690's

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French, Dutch, and English congregants all worshipped together under the ministry of French Reformed pastor David de Bonrepos.[123] A less congenial situation arose from a 1724 dispute between Reverend Louis Rou and members of the Consistory of the French Church in New York who dismissed him from his position as pastor of that church. Rou argued that only the Synod of the Walloon Churches of the Netherlands had the authority to dismiss him. The French Church Consistory, on the other hand, apparently wished to call upon the services of the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed church (presumably that of New York) to arbitrate this dispute.[124] In view of the fact that the various Reformed churches shared a history of cooperation, the correspondence between the New Paltz Church and the Classis of Amsterdam may have been part of an effort to draw-in an outside arbitrator to mediate their dispute with the Kingston Church. Since the French Churches had no outside body to oversee them, they had no recourse but to turn to the governing body of another Reformed church. The Dutch Classis was an obvious choice because the Kingston church was subordinate to it and would have to submit to its judgment.

A telling piece of evidence countering Kingston's insistence that the New Paltz congregation belonged to the Kingston church is the following passage from a December 10, 1751 letter from the New Paltz Consistory to the Classis of Amsterdam regarding their acceptance of van Driessen in the 1730's:

> We as a French Church, which by the statutes of England, had a right to correspond with any Protestant Churches which are in the King's dominion, in the year 1733 thought proper to call this Jan van Driessen to be our minister. Kingston had very much to say against this, under the ridiculous pretext that we were a part of its Church. But what reason had we, Walloon Refugees, who at

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> the time were under no obligation, either to Kingston, nor under the jurisdiction of any other Dutch Church, to believe Rev. Peter Vas, [of the Kingston church] rather than Rev. Peter van Driessen? Both were outsiders and simply advisors. But alas! What happens? Our neighbor, Kingston, to who we had done so much good, and whose church burdens, out of pure benevolence, we had helped to carry, unfortunately puts us under discipline. [Kingston would not allow members of the New Paltz Church to take communion any longer because of their adherence to van Driessen.] Why? because we, poor French Refugees, a Walloon Church, had made use of our rights, and of the country's liberties, which had been granted us by our gracious King. We did not know that a Dutch Church had the power to put under the ban a Walloon Church. Nor can we yet account for it; it looks so utterly incomprehensible to us.[125]

They further argue, "from our earliest occupancy of our Patent (which is older than Kingston's Patent) we have been a complete French Church, with consistories of our own, and independent of Kingston. . . ."[126] Unless the New Paltz Church was engaging in selective memory or was in deep denial over its submission to the Dutch Reformed Church, I would argue that it was still an independent Reformed church in the 1730's. Nevertheless, based on certain statements made in the preceding letter, it is clear that New Paltz was willing to accept the judgment of the Classis of Amsterdam regarding its rift with Kingston in the early 1750's. However, in light of the previously cited instances of French and Dutch Reformed cooperation, I am not completely convinced this means that New Paltz was in reality a Dutch Reformed Congregation in either the 1730's or the 1750's.

Ralph Lefevre, in contrast to Kingdon, contends that New Paltz was a unique settlement with a distinctive streak of independency in its politics and religion. In order to support his thesis he needs to interpret the records in such a way as to keep the New Paltz church independent as long as possible. Nevertheless, even Lefevre believes that the New Paltz church came under the authority of the Classis of Amsterdam by the early

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1750's. The evidence for this is less equivocal than the "evidence" for the earlier date since there are a number of communications between the Classis and Kingston and the Classis and New Paltz. As in the 1730's the correspondence concerns whether or not New Paltz was part of the Kingston Church, with Kingston asserting that it was not a separate congregation and New Paltz insisting that it was. While the Kingston Consistory argues that New Paltz has reneged on its part of the agreement to send money to support a pastor, the New Paltz Consistory responds that it had only agreed to do so when it was without its own pastor. Each Consistory presents its own side of the story and asks the Classis to review these arguments and to hand-down a decision.[127] Indeed, if we were to accept the argument of the Kingston Consistory regarding when New Paltz was joined to Kingston, the date would be much earlier than either Kingdon or Lefevre contend. Kingston argues that this merger took place when the Reverend John Peter Nucella was pastor.[128] Nucella left Kingston for good in 1704,[129] so this would place the date for the alleged merger sometime between the departure of David de Bonrepos from New Paltz in 1700 or 1702 and the departure of Nucella from Kingston several years later. In view of New Paltz's previously cited position this claim is untenable.

Ultimately the Classis of Amsterdam issued a judgement that was somewhat more favorable to the New Paltz Church than to the Kingston Church. In a July 17, 1752 letter to the Coetus at New York, the Classis discussed the New Paltz-Kingston dipute. The Classis asserted that New Paltz's adherence to van Driessen was done not so much out of heresy as out of a desire for independence. They asserted thay they would have no problem with New Paltz's independence from Kingston so long as they adhered to the Heidelberg Catechism, which was used by both the Dutch and German Reformed

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Churches. The closing words of the Classis sought a reconciliation urging that "both sides should overlook, forget and forgive to restore peace."[130] The Classis then wrote to both Kingston and New Paltz communicating the same points they made to the New York Coetus. They argued that "the Paltz" might be separated from Kingston and be considered an independent congregation because of the great distance from Kingston along with the increased inhabitants in New Paltz which placed them in a position to support their own pastor. However, they felt that New Paltz should give friendly notice to the Kingston Consistory, even as they had already informed the Coetus in New York. They also wrote that the New Paltz Consistory was legally constituted and that those persons who had been admitted to membership under van Driessen could retain their membership if the present New Paltz Consistory determined that they embraced the Heidelberg Catechism and pure Reformed Doctrine.[131] The Kingston Church was obviously not pleased with the decision of the Classis that New Paltz needed and deserved to be separate from Kingston. They wrote to the Classis on June 27, 1755 that to keep peace they would submit to its decision, but that they felt the Classis had been too yielding to New Paltz and that New Paltz had caused Kingston much trouble.[132]

New Paltz finally acquired a regular minister with the arrival and installation of Reverend Barent Vrooman in August of 1753.[133] Vrooman had recently been ordained by the Classis of Amsterdam and was to divide his duties between the New Paltz, Shawangunk, and Walkill churches.[134] One of the first official acts of Vrooman and the Consistory, in accordance with the charge issued them by the Classis of Amsterdam, was to examine the persons who had been admitted to membership during van Driessen's ministry. All were found to adhere to acceptable doctrines.[135] Vrooman's tenure was

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shortlived, however, as he accepted a call from Schenectady the following year.[136] After Vrooman's departure, the name and signature of Reverend John Henry Goetschius appears once again in the church records until his younger brother, John Mauritius Goetschius, accepted the minsterial call from the consistories of Shawangunk and New Paltz in January 1760.[137]

It is very telling to examine the backgrounds of the persons who ministered to the New Paltz congregation on an ad hoc basis during the late 1730's, 1740's, and 1750's when the church was without a regular pastor and when some of its members had been barred from communion in the Kingston church because of the aforementioned disputes. Most, if not all, had not been ordained by the Classis of Amsterdam. Even those that considered themselves to be Dutch Reformed were among that Church's more independent-minded mavericks. The independence of the New Haven-ordained van Driessen has been previously established. The French Reformed Jean Joseph Brumeau de Moulinars had been pastor at the independent French Reformed Church in New York and was serving as pastor of the dissenting congregation in New Rochelle that did not conform to Anglicanism, when he performed marriages and baptisms at New Paltz. I have not found any references to the Reverend Isaac Chalker in Corwin's *Ecclesiastical Records*. Since his baptismal entries for 1740 to 1742 are in English, while the preceding entries by Moulinars are in French and subsequent entries are in Dutch, it is possible that he was a minister of a predominantly English-speaking denomination. The remaining visiting pastors are all mentioned in the *Ecclesiastical Records*, and were controversial, even colorful, figures. In May 1743, the consistories of Port Jervis, Minisink, and Walpack wrote to the Classis of Amsterdam charging that the Reverend Johannes

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Casparus Fryenmoet had been illegally ordained. After examining his statement of faith the Classis determined in December 1744 that his theological views were acceptable.[138] Fryenmoet does not appear in the New Paltz church records until 1750, after the Classis had approved of him.[139] Even the Reverend Theodorus Frelinghuysen, "preacher at Albany," visited New Paltz to perform some baptisms in the early 1750's. He was the son of the controversial Westphalian German, Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen, who had been steeped in Dutch Pietism. The numerous disciples of the elder Frelinghuysen had aligned themselves with the Coetus faction, which called for more autonomy for the American churches in opposition to the more orthodox Holland-centered Conferentie. In the 1770's this schism would result in the formation of a Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of North America, independent of the Classis of Amsterdam and which educated and ordained its own clergy in America. Also a Coetus advocate, the younger Frelinghusen had undertaken a mission of rousing ministers and their consistories and rallying them behind the call for a Dutch college in the early 1750's. These efforts came to fruition with the founding of Queen's College, presently Rutgers University, in New Jersey in 1766.[140]

Another protégé of the elder Frelinghuysen was the highly controversial John Henry Goetschius, a frequent visiting pastor for New Paltz throughout the late 1740's and 1750's. Goetschius, had been educated in Zurich and ordained by the Coetus under the alleged authority of the Classis of Amsterdam. He was minister of the church at Hackensack when he performed some ministrations for the New Paltz church.[141] Goetschius was widely despised by adherents of the Conferentie faction. Indeed, in 1745 when Goetschius reportedly claimed that "the majority of ministers here were

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unregenerate men...," he may have been mirroring the sentiments of Great Awakening preachers such as Gilbert Tennent and his 1741 cautionary message regarding "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry."[142] Indeed, Tennent had been tutored by Frelinghuysen in experiential theology and homiletics.[143] Elsewhere Goetschius had insisted that no one should be admitted to the Lord's Supper without assurances of regeneration and salvation and that only the truly regenerate could pray the Lord's Prayer.[144] Stitt cites incidents in which Goetschius was barred from preaching in both Long Island and in his own church at Hackensack. In the former case he preached on the doorstep, in the latter he reportedly buckled on his sword before entering the pulpit.[145] In January 1747 the Classis of Amsterdam, convinced of what they called his "great imprudence, temper, and passion" ordered him to leave Queens County.[146] His presence in Ulster County, particularly at New Paltz, provoked the ire of Reverend G. W. Mancius of the Kingston church in 1750 who accused him of being an interloper and defender of van Driessen.[147] His colorful and controversial track record did not deter the Consistory of the New Paltz Church from permitting Goetschius to minister there periodically in the late 1740's and 1750's. It also suggests that Goetshius's pietistic beliefs must have predominated amongst the faithful of New Paltz. Certainly the membership records of the New Paltz church reflect that persons were expected to make a confession of faith or to present papers from another congregation certifying that they had done so previously.[148] This was not a new practice, however, for some of the original patentees had brought certificates of church membership with them from Europe.[149]

In the 1750's Goetschius encouraged his younger brother, John Mauritius Goetschius, to study theology under his tutelage. The younger Goetschius had already

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studied medicine in Europe and had come to America to practice, but his elder sibling had other plans for him. Early in 1758, the younger Goetschius was ordained by the American Coetus and settled over the High and Low Dutch Church of Schoharie where he preached both in German and Dutch and practiced medicine[150] until he was called by the Consistories of New Paltz and Shawangunk in January 1760. Goetschius was given a glowing recommendation, dated August 1760, by the Consistory at Schoharie.[151] Under the terms of his agreement with New Paltz and Shawangunk, Goetschius was expected to

> faithfully administer the holy offices. . . as befits an orthodox Instructor and Pastor of the Reformed Church of Jesus Christ, preach the Word of God in its purity, administer the holy Sacraments, and instruct the youth once a week in the congregation. . . exercise the church discipline and in every respect as much as possible have a good supervision over the Church of Jesus Christ.[152]

When in health and weather permitting, he was to preach twice on each Sunday, alternating between New Paltz and Shawangunk, from Easter until October. The morning topic was to be from the Scripture, the afternoon topic from the Heidelberg Catechism. For the remainder of the year, one sermon would be sufficient on Sundays, although he had to conduct services on the Holy Days as is customary in the Reformed Dutch Church.[153] The terms thus far demonstrate that the New Paltz and Shawangunk churches desired rigorous instruction in both the Scriptures and the Heidelberg Catechism, which implies adherence to basic Reformed tenets. The requirement of weekly instruction for the young parallels the seventeenth-century Puritan demand for children to be firmly grounded in the faith at a tender age.[154] The Lord's Supper was to be administered twice a year in New Paltz and twice a year in Shawangunk at times to be determined by Goetschius and his Consistory, after he had preached a preparatory sermon. He was also supposed to do house visiting once a year in each congregation. In exchange for these

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duties, the "Doctor Dominie" as he was called, would receive forty pounds per annum in New York currency from each congregation. Shawangunk would provide him with a "decent house, barn, garden, and ninety acres of land besides a good spring near the house, while New Paltz would provide quarters, board, and bed for his sojourns there. When at his home in Shawangunk, however, he was expected to collect his own fire wood.[155] The offer was signed by the eight elders and seven deacons who comprised the Consistories of New Paltz and Shawangunk. Four of these elders and two deacons bore patentee names. The remaining names are of Dutch origin since most had either married into patentee families themselves, or were related to people who had done so. This observation illustrates the ongoing domination of religious affairs in New Paltz by patentee descendants. The agreement was also approved by the Coetus in New York and signed by its president, B. Vrooman.[156] The ambitious J. M. Goetschius continued his dual duties as minister to two congregations and as a physician for the surrounding areas until his death on March 17, 1771.

One of the most important rites of passage in most Christian churches is baptism. Although the Reformed churches did not accord the sacrament of baptism the same significance as Roman Catholics or Anglicans did, it was, nevertheless, a necessary act of obedience, sanctioned by Jesus's example of being baptized himself. Genealogical records of the Hasbrouck family indicate widely-ranging childhood ages for baptism. Newborn babes who appeared to be in poor health were baptized as soon as possible after birth. This undoubtedly was the case with little Daniel Hasbrouck, son of Elias Hasbrouck and Elizabeth Slecht. Born December 31, 1765 and baptized the following

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day, he died on January 2.[157] Even within the same nuclear family baptismal ages were widely disparate. For example, the five daughters of Hester Hasbrouck and Peter Guimar, who were born between 1693 and 1705, were baptized at the Dutch Reformed Church in Kingston at the following ages: two months, eleven days, six weeks, six weeks, one year.[158] Another case is that of Elias Hasbrouck, the son of Solomon Hasbrouck and Zara Van Wagenen, who was born on May 18, 1740. He was not baptized until June 24, 1741 in Kingston. An even longer time passed before his younger brother, Benjamin Hasbrouck was baptized. Born June 3, 1745, he was not baptized until January 31, 1748 in New Paltz. In striking contrast was their elder brother Jacobus, who was born January 1, 1727 and baptized three weeks later.[159] Another hasty baptism was that of their first cousin, David Hasbrouck, son of Daniel Hasbrouck and Wyntje Deyo, who was baptized June 8, 1740, a mere two weeks after his birth.[160] There is no concrete evidence to explain why baptismal ages were so varied. Certainly an explanation of impiety or spiritual laxity can not be applied when ages vary within the same family. One possible explanation is that travel conditions may have delayed baptisms, particularly for those families that lived outside of Kingston. For the first half of the eighteenth century, some Reformed families attended services in Kingston whenever their own smaller communities, such as New Paltz, did not have a steady pastor. During times of poor weather or if a family member were ill or if the sponsors for the child could not make the trip, baptisms may have been delayed. Another explanation is that parents, who did not wish to go to Kingston or who had been banned from the sacraments at Kingston because they had been admitted to membership under the controversial John van Driessen, may have chosen to wait until a visiting minister passed through New Paltz to baptize their

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children. Despite these qualifications, there are some general observations that can be made. The children of the second generation were typically baptized two to three months after birth, whether in the New Paltz or Kingston churches. For children of the third generation the age drops to one to two months after birth. In the fourth generation we begin to see a shift to even earlier baptisms, many of them within the first month after birth. Does this imply that people were becoming more pious? Probably not. By the 1750's and 1760's there were many more local Reformed churches in the mid-Hudson Valley that had permanent pastors, including the church in New Paltz. This made it more convenient for people to baptize their children since they no longer had to travel fifteen miles to Kingston or wait three or more months for the part-time pastor to return from his other congregation(s).

The records do not indicate whether or not it was acceptable for a lay person to baptize a sickly newborn at home. However, we know that the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church in New York City had determined that baptism in the home by a minister, accompanied by an elder, was acceptable, although unnecessary, since baptism did not convey salvation. The practice was permitted due to the "weakness and tenderness of parents' consciences" and out of concern that exogamous couples would instead turn to the Anglican Church to oblige them in this way.[161] Perhaps some of the names that appear in the New Paltz genealogies that have no information beyond a birth or baptismal date had been baptized at home by an elder, but this is pure speculation.

So far the known problems of the New Paltz church have been external ones, primarily with the Kingston church, rather than internal disputes. This mirrors their

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experiences in the legal realm, where most of their problems concerned boundary disputes with neighboring towns rather than internal disputes among New Paltz inhabitants. This period of unity was coming to an end, however, as the New Paltz church would be quite literally torn apart in the 1760's by the Coetus-Conferentie dispute. The immediate roots of this dispute can be traced back to the 1720's when some Dutch Reformed Churches in America proposed to the Classis of Amsterdam that an organizational body, or Coetus, be established in the colonies to create peace and unity among the Dutch Churches, to further the work of the church in America, and to educate and ordain ministerial candidates on American soil. The Classis agreed to permit formation of a Coetus but would not grant it the rights of education and ordination. This Coetus was finally formed in 1737, but it did not have the backing of all the Dutch Reformed churches in America.[162] By the 1740's widespread disputes racked Dutch Reformed Churches, particularly in the countryside. One of the primary targets of the anti-Coetus faction, whose adherents feared that a break with the mother church was imminent, was the aforementioned Reverend John Henry Goetschius.[163] Thus it seems that the churchgoing inhabitants of New Paltz were more partial to the Coetus rather than the Conferentie faction. Moreover, when the Regular Coetus was held at New York in October of 1755, elders from the New Paltz church were present.[164] Nevertheless on August 29, 1766 some persons living in the town decided to form a Nether Dutch Reformed Congregation, that acknowledged the authority of the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam. At that time they amassed contributions ranging from one to twenty pounds from thirteen persons, all males. Most of those behind the founding of the Second Church at New Paltz were persons with Dutch last names, except for Hendricus, Jacob, and

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Philip Du Bois, who were partly Dutch, and who attended the Kingston church. Hendricus Du Bois, in particular, was a major mover and shaker behind the Second Church: the organizers met at his home and he made a substantial contribution of twenty pounds to the building fund as compared to the average contribution of five or six pounds.[165] They enlisted Dominie Isaac Rysdyk, Instructor at Poughkeepsie and Fishkill, to assist in the organization and consecration of the church and had the blessing of the Kingston Church. The reasons they cited for the creation of this new church are as follows:

> the congregation of the New Paltz and its preacher, Dominie Mauritius Goetschius have separated from the orderly subordination to the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam under which the Nether Dutch Reformed congregations in this province have belonged from olden times and still ought to belong, and because all those preachers and congregations who call themselves Coetus, by the resolution of the Synod of 1765 and in accordance with the last letter of the Reverend Classis to the so-called Coetus, dated June 3, 1765, have been considered by the Reverend Synod of North Holland and by the Reverend Classis of Amsterdam as preachers and congregations which cannot be recognised as lawful because they separated from the authority of the Reverend Classis, and wanted to organise here, in opposition to the ordinances of the Church, an independent Classis, for which the said Classis declares to have neither might nor right. . .[166]

The implication here is that the original New Paltz church had previously submitted to the Classis of Amsterdam. While this may be the case, the evidence is not incontrovertible since most of the persons in favor of creating this new church had previously attended the Kingston church. It is not surprising that they would use a similar line of argumentation to the one employed by the Kingston church in its ongoing disputes with the New Paltz church from the 1730's to the 1750's.

Like the First Church of New Paltz, the Second Church had to share its minister with Shawangunk. Also like its predecessor, the terms of the agreement offered in April

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1774 to their prospective pastor, Dominie Rynier Van Nest, closely mirrors the agreement that was proferred by the New Paltz and Shawangunk churches to Reverend J. Mauritius Goetschius in 1760. The Second Church of New Paltz proved to be a short-lived institution. In 1775 they were reunited with the First Church as one congregation under the Reverend Stephen Goetschius, the youthful and recently ordained son of J. H. Goetschius. The services of Goetschius were to be divided between New Paltz and New Hurley, with the former enjoying his ministrations two-thirds of the time and the latter one-third of the time. Stephen Goetschius's responsibilities and remuneration were very similar to those of his uncle, the Doctor-Dominie, in the 1760's.[167] The ministerial training of Stephen Goetschius clearly exemplifies the triumph of the Coetus party over the Conferentie. He received his bachelor's degree at Princeton, then studied divinity under his father at Hackensack, afterwards under Dr. Livingston of New York, Dr. Westerlo at Albany, and Dr. Verbryck at Tappan.[168] Not surprisingly, Verbryck and Livingston, as well as J. H. Goetshius were all important figures in the creation of independent Queen's College for the education and training of Dutch Reformed clergy in America.[169] A telling indication that the Coetus-Conferentie schism had been laid to rest in Ameria was the approval of Goetschius's call to New Paltz and New Hurley in May 1777 by Dominies Isaac Rysdyck, who had helped to create the Second Church of New Paltz, and Rynier Van Nest, one of the pastors of that church.[170] Indeed the Dutch Reformed Churches in America had already declared their independence from European control after representatives of both factions met in New York City in October 1771.[171] After the Revolution this church would be known as the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America.[172]

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NOTES

1. There exists an extensive literature detailing the French-Spanish conflicts in the late sixteenth and, particularly, in the seventeenth century. For a general overview of the European situation see Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis, 1598-1648.* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1979). For more specific discussions of the pertinent battlegrounds and transfers of territory, particularly in Artois and Flanders, see Pierre Goubert, *Louis XIV and Twenty Million Frenchmen.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966), 20, 72, 109, 136, 167; John Lynch, *Spain Under the Habsburgs*, 2nd ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 2: 133; J. H. Elliott, *Spain and its World, 1500-1700.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 130; and Elliott, *The Count-Duke of Olivares: The Statesman in an Age of Decline.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 229, 386-408.

2. Classic studies of the "push and pull" factors for immigration include Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940; reprint, New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961); Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960). The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are discussed in chapters 1 and 2 in both works.

3. Thomas Klingbiel, "L'Allemagne du Refuge,"in Magdelaine and von Thadden,ed., *Le Refuge Huguenot.* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1985), 102.

4. Kenneth Hasbrouck, "How New Paltz Evolved From Kingston, N. Y., Massacres" in Peter Steven Gannon, ed., *Huguenot Refugees in the Setling of Colonial America.* (New York: Huguenot Society of America, 1985), 197-98.

5. Ralph Lefevre, *History of New Paltz, New York and its Old Families, From 1678 to 1820*, 2nd ed. (Albany, 1909; reprint, Baltimore: Clearfield Co., Inc. by Genealogical Pub., Co., Inc. 1996), 1:5.

6. M. Yardeni, "Refuge et Integration, le Cas d'Erlangen," *Le Refuge Huguenot*, 161.

7. Hasbrouck, "How New Paltz Evolved," 199.

8. Kenneth Hasbrouck, comp. *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 3rd ed. (New Paltz: Huguenot Historical Society, 1986), 21-22.

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9. A brief overview of these ties and arrival times appears in Hasbrouck "How New Paltz Evolved," 197-98. Fuller descriptions of kinship ties and arrival times are all denoted in the family genealogies and will be identified and discussed more fully in the demographic section of the next chapter.

10. Bertrand van Ruymbeke, "Le Refuge Atlantique: Le Diaspora Huguenote et L'Atantique Anglo-Amèricain." (paper presented as part of the symposium "The Huguenot Diaspora" at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D. C. 7-10 Jan. 1999). I am grateful to Dr. van Ruymbeke for supplying me with a lengthier French language version of this paper.

11. Edmund Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations* in *Seventeenth-Century New England* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966). Lois Green Carr and Lorena Walsh, "The Planter's Wife; the Experiences of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *WMQ* 3d series, 34 (Oct. 1977): 542-71.

12. Hasbrouck, "The Huguenots of New Paltz, N. Y.," *De Halve Maen* 36, 4 (Jan. 1962): 8. Some sources claim that the Blanchans and Crispells arrived first and were followed by the Du Bois family within the year. See, for example, Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1885), 1: 193.

13. In addition to the Hasbrouck speculations about noble ancestry in "How New Paltz Evolved," 200, see Holdridge Ozro Collins "The Du Bois Family of Ulster County, New York," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, 27 (Oct. 1896): 190-194, also (Jan. 1897): 13-16.

14. Sheldon S. Cohen, "Elias Neau, Instructor to New York's Slaves." *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 55 (1971): 7-27.

15. Raymond Mentzer, *Blood and Belief: Family Survival and Confessional Identity Among the Provincial Huguenot Nobiliy.* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1994), 169-179.

16. John F. Bosher, "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century, *WMQ* 52, 1 (Jan. 1995): 93-94.

17. Van Ruymbeke, "Le Refuge Atlantique"; Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 57.

18 Michelle Magdelaine, "Francfort-sur-le-Main," *Refuge Huguenot*, 31.

19. Hasbrouck, "Huguenots of New Paltz," 8.

20. Hasbrouck, "How New Paltz Evolved," 198.

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21. Collins, "The Du Bois Family," 192. I have not been able to verify the fire-water incident in any of O'Callaghan's documentary histories. As such, the story is an interesting one but should be taken with a grain of salt unless verification in a source other than a genealogical source is forthcoming. It is not an implausible one, however, since alcohol can be identified as the source of many troubles with Indians throughout New Netherland's history. See Paul Otto, "Common Practices and Mutual Misunderstandings: Henry Hudson, Native Americans, and the Birth of New Netherland," *DHM* 72, 4 (Winter 1999): 81.

22. Krygier's report may be found in Edmund B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland Under the Dutch* (New York: Appleton, 1848): 2: 473-83; Ralph Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub., 1973), 9; Kenneth Hasbrouck, comp. *The Crispell Family in America* (New Paltz: Huguenot Historical Society, 1976), 1; William Heidgerd, comp. *The American Descendants of Chrétien du Bois of Wicres, France* (New Paltz: Huguenot Historical Society, 1968), 6.

23. Enslavement was the fate that awaited many of the defeated Wampanoag in 1676. Although most of the leaders who surrendered or were captured were executed, others were sold into slavery to pay for the costs of Metacom's (King Philip's) War. Gary Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early North America*. 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1992), 122. Since Krygier's account does not mention that the surviving Esopus were slaughtered, enslavement is a distinct possibility since Indian slavery was permitted in New York until 1679. See Edgar J. McManus, *A History of Negro Slavery in New York* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1966), 24.

24. Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 1: 7-9. Lefevre does point out that some researchers, Edward Ruttenber for example, have criticized his account of the search party's activities, but Lefevre's explanation is not very satisfying.

25. Marco Sioli, "Huguenot Traditions in the Mountains of Kentucky: Daniel Trabue's Memories," JAH 84, 4 (March 1998): 1324-25. David Thelen has pointed out that "cultures establish traditions and myths from the past to guide the conduct of their members in the present." In this way individuals, ethnic groups, political parties, and cultures shape and reshape their identities. . . ." See "Memory and American History" *JAH* 75, 4 (March 1989), pp. 1117-18. Some recent examples of important works in the field of memory studies include Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991); Alfred F. Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999). It is possible that the New Paltz patentees, or their descendants, were trying to demonstrate that they too had suffered for their faith, even though they had left Europe prior to the revocation and thereby avoided the worst depradations. This story may also be an attempt to connect the tribulations of the Ulster County Huguenots to those of the ancient Hebrews or the early apostles of the Christian Church. For example, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego

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survived the perils of the fiery furnace (Daniel 3:13-30) and as Paul and Silas sang and praised God in prison, an earthquake loosened their chains and gave them the opportunity to preach to the prison-keeper (Acts 16: 23-29).

26. Lefevre, *History of New* Paltz, 1: 12.

27. *Ibid.*, 1: 11.

28. The names of the patentees and their family members were spelled in many different ways. I have standardized the spellings, keeping them closely in line with the typical spellings used by the families today (granted there are some variations today, e. g. Frere, Freer, etc.). The names as they appeared on the patent are as follows: Lowies dy Booys, Christian de Yoo (who signed with a mark), Abraham Haesbroecq, Andries Lefeber, Jan Broecq, Pierre Doyo, Anthony Crespell, Abraham Du Booys, Hugo Freer, Isaack D Boojs, Symon Lefeber. Name spellings vary not only from document-to-document, but even within the same document. Witness the divergent spellings for Jean and Abraham Hasbrouck and for the Du Bois family. Most of these names appear more Dutch in spelling than French. Another interesting point is that this is the only document in which Hugue Frere (Hugo Freer) appears to have signed his own name. Every other document involving him is signed with an X. His descendants did likewise for several generations. In general, the handwriting, language, and spelling in most New Paltz documents written by the patentees or their children is extremely challenging to decipher.

29. Hasbrouck, *Hasbrouck Family*, 29.

30. "New Paltz Patent, 1677," Town of New Paltz Civil Organization Records, 1677-1838: General Files. Special collections, Huguenot Historical Society Library and Archives, New Paltz. (Hereafter identified as HHS NP.)

31. Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 1: 78.

32. One of the traditions in the history of colonial New Amsterdam/New York is that Manhattan Island was purchased for twenty-four dollars. The basis for this figure came directly from a letter written in the summer of 1626 by Peter Schagen, the representative of the States General in the Assembly of the Nineteen of the West India Company. According to Schagen, Manhattan was "purchased" for the amount of sixty guilders. In the late nineteenth century the monetary conversion rate for sixty guilders was calculated to be twenty-four dollars. However, this figure does not accurately reflect the value of the goods received by the Indians for an island which they only used for hunting purposes. They also were unaware that the transaction was for permanent possession of the land--a totally alien concept to them. Nevertheless, the value of goods exchanged for the island of Manhattan seems paltry in comparison to the goods that were exchanged for New Paltz. For a transcription and translation of the Schagen letter and an explanation of its meaning see http://www.nnp.org/documents/schagen_main.html. Paul

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Otto has also pointed out that Native Americans did not believe they were giving up the right to occupy land, but rather that they were leasing it. Otto, "Common Practices and Mutual Misunderstandings," 81-82.

33. Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 1: 78; Hasbrouck, "How New Paltz Evolved," 198.

34. Lefevre, *History of New* Paltz, 1: 12-14.

35. Allen Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York: the Seventeenth Century*. (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971), 198.

36. Eric Roth, "Relations between the Huguenots of New Paltz, N. Y. and the Esopus Indians" (Unpublished Report, HHS NP, March 1999), 2.

37. Patentee descendants such as Ralph Lefevre have argued that the initial homes were constructed of wood. It seems more plausible, however, that they would have lived in quickly-fashioned earthen dugouts for at least the first year of settlement. Helen Wilkinson Reynolds points out that this was often the case in Ulster County as well as other parts of New York during the seventeenth century. She cites a contemporary report by Van Tienhoven which descibes these dugouts as square pits six or seven feet into the ground and earthen walls lined with timber to prevent cave-ins. The floor was also covered with plank and wainscot was placed on the ceiling. This simple structure enabled families to live dry and warm for several years. See *Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley Before 1776* (New York, Dover, 1965), 16-17.

38. "Ulster County Census, 1703" in Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1850), 3: 966.

39. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany: Weed., Parsons, and Co., 185), 2:627, 717-718.

40. Leslie LeFevre-Stratton, "The Jean Hasbrouck House, New Paltz, New York." New Paltz: Huguenot Historical Society, 1999), 1.

41. Document translated in Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 21.

42. "Conveyance of Land from Indians to Gov. Thomas Dongan," Sept. 10, 1684, in "Netherlands, Oldest New York and the Colonial Government: Historical Letters and Manuscripts" Fol. 25, Manuscript collection, New-York Historical Society.

43. Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 1: 61-62.

44. Roth, "Relations between Huguenots and Esopus," 4.

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45. Gary Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America*, 3rd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1992), 300. For further discussion see pages 59-60, 75-76, 78, 79, 96, 109-110, 135, 301. James Axtell also provides a general overview of the impact of European diseases on the native inhabitants of the Atlantic coastline in *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 105, 236-39.

46. Edward Ruttenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River* (1872; reprint, Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971), 179. See footnote 3 for actual numbers. I am grateful to Eric Roth, archivist at the Huguenot Historical Society in New Paltz, for identifying this and other pertinent sources and for sharing his paper with me.

47. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative*, 2: 717-18.

48. *Ibid.*, 3: 650-51.

49. *Ibid.*, 4: 485.

50. The New Paltz patent is transcribed in Lefevre, *History of New* Paltz, 1:12-19. The original patent, dated 1677, may be found in "Town of New Paltz Civil Organization Records: General Files," Special collections, HHS NP.

51. "Conveyance, Patentees to Andries Lefevre and Others, August 25, 1703," New Paltz Tax and Property Records, New Paltz Town Records, Special collections, HHS NP.

52. Reynolds, *Dutch Houses*, 16-17, points out that these primitive quickly-fashioned structures were typrically the initial dwellings throughout New Netherland/New York in the seventeenth century. Although Lefevre has contended that these dwellings were wood, archaeological evidence at New Paltz so far has not been able to support this contention.

53. Reynolds, *Dutch Houses*, 23-24.

54. Reynolds (pp. 23-24) has made these observations about Hudson Vallay homes in general, many of which hold true for the homes on Huguenot Street.

55. *Ibid.*, 178.

56. Lefevre-Stratton, "The Jean Hasbrouck House," 3. Architectural historian Helen Wilkinson Reynolds has written that the outstanding aspect of Ulster County architecture is its uniformity in style and construction material, which was predominantly stone both before and after the Revolution. *Dutch Houses*, 177.

57. Lefevre-Stratton, "The Jean Hasbrouck House," 4.

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58. *Ibid.*, 5. Reynolds (p. 258) has also noted that the roof of the Jean Hasbrouck house is a "significant detail."

59. Lefevre-Stratton, "The Jean Hasbrouck House," 6.

60. I am indebted to Prof. Sally Schultz of SUNY at New Paltz and to Prof. Joan Hollister of Marist College for sharing with me their research in progress into the account books of this business.

61. Roelof J. Elting, "Account Book, 1768-1781," Roelof J. and Ezekiel Elting Family Papers, 1703-1928, Special collections, HHS NP. I am grateful to HHS Archivist Eric Roth for identifying dates of operation for both stores.

62. Several of these Bibles, including Jean Hasbrouck's, are in the Bible and Religious Book Collection, Special collections, HHS NP.

63. I am very grateful to Leslie Lefevre-Stratton, Curator of the stone houses on Huguenot Street, for taking me on a personal guided tour of Huguenot Street, for sharing her knowledge with me, and for allowing me to take photographs of the interiors. I am also indebted to Archivist Eric Roth for arranging this tour and and for sharing with me his own wealth of information. Additional information about the houses on Huguenot Street, including pictures, may be found at the following websites: www.hvnet.com/museums/huguenotst and www.hhs-newpaltz.org.

64. Lefevre, *History of New* Paltz, 1: 66.

65. K. Hasbrouck, "The 'Duzine' of New Paltz, New York" *DHM* 38, 1 (April 1963), 7.

66. *Ibid.*

67. This organization has often been referred to as the "Duzine" from the French *douze, meaning* twelve. Ralph Lefevre and Kenneth Hasbrouck, for example, have employed this term. However, the word does not appear in the extant eighteenth-century documents.

68. Hasbrouck, "The Duzine," 7.

69. "Minutes, Feb. 23, 1711/12," New Paltz Town Meeting and Election Records, New Paltz Town Records, Special collections, HHS NP.

70. Sylvester Nathaniel Bartlett, *History of Ulster County, N. Y.* (Philadelphia, 1880, reprint, Interlaken, New York: Heart of the Lakes Pub., 1994), 11; Hasbrouck, "The Duzine," 8.

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71. New Paltz Tax and Property Records: Proceedings of the Twelve Men, 1738-1772, New Paltz Town Records, Special collections, HHS NP.

72. Hasbrouck, "The Duzine" 7.

73. New Paltz Court Records: Receipts and Correspondence, 1741-1812, New Paltz Town Records. Special collections, HHS NP. These records provide details of the external disputes that primarily involved the northern border of New Paltz next to Marbletown as noted in "Town of New Paltz Civil Organization Records," a Finding Aid compiled by Eric Roth p. 8.

74. "Contract of 1744," New Paltz Tax and Property Records: Proceedings of the Twelve Men, 1738-1772, New Paltz Town Records. Special collections, HHS NP.

75. John Murrin, "Review Essay," *History and Theory* 11, 2 (1972): 252.

76. O'Callagahan, *Documents Relating*, 3: 27.

77. *Ibid.*, 810.

78. Bartlett, *History of Ulster County*, 12.

79. Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 1: 22. Original manuscript deed is in the Hugo Freer Family Papers, 1677-1721, Special collections, HHS NP.

80. Lefevre identifies Tebenin as the schoolmaster from 1696 to 1700 but says nothing about the later period. *History of New Paltz*, 1: 23.

81. Tebenin's original manuscript wills are in the Special collections, HHS NP, and will be discussed in more detail in the section on wills in the next chapter.

82. Hugo Freer Family Papers, 1677-1721, Special collections, HHS NP. Blanche Du Bois does not appear to have been a descendant of Chrètien Du bois of Wicres, who was the progenitor of the Du Bois family in New Paltz, since the name Blanche does not appear in the genealogy. Perhaps she was related to the Du Bois family from Saintonge that settled in New Rochelle, where David was pastor in the early 1690's.

83. Most of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century documents contain several different variations in the spellings of names and words, often within the same document written by the same person!

84. The New Paltz Huguenots had a particular fondness for the names Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and there are male offspring with these names, given in that order, in nearly all of the patentee families. This pattern may imply a strong sense of identification

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with the Hebrew patriarchs, but I hesitate to draw any overarching conclusions about this since there is no written evidence to sustain such an argument.

85. Abraham Hasbrouck, "Ciphering Book," ca. 1700-1739, Ciphering Book Collection, ca. 1700-1849, Special collections, HHS NP.

86. Lefevre, *History of New* Paltz, 2: 161.

87. Charles H. Stitt, *History of the Huguenot Church and Settlement at New Paltz*. Kingston, N.Y.: Wm. H. Romeyn, Book and Job Printer, 1863, 9.

88. French Church, New Paltz, "Records, 1683-1702," New Paltz Reformed Church Records, 1683-1892, Special collections, HHS NP. An English version has been transcribed and translated by Dingman Versteeg in *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of New Paltz, New York*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1977. Translation used in text is a combination of Versteeg's and the present writer's.

89. R. J. Knecht, *The French Wars of Religion, 1559-1598*, 2nd ed. New York: Longman, 1996, 5.

90. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 78; Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 1: 137.

91. Stitt, *History of the Huguenot Church*, 13.

92. Contract is in the Hugo Freer Family Papers, 1677-1721, Special collections, HHS NP.

93. See Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 45 and 66, regarding Bonrepos' tenure on Staten Island, and 166-67 for his service in the New York Church.

94. Bevier had a rounded script and did not use upper case letters, even when signing his name which he spelled a number of different ways. He also dotted his "i" with a semicircle or crescent-shape.

95. "Accounts for Use of the Poor, New Paltz, 1698-1712," Document # 20, Curator's Manual, Paltsits Collection, Ulster County, N. Y., Manuscript collection, New-York Historical Society.

96. Jean Theuvenin, "Wills," 1719, 1730. Special collections, HHS NP.

97. Bartlett, *History of Ulster County*, 12.

98. A further discussion will ensue under the Wills and Property Deeds section in the following chapter.

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99. Whether or not Kingston ministers came to New Paltz in order to perform the sacraments or New Paltz inhabitants went to Kingston for this purpose is not entirely clear from the available sources. However, since the records of marriages and baptisms for New Paltz inhabitants sometimes appear in the records of the Kingston church it seems more likely that the faithful of New Paltz occasionally travelled to Kingston for these special services and for communion.

100. In the Dutch Reformed Churches this person was called a *voorlezer*.

101. Raymond Mentzer, *Blood and Belief: Family Survival and Confessional Identity Among the Provincial Huguenot Nobility* (West Lafayette,Indiana: Purdue University Press, 1994), 169-183; Barbara Diefendorf, "The Huguenot Psalter and the Faith of French Protestants in the Sixteenth Century," in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, ed. B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 41-63.

102. Several of these Bibles are in the Bible and Religious Book Collection, Special collections, HHS NP.

103. "Letter from the New Paltz Church to the Classis of Amsterdam, Dec. 10, 1751, in Edward T. Corwin,ed. *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York* (Albany: James B. Lyon, 1901-16), 5: 3209.

104. A translated copy of this will appears in Kenneth Hasbrouck, comp. *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 30-32.

105. Corwin, *ERNY*, 5: 3209.

106. Paul K. Conkin, *The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 199. The Family Bible of Jean Hasbrouck, pub. 1650, contains the words and music of many of these hymns. See Bible and Religious Book Collection, 1582-1969, Special collections, HHS NP.

107. Diefendorf, "The Huguenot Psalter," 41. Also see Paul Lefever, "Music and Worship of the Early Huguenots and Reformed Faith." *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 99, 2 (1997): 72-77; and Edith Weber, "L'Hymnoligie Huguenot, Origine et Évolution dans les Pays du 'Refuge'." *Cahiers de sociologie aeconiomique et culturelle, ethnopsychologie* (June 1987): 115-29.

108. "Our French Church, 1717" (Crispell Family Association, 1973)

109. Versteeg, *Records*, 65.

110. Stitt, *History of the Huguenot Church*, 15; Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 1: 142. From its founding in 1701 Yale was intended to be a more pietistic alternative to

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Harvard. See Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 220.

111. Corwin *ERNY*, 4: 2572.

112. *Ibid.* 4: 2602-3.

113. R. M. Kingdon, "Why Did the Huguenot Refugees in the American Colonies Become Episcopalians?" *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* XLIX (1980): 326.

114. Lefevre, *History of New* Paltz, 134.

115. Gilbert Chinard, *Les Réfugiés Huguenots en Amerique* (Paris: Belles-Lettres, 1925), 183.

116. Kingdon, "Why Did the Huguenot Refugees," 326.

117. Corwin, *ERNY*, 4: 3141-43.

118. Versteeg, *Records*, 95-97.

119. *Ibid.*, 65, 73, 81, 98.

120. Yves Jaulmes, "The French Protestant Church of London and the Huguenots: from the church's foundation to the present day" (London: Église Protestante Française de Londres, 1993), 9.

121. Papers of Rev. Jacob Victorian Leisler, May 14, 1649, ed. and trans. David W. Voorhees, Leisler Papers, New York University.

122. Elizabeth Gardner Hayward, Jane Hawkes Liddell, and Corinne Ingraham Pigott, "New Amsterdam as a Huguenot Refuge," *Huguenot Refugees*, 138.

123. Charles W. Leng and William T. Davis, *Staten Island and Its People: A History* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1930), 1: 136.

124. Louis Rou, "Difficulties in the French Protestant Church, New York," (New Yrok: William Bradford, 1725), 1167, 1176-77.

125. Corwin, *ERNY*, 5: 3209.

126. *Ibid.*, 5: 3210.

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127. Kingston Church to Classis of Amsterdam, April 26, 1750, in Corwin *ERNY*, 4: 3118; New Paltz to Classis, Dec. 10, 1751, in Corwin, *ERNY*, 5: 3211.

128. *Ibid.*, 5: 3185.

129. *Ibid.*, 2: 1561.

130. *Ibid.*, 5: 3269-70. Regarding the use of the Heidelberg Catechism in the Dutch Reformed Church, see Paul K. Conkin, *The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 61; regarding the German Reformed see Conkin, 169.

131. Corwin, 5: 3271-74.

132. *Ibid.*, 5: 3561.

133. Versteeg, Records, 4.

134. Corwin, *ERNY*, 5: 3211.

135. Versteeg, *Records*, 4.

136. Stitt, *History of the Huguenot Church*, 19.

137. Versteeg, *Records*, 4, 65, 75.

138. Corwin, *ERNY*, 4:. 2801-03, 2662-64.

139. Versteeg, *Records*, 96.

140. Richard P. McCormick, "Dutch Origins of Rutgers, the State University: I" *DHM* 41, 3 (Oct. 1966): 8.

141. Stitt, *Records*, 18.

142. "Testimony Concerning Certain Utterances of Rev. J. H. Goetschius," Dec. 27, 1745, Corwin, *ERNY*, 4: 2883-84; for Tennent, see "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry" in Alan Heimert and Perry Miller, ed. *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and its Consequences*. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1967), 71-99.

143. Charles L. Cohen, "The Post-Puritan Paradigm of Early American Religious History," *WMQ* 40, 4 (Oct. 1997): 710.

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144. "Charges Formulated Against Goetschius," April 25, 1743, Corwin, *ERNY*, 4: 2787-88.

145. Stitt, *Records*, 18. Further escapades of Goetschius are recounted in Corwin, *ERNY*, 4: 2779-92, 2913-16, 2947-49.

146. Corwin, *ERNY*, 4: 2949.

147. Rev. G. W. Mancius to the Classis of Amsterdam," April 26, 1750, in Corwin, *ERNY*, 4: 3116-19.

148. Versteeg, *Records*, 73-75.

149. At least two of these certificates are still extant. See Louis Bevier, "Certificate of Church Membership," Frankenthal French Protestant Church, Germany, 1675, Louis Bevier Papers, 1675-1719; also Jean Hasbrouck, "Certificate of Church Membership," Mannheim French Protestant Church, Germany, 1672, Levi Hasbrouck Family Papers: The Locust Lawn Collection, 1672-1968. Both documents are in the Special collections, HHS NP.

150. Stitt, *History of the Huguenot Church*, 19.

151. Versteeg, *Records*, 10.

152. *Ibid.*, 10-11.

153. *Ibid.*, 11-12.

154. Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), 87-108.

155. Versteeg, *Records*, 10-12.

156. *Ibid.*, 12. Is it possible that this was the same person as the Barent Vrooman who had briefly ministered at New Paltz in 1753? If so, this would place yet another of the New Paltz pastors in the Coetus camp.

157. Kenneth Hasbrouck, comp., *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 3rd ed., (New Paltz: Huguenot Historical Society, 1986), 84.

158. *Ibid.*, 66-67.

159. *Ibid.*, 58-64.

160. *Ibid.*, 63.

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161. "Church of New York Consistory," August 20, 1747, in Corwin *ERNY*, 4: 2970-71.

162. Corwin, *ERNY*, 4: 2679-94, 2706, 2710, and numerous references elsewhere in Corwin.

163. Firth Fabend, *A Dutch Family in the Middle Colonies, 1660-1800* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 191-93.

164. Corwin, *ERNY*, 5: 3598.

165. "Obligations to contribute toward building a 'Kerk-huys' in the Dorp of New Paltz," August 29, 1766, Document # 66, Curator's Manual-Paltsits Collectiion, Ulster County, New York, Manuscript collection, New-York Historical Society.

166. Versteeg, *Records*, 6-8.

167. *Ibid.*, 16-17. Stephen was paid ninety rather than eighty pounds annually.

168. Stitt, *History of the Huguenot Church*, 24.

169. The origins of Rutger's University, formerly Queen's College, are explored more fully by Richard P. McCormick in "Dutch Origins of Rutgers, the State University: I," *DHM* 41, 3 (Oct. 1966): 7-8.

170. Versteeg, *Records*, 18.

171. McCormick, "Dutch Origins of Rutgers, the State University: II," *DHM* 41, 4 (Jan. 1967): 11-12.

172. Conkin, *The Uneasy Center*, 177.

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Four

FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS IN NEW PALTZ

A TIME TO BE BORN AND A TIME TO DIE

The demographic profiles of the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay and of the indentured population in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake Bay region have become well-known components of the historical record and are frequently incorporated into undergraduate American history textbooks with a social history emphasis.[1] With the exception of New York City, the demographics of the diverse colony of New York have been accorded little attention.[2] No studies of this nature have been carried-out for the Huguenots of the mid-Hudson Valley area during the colonial period. Fortunately, descendants of the original founders of New Paltz and local historians have compiled extensive genealogies for all of the patentee families.[3] These genealogies do not provide all of the necessary data, other than name and birth or baptismal date, for every descendant of the twelve patentees. They do, however, supply sufficient information for constructing a revealing demographic profile of average numbers of births, numbers of people who married and whom they married, average ages at marriage, and average ages at death for both males and females. The historian Philip Greven has recommended the demographic method of family reconstitution, which analyzes specific characteristics of the lives of particular families within communities over several generations. He has also identified published genealogies as valuable tools in this endeavor.[4]

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In order to construct a demographic overview of the patentee families, I analyzed data for the second generation, the children of the patentees. Actually, three members of the second generation (Abraham and Isaac Du Bois, and Pierre Deyo) were among the twelve original patentees, but since their fathers (Louis Du Bois and Christian Deyo) were also patentees, they are grouped with the second generation. All members of the second generation were born between the mid-1640's and the early 1690's. Nearly all were born somewhere in Ulster County, if not in New Paltz itself. Abraham and Isaac Du Bois are exceptions once again as they were born in Manheim, the Palatinate, in 1657 and 1659, respectively. They were brought to New Netherland in 1660 as very young children, becoming patentees at the ages of twenty and eighteen. Likewise, the five children of Christian Deyo were all born in Europe. The two eldest, Anna and Pierre (the future patentee) were probably born in the Deyo family's native region of Artois in the 1640's, while the others were born in Mutterstadt, the Palatinate, where the family had taken-up residence by 1653. Members of the Deyo family arrived in New York during the 1670's, but not as one group, since eldest daughter, Anna arrived in advance of the others with her husband, the future patentee, Jean Hasbrouck.[5]

A total of sixty-nine children, thirty-seven males and thirty-two females, were born to the nine patentees who comprised the first generation. Actual family size ranged from five (Christian Deyo and Simon Le Fevre) to eleven (Louis Du Bois), with the average being 7.7 children per family. Of these sixty-nine children of patentees, eleven were identified as "dying young," which would place the infant mortality rate at 16 percent. The actual number of early deaths may be slightly higher. For example, several offspring are identified by name but there is no accompanying information about their

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lives after birth or baptism. If we factor in the unknowns, the childhood mortality rate would increase to 19 percent. Also, according to the genealogical record, all of Christian Deyo's five offspring survived to adulthood. Since the Deyo children were born in Europe it is possible that one or more may have died before the Deyos arrived in North America and the death records were not preserved. This scenario is highly plausible since all of the other patentees lost at least one or two young children.

Marriage dates were available for twenty-two of the thirty-two female children of the second generation. The remainder had either died early, or the marriage date could not be ascertained. These women married for the first time between the ages of eighteen and twenty-eight, with the mean being 21.9 years. Marriage dates for twenty-seven of the thirty-seven male offspring were available. They married between the ages of twenty-two and forty-two; the average age for a first marriage being 27.8. The records of the New Paltz church indicate that couples were usually married following three weeks of announcements in church, which mirrors the pattern that Morgan found for Puritan churches.[6] This practice would continue for successive generations that married in the New Paltz church.[7]

At least 284 offspring were born into second generation families.[8] These 284 children were divided among thirty-six couples. Since eight patentee children were intermarried (Elizabeth Hasbrouck and Louis Bevier, Maria Hasbrouck and Isaac Du Bois, Rachel Hasbrouck and Louis Du Bois, Jr., and Mary Freer and Isaac Lefevre) the children they produced were factored in only once under the father's name to avoid duplication of numbers.The average number of children per family was 7.9, with actual numbers ranging from one to fifteen. These figures reflect numbers of children that were

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born, not how many survived to adulthood (age 18). A couple's first child was typically born within the first year of marriage, or soon thereafter. Then, approximately two or three years later, another child would be born. This pattern would be repeated until the woman reached her mid-thirties. At that time, her fertility apparently began to decline as the number of years between offspring increased until she reached her early or mid-forties. At that time procreation ceased, undoubtedly because of a dramatic decline in fecundity, and possibly even menopause itself.

At what ages did the second generation children (those who survived to age eighteen or older) die? Death dates were recorded for ten women who died between the ages of thirty-five and eighty-eight. This places the average age at death at forty-nine. Life was significantly less perilous for males of this generation. The mean age at death of the twenty-three men for whom dates were available, was 62.5, with actual ages varying from thirty-one to ninety. The recorded dates did not include any teenagers or people in their twenties. Once again this may not mean that no one died at those ages, but simply reflects the fact that such information was unavailable. On the other hand, it may mean that once someone had passed through the perilous years of early childhood, he or she had a very good chance of living into the thirties or beyond.

Based upon the above demographic analysis, the following composite picture of a second generation New Paltz patentee family can be constructed. A woman who is almost twenty-two-years-old will marry a man who is nearly six years her senior. He might be the child of another patentee, or the child of a French or Dutch Reformed Protestant family living in Kingston or in surrounding areas, if not in New Paltz itself. She can expect to give birth approximately every three years for the next twenty years of

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her life, producing a total of nearly eight children. One or more of these children will die before reaching adulthood. If she subsequently gives birth to another child of the same sex, that child will almost invariably be given the deceased child's name, thus allowing the memory of that lost child to live-on.

How does this demographic composite of Huguenot families in the vicinities of Kingston and New Paltz at the end of the eighteenth century compare with the figures recorded for "Pals" in the 1703 Ulster County Census? As indicated on the Table 1, the census reported that there were forty males between the ages of fifteen and sixty, two above the age of sixty, and thirty-two male children. There were only twenty-two females aged fifteen to sixty, and twenty-five were under fifteen. No women over the age of sixty were listed, which would seem to support the aforementioned figure of forty-nine years for average female life expectancy. The sexual imbalance was not as marked in the demographic composite as it was in the village of New Paltz, although there were still fewer women than men in the composite. The 1703 census also reports a total of seven adult Negroes (five male, two female) and one child of each sex, making Africans approximately 7% of the total population of 130 persons.[9] What the census does not tell us, however, is that these Negroes were slaves. The issue of slavery in New Paltz will be discussed in more detail below.

The genealogies of the Deyo and Hasbrouck families were used to compile a demographic analysis of the third and fourth generations, nearly all of whom were born in the eighteenth century. The Deyo family very quickly married into other patentee families. Indeed, progenitor Christian Deyo was commonly referred to as *Granpere* (*sic*). Even after his demise he was identified as such in community records rather than by his

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name.[10] His eldest daughter, Anna, was married to patentee Jean Hasbrouck. His eldest son, Pierre, also a patentee, had married a Palatine woman, Agatha Nickol. Daughters, Maria and Elizabeth, were married to patentees Abraham Hasbrouck and Simon Lefevre, respectively. Finally, youngest daughter Margaret, married patentee Abraham Du Bois. Subsequent generations married into the Freer family and continued to marry Lefevres, Hasbroucks, and Du Boises. Since there were two patentees in the second generation of Hasbroucks, their numerous combined descendants provide much material for fruitful demographic analysis. Like the Deyos, they intermarried very extensively with other patentee families, thereby drawing the remaining patentee families into the picture. Moreover, members of the Hasbrouck family remained within New Paltz throughout the colonial period; indeed some have remained in the area to the present day. This is in marked contrast to patentee Antoine Crispell and most of his descendants who chose not live in New Paltz but remained in Hurley instead. Further, the Crispells were not as likely to marry patentee descendants as were the other families. The Hasbrouck genealogy is also among the most complete of the patentee's genealogical records. In short, analyzing birth, marriage, and death patterns for the Deyos or the Hasbroucks (or most of the patentee families, for that matter) makes it possible to analyze all of the patentee families.

Jean Hasbrouck was born about 1643 near Calais in northwestern France.[11] He and his siblings removed to Manheim in the Palatinate no later than the early 1660's. Sometime before 1664 he and Anna Deyo (another French-speaking Protestant refugee) were married in Manheim. Three daughters, Maria, Anne, and Hester, were born in Manheim before they left that city in 1672. They all arrived in Wiltwyck in the spring of

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1673. Four more children, Abraham, Isaac, Elizabeth, and Jacob were born between 1677 and 1688. Jean's younger brother, Abraham, was born around 1650 near Calais. Like Jean, he arrived in Manheim with the rest of the family, probably in the early 1640's. Abraham may have resided in Holland for a short time and also in England where he served in the English army with Edmund Andros, the furture Governor of New York. In 1675 he landed at Boston, then joined his brother's family at Kingston. The following year he married Maria Deyo, who would give birth to seven children (Rachel, Anna, Joseph, Solomon, Jonas, Daniel, and Benjamin) between 1680 and 1696. These fourteen Hasbrouck-Deyo offspring were part of the second generation demographic calculations discussed above. Their children comprised the third generation, whose children, in turn, formed the fourth generation and whose demographics will be discussed below.

Not all of the Hasbrouck children married and produced offspring. Four of patentee Jean Hasbrouck's seven children had offspring of their own, while the others probably did not. Of the three who did not have children, Anne died unmarried; Abraham left for Europe and was never heard from again; and Isaac (for whom there are no records to indicate that he had a wife or children) died at age twenty-eight. Of those who had offspring, Maria married Isaac Du Bois (son of a patentee and a patentee himself), with whom she had three children (born between 1684 and 1690); Hester married Pierre Guimar and produced six children (born 1693-1708); Elizabeth married Louis Bevier, Jr. (son of the patentee) and had one child (born 1717); and Jacob married Esther Bevier (daughter of the patentee) with whom he had six children (born 1716-1739). Patentee Abraham Hasbrouck and his wife Maria Deyo also had seven children, two of whom (Anna and Jonas) are recorded as dying young, probably in infancy or early childhood.

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The remaining five children of Abraham Hasbrouck all married and had offspring of their own. Rachel married Louis Du Bois, Jr. (son of the patentee) and bore seven children between 1701 and 1717. Joseph married Elsie Schoonmaker, a Dutch woman with whom he had ten children (born 1707-1722). Solomon married Sara Jacobsz van Wagenen, also Dutch, and produced eight children (1722-1740). Daniel married Wyntje Deyo (the great-granddaughter of patentee Christian and granddaughter of patentee Pierre: these first cousins once-removed produced nine children. Benjamin and his Dutch wife Jannetje De Lange had eight children (born 1738-1759). Altogether these nine couples produced a total of fifty-eight children born between 1735 and 1749. The average number of children born to this generation of Hasbroucks is 6.4, however, the actual number of offspring for each couple varied from one to ten children. This places the number of offspring born to the second generation of Hasbroucks below the second generation composite figure of 7.9. A possible reason for this is that second-generation Hasbrouck men typically married at 33.2 years-old, five years older than the average for all men in the second generation composite group.

What do the statistics tell us about average male and female ages for first marriages, average life expectancies for both sexes and fertility rates for the third generation of Hasbroucks who were born between the late 1690's and the 1740's? This group was comprised of fifty-eight persons, eighteen females and forty males. Marriage dates were available for thirteen of these Hasbrouck women. The average age for a first marriage was 24.2, with actual ages varying from twenty to twenty-eight. The mean marriage age for the twenty-five third generation Hasbrouck men for whom marriage dates were available was 28.2, with actual ages varying from twenty to fifty-four.

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Death dates were available for only six women of this generation. Their ages ranged from forty-one to eighty-five, with a mean of 63.7 years. Three females were reported as "dying young." No information was provided for the remaining women. My speculation is that many of them may have met early deaths as well. Somewhat surprisingly, third generation Hasbrouck men did not live as long as the women. The death dates for twenty-six men reveal that they typically died at 62.5 years, once again excluding those who died before they reached eighteen. The actual ages at which these adult males passed-away varied from thirty-six to eighty-eight.

How many children did the third generation Hasbroucks produce? A total of 211 children were born to thirty-six couples. The actual numbers varied from one child to as high as twelve, with the average being 5.9 children per couple. There may have been even more children born to persons for whom no information was available, but once again this is only speculation.

There was a greater percentage of exogamous marriages during this generation than there had been previously. Of the forty-two reported marriages, three were contracted with persons who had English last names, fourteen had French names, and the remaining twenty-five had Dutch names. Evaluating degrees of exogamy according to last names can be misleading, however, particularly when we get into the third and fourth generations. Because of some limited exogamy during the second generation, a person with a Dutch name might very well have had a French mother and a seemingly French person might have had a Dutch mother.[12] An example of this complexity is the marriage of Jan Hasbrouck to Rachel Van Wagenen. Both were offspring of mixed French-Dutch marriages: Jan was the son of Solomon Hasbrouck and Zara Van Wagenen and Rachel

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was the daughter of Johannes Van Wagenen and Elizabeth Freer. Further complicating the situation is the fact that Jan and Rachel were cousins through the Van Wagenen line, as well as husband and wife. This incident of intermarriage was not an isolated practice: indeed in the fourth generation we sometimes find second cousins with the same last names intermarrying. Perhaps more telling than degrees of exogamy is this intensely "tribal" nature of marital arrangements: children were expected to marry someone who was part of the family's larger kinship or friendship network or a business associate. Another factor to be considered is that virtually all of these marriage partners were from a Reformed Protestant background. In her study of the Haring family of Tappan from 1660 to 1800, Firth Haring Fabend found that marriage between cousins or siblings who married siblings from another family were not uncommon. She argued that such arrangements made good economic sense as bride wealth and land were kept in the family. At the same time these marriages reinforced previous kinship bonds.[13]

By way of summary, the typical third generation Hasbrouck woman married for the first time around age twenty-four, while the men married at twenty-eight. She could expect to live nearly sixty-four years which meant that there was now a possibility that her older husband might predecease her. She would bear about six children, and was likely to experience the early death of at least one of these offspring.

How do third generation Hasbrouck family demographics compare with Deyo demographics for the same generation? A total of thirty-three children, eighteen males and fifteen females, were born to four of Pierre and and Agatha Deyo's seven offspring between 1699 and 1735, placing the fertility rate for the second generation of Deyos at 5.3 children per couple. Abraham Deyo, who married Elsie Clearwater, was the father of

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three children. Mary Deyo married Jacob Clearwater (Elsie's brother) and had one child. Christian Deyo and his wife Mary de Graff had seven children. Pierre Deyo died unmarried around age seventy-three, while his younger sisters Margaret and Madeleine probably died during infancy or childhood. The youngest brother, Hendricus, married Margaret Van Bommel and produced ten offspring.

Marriage dates were available for ten third generation Deyo females, whose ages for a first marriage ranged from twenty to thirty-five, with an average of 25.2 years. Sixteen third generation Deyo males married between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine, averaging 26.1 years. These twenty-six third generation Deyos produced a total of 186 offspring. The actual numbers of children per couple ranged from zero to thirteen, with a mean of 7.2 children. Information about death dates was available for only seven women who passed-away between thirty-one and seventy-nine-years-of-age, with the mean age being 55.3. The fourteen Deyo males for whom death dates were available had average life spans that were ten years longer than their female siblings and cousins--65.7 years, with actual ages varying from thirty-seven to ninety-one.

Included in Firth Fabend's study of the Haring family of old Tappan (in northeastern New Jersey, near the border of Rockland County) is a brief demographic profile of the third generation living in this rural community in the eighteenth century. Since her study begins in 1660, the time period for third generation Harings roughly coincides with that of the third generation of New Paltz patentee families. Fabend found that the Harings produced an average of 7.6 children each, although the actual numbers varied widely. Hence the fertility rate of the Deyo family at 7.2 children closely coincides with that of the Harings while the Hasbroucks are somewhat less fertile with 5.9 children.

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These lower fertility rates in the Huguenot families might be attributed to the fact that both Huguenot men and women married four or five years later than did the Dutch Harings whose men married at twenty-two years, eight months and whose women married at 19.9 years.[14]

Were there any significant changes in the demographic patterns of fourth generation Deyos who were born between 1734 and the 1779? A total of 465 children were born to seventy-two couples of the fourth generation, reflecting a small drop to an average of 6.5 children for each family. Once again the actual numbers varied tremendously--from one to fifteen offspring. The thirty-two Deyo women for whom marriage dates were recorded, married about two years earlier (22.4) than they did in the previous generation. For this generation there were more teenage brides than previously: eight were between sixteen and eighteen. The eldest was thirty-nine, but the most popular age for first marriage was twenty-one. In contrast the twenty-nine Deyo men for whom marriage dates were recorded, married one year later (27.6) than had the third generation men. Their actual marriage ages varied from nineteen (one case) to thirty-seven.

The average life span for the twenty-two fourth generation Deyo women, for whom dates were available, increased by nearly five years, 60.1 as opposed to the previous 55.3. The youngest of these was twenty-one, while the eldest was ninety-six. The known death dates for thirty-eight Deyo men reflect a decrease of two years, 63.7 as opposed to 65.7. Their actual ages at death ranged from eighteen to eighty-eight.

How do the fourth generation Deyo demographics compare with those of the Hasbroucks who were born between 1740 and 1798? Marriage information was available for thirty-four Hasbrouck women of this generation. Eighteen others died young

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and there was no data beyond birth or baptismal data for another eighteen females. Ages at first marriage varied tremendously for this generation. The youngest was fifteen-year-old Hester Hasbrouck of Marbletown who was married to thirty-seven-year-old widower Abraham Sahler, who was the son of Abraham Sahler and Elizabeth Du Bois. The couple had four children. The oldest Hasbrouck woman to marry was forty-two-year-old Elizabeth who married widower Evert Bogardus, with whom she had one child. These, of course, were atypical marriage ages as the average marriage age for this group was 23.3. Another three women were identified as unmarried and there was no data beyond birth or baptism for the remaining women.. Marriage ages were available for forty-eight Hasbrouck men, although we know that at least another sixteen were married as well. Seven adult males were identified as unmarried and sixteen died before reaching the age of eighteen. One male was married at nineteen while the oldest was forty-three. The average age for a first-time marriage was 28.2 years.

The fourth generation of Hasbroucks produced a total of 594 offspring. Of eighty-nine couples for whom marriage data was available, one couple was described as "without issue" and no data was reported for six others. By eliminating the six couples for whom no data on children was available, we arrive at a figure of 7.2 children per couple, which places Hasbrouck fertility rates at a higher level than in the previous generation. If the other six couples are factored in the number drops to 6.7, which is still higher than the third generation. The actual numbers of births varied from zero to seventeen.

Average life expectancy reflected little change over the previous generation. The average age at death for women was 62.3 years, while men could expect to live 62.8 years. The actual ages for thiry-four women whose death dates were known, spanned

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from nineteen to eighty-nine. This calculation does not include three females of this generation who died at the ages of seven, eight, and thirteen.The sixty-two men whose death rates were known died between the ages of nineteen and eighty-nine. In addition there were three who died at seven, ten, and fifteen years-of-age and at least thirteen who "died young." (Refer to Table 2 for an overview of average ages at marriage and death, and average numbers of offspring for the second, third, and fourth generations.)

How does this demographic profile described above compare with what we know about demographics elsewhere in the western world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? Based on a synthesis of the work of European demographers, Michael Anderson has argued that Western Europe from 1600 until the end of the nineteenth century had a marriage pattern almost unique in world history. Marriage was typically late, with men marrying at twenty-seven or twenty-eight and women at twenty-five or twenty-six. The combination of late marriage and relatively long birth intervals placed the mean number of children born per woman at between five and 6.5.[15] While second generation Huguenot men in Ulster County fit squarely within this pattern, the women were more fecund because they married three to four years earlier than their European counterparts and consequently were able to produce at least two more offspring. Huguenot women married slightly later in the third and fourth generations and consequently their fertility declined slightly, but they were still younger and more fertile than European women. Like their European counterparts, men and women in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake married late, but they died at even younger ages and produced few offspring.[16] Quite clearly, Huguenot demographics in Ulster County do not parallel those of the Chesapeake primarily because the Huguenots arrived as families of

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middling status rather than as single indentured servants from the lowest levels of European society. The demographics of Huguenot families in Ulster county in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries more closely resemble New England, with its predominance of middle class families. New England men married in their late twenties and women married around age twenty-two in the seventeenth century and at nearly twenty-five in the eighteenth century. Women in New England, like Huguenot women, also produced at least two more children than did English women of the same era, giving birth every other year. New England men could expect to live nearly seventy years and women just slightly less during the colonial period.[17] The one area of difference is that New England men and women were slightly longer-lived than their Huguenot counterparts in Ulster County during the colonial period, although the difference in average age at death is quite striking for second generation Huguenot women in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

What was the actual population of New Paltz as the colonial period was drawing to a close? Fortunately this question can be answered based on figures provided by the Ulster County Census of 1782. At that time 1,253 persons, 661 males and 602 females, resided in the town on an ongoing basis, as indicated on the Table 1. There were also eighty-eight "refugees," who had taken-up temporary residence in New Paltz because of the British invasion. These figures indicated that the gender imbalance, that was so marked in the 1703 census, had begun to assume more equal proportions, suggesting that it would no longer be a factor in the nineteenth century. Perhaps hastening the advent of a more equitable male to female ratio was the War for Independence and the fact that the patentee descendants in Ulster County were very likely to enlist on the Patriot side in this

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conflict, quite unlike some of their co-religionists closer to New York City. (The de Lancey family immediately comes-to-mind in this regard.) Another noteworthy characteristic of the 1782 census is the huge numbers of children under sixteen, both male and female, in comparison to those over sixteen. There were 616 persons, including both males and females, under sixteen as opposed to the 647 that were older than sixteen.[18] Presumably many of these children would eventually move away to surrounding environs if they wished to continue to support themselves from the land. Regardless of this, much of the land within the New Paltz patent continued to remain in the hands of patentee descendants or spouses into the nineteenth century.

"CONSIDERING THE SHORTNESS AND FRAILTY OF HUMAN LIFE"

Most colonial people did not prepare a last will and testament. This is particularly true for persons living in rural areas.[19] The New Paltz patentees and their descendants were no exception to this observation. As such, less than thirty pre-Revolutionary wills of the patentees and their heirs have survived out of a potential pool of thousands of testators. Why were so many colonial people lax in this regard? Were they afraid to confront their own mortality or were they simply too busy to set-aside the time needed in order to do so? Another possible, and perhaps more probable, explanation for Ulster County is that people were satisfied with the customary inheritance practices that were in place during the colonial era in this heavily concentrated Dutch area. Under Dutch law, the widow of a man who died intestate would receive one-half of their community property while the remaining half would be divided equally among their children, irrespective of sex. In this way the father avoided making any specific bequests that

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would favor one child over the others and expose him, or rather his memory, to charges of favoritism and generate legal challenges to the will. Intestacy could also imply a certain trust or agreement within the family that a designated person would do what was desired or expected with regard to personal effects or cash on hand, and that the other members would defer without arguments or dissention.

David Narrett, who has conducted extensive research on wills and inheritance patterns in colonial New York, has pointed out that Huguenot testamentary practices in seventeenth-century Ulster County resembled those of the Dutch in that both groups typically divided all of their real estate equally among sons and daughters. In the mid-1700's, however, both the French and Dutch increasingly conveyed land to sons alone in order to limit the partition of family land. But this does not imply that they denied their remaining offspring a fair share of the estate since sons who inherited land were expected to make substantial cash payments to their siblings.[20] Moreover, Narrett further observes that French residents of New York City and the mid-Hudson River Valley tended to accept Dutch social customs if they had previously lived in Holland or Germany. In contrast, those who arrived after 1680 were more thoroughly influenced by English law and legal institutions.[21] Since the New Paltz patentees had lived in Germany and arrived in North America before 1680, this would place them in the first category. One of the distinctively Dutch customs described by Narrett was the mutual will in which both husband and wife prepared a joint testament. While quite popular with Dutch couples who prepared wills in the seventeenth century, this practice was increasingly superseded by that of the lone male-testator after 1695. Relatively few married women in the colony left wills of any type during the eighteenth century.[22] Although Narrett has

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already drawn brief and general outlines of Huguenot testamentary practices in Ulster County, he did not provide a thoroughgoing examination of the extant wills. In addition to revealing how parents, particularly fathers who comprised the bulk of testators, regarded their children, these wills convey insights into husband-wife and even master-slave relations.

Before proceeding to the documentary evidence, it is essential to describe early modern French testamentary practices in order to determine if the Ulster County Huguenots had indeed adopted Dutch inheritance practices or if they had carried-over practices typical of their native regions in France. Since the patentee families had all resided in northern France before going to the German Palatinate, this is not a complex task to undertake. French historian, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, has identified three basic inheritance patterns in early modern France. In what he terms the "Walloon spheres" of the extreme north (which includes Artois, Picardy, and Hainault, as well as part of modern-day Belgium) parents were given the "freedom to advantage an heir." These anti-egalitarian qualities contrast quite strikingly with those of neighboring Flanders where inheritance laws attempted to ensure an equal and just share for all offspring. Hence, this "Walloon pattern" appears to stand in dramatic contrast to the patterns that Narrett has described for Ulster County. However, Le Roy Ladurie also points out that a major concern in Wallonia-Picardy was the keeping intact of its land, which must if possible survive as a unit after the death of the parents. Is it possible that the organization of the Twelve Men in New Paltz was created to address this concern? Certainly their proceedings almost always devolved on land divisions.[23] It was also typical for Picards and Walloons to give the movables and acquistions belonging to the patrimony of the

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deceased descendant to the nearest relative.[24] This practice appears to have been in place in Ulster County as Narrett has observed that grandchildren in Dutch and Huguenot families usually inherited property as the representatives of a deceased parent.[25]

Narrett has observed that early modern wills, including those prepared in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century New York, typically were prefaced with a religious preamble. Unlike Roman Catholic wills, Protestant wills would not have done this in the hope of effecting a post-mortem dispensation of grace by bequeathing one's soul to God or the Virgin Mary or by setting-aside monies for the performance of masses on behalf of the deceased. Instead these preambles seem to be an obligatory custom, which may or may not reflect the true intensity of the testator's religious sympathies. Indeed, they may not even reflect the precise wording of the testator but rather of the person who transcribed the will.[26] In her study of five generations of the Haring family in colonial Tappan, Firth Haring Fabend demonstrated that the religious preamble characterized wills in this middle colony family until the 1740's and 1750's when the language became increasingly secular in tone.[27] The extant wills of Huguenot families in Ulster County reflect this practice as well. They typically begin by acknowledging the shortness and frailty of human life as well as the unpredictabiliy of the hour of death. They then proceed to an affirmation of God the Father as Creator, Jesus Christ as Saviour, and the Holy Spirit as Sanctifier. This kind of public confession of faith, while not soul-saving, suggests a parallel to the public confessions of faith that the more Pietistically-oriented of the Dutch Reformed churches were expected to present before being admitted to membership and communion in the church. As discussed previously, the sympathies of the first New Paltz church were decidedly Pietistic, for members of this

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congregation were expected to make verbal affirmations of their faith before the pastor and the church consistory, or to present certificates of membership confirming that they had done so previously before the consistory of another Reformed church.[28] The continuing usage of religious preambles in Protestant wills may also reflect a desire to have what would probably be one's final document to mirror in some way the final words of Jesus, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

At least seven of the twelve patentees crafted wills. Those who did so were Christian Deyo, Louis Du Bois, Antoine Crispell, Hugue Freer, Jean Hasbrouck, Louis Bevier, and Abraham Du Bois. A few of them, Louis Du Bois for one, even prepared more than one will, taking into account changing fortunes and circumstances. Although these numbers are too small to permit a reliable statistical analysis, the willingness of the patentees to prepare wills stands in striking contrast to Narrett's observation that about one-fifth of all male property holders left wills in New York City.[29] In view of the previously mentioned observation that wills were even rarer in rural areas, the patentees and their willingness to deal with the inevitable stands-out. However, the first generation's preparedness was not reflected to the same degree by subsequent generations during the colonial period, which means that there are fewer than twenty extant wills that were not prepared by the patentees. Perhaps the reason for the seeming laxity of later generations was a greater sense of security.They had put down roots in a stable community and the women, in particular, were starting to enjoy longer lifespans. Of those who did prepare wills, the families that were most likely to do so were the Hasbroucks and the Du Boises, perhaps because they were among the most prosperous of the patent families and therefore had more assets to dispose of. (Assessments of real and

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personal wealth will be discussed below.) The Du Boises may have simply been adhering to the conscientious example set by Louis Du Bois and his wife Catherine Blanchan as well as that of Catherine's father, Matthew Blanchan, all of whom had prepared two or more wills, either jointly or individually, in order to reflect changing circumstances.

Matthew Blanchan, who had been born in Artois and removed to the Palatinate before coming to New Netherland, was the first of the Huguenot refugees to prepare a will in North America. Although Blanchan was not one of the patentees, his daughters, Catherine and Maria were, respectively, the wives of patentees Louis Du Bois and Antoine Crispell. Blanchan's first will was dated September 1665 and was written in Dutch. In this will he leaves his entire estate in America as well as the land in Artois and other places to his lawful wife, Madeleine Jorisse (identified in the Dutch way as Magdalen) for as long as she remains a widow. Madeleine was instructed to keep their three minor children until they reached their majority or married and to treat them as she treated the two other married daughters. Presumably he is asking that she give these children upon their marriage or maturity an economic portion comparable to those received by Catherine and Maria. If Madeleine remarried while the children were still minors, she was allowed to keep one-half of the property for the support of these children.[30]

In 1671 the Blanchans adopted the Dutch testamentary practice of composing a mutual will that delineated the desires of both partners. Under the terms of this will Matthew and Madeline stated that as long as the surviving partner remained unmarried, he or she would retain control of the entire estate. If the surviving spouse remarried, then he or she would forfeit one-half of the estate to be equally divided among their children.

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In the event that both perished together, eldest son, Matthis Blanchan would inherit the farm in Hurley, including the house, barn, horses, cows, and other appurtenances, while the remaining lands would be equally divided among Matthis and his four sisters. Although this will followed Dutch customs in its treatment of the surviving widow, by favoring Matthis over his sisters, it did not follow Dutch customs in its more generous treatment of the male offspring.[31]

Patentee Christian Deyo was the next to compose a will, in August 1676, also in Dutch. To his three married and two unmarried children he left 100 *Rixdollars* each. In addition to this sum, unmarried daughters, Mary and Margerita, were each to be given fifty and seventy *Rixdollars*, respectively, and Peter was to receive fifteen *Rixdollars* for his wedding suit. The residue (including his share of the New Paltz patent) was to be divided equally among his children. In February 1687/8, perhaps sensing that the end was drawing closer, Deyo made some amendments to this will. Peter was to be forgiven of his debt of fifty *Rixdollars* and the rest of the estate was to be evenly divided among the children. Peter's son, Christian, was to receive forty pieces-of-eight and a small gun. The elder Christian Deyo, who was living in Hurley, requested that his corpse be buried at New Paltz.[32]

Louis Du Bois was the most prolific testator of the New Paltz patentees, leaving a total of three wills comprised in October 1676, March 1686, and March 1694, updated in February 1695/6. All were written in Dutch. Why were Louis and his immediate kin more likely to compose wills than some of their other co-religionists? With eleven children, Louis and his wife, Catherine Blanchan, had the largest number of offspring and they had many assets to bequeath. They had also experienced firsthand the unpredictability of life

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when Catherine and her three young sons, several of her kin in the Blanchan family, and some members of the Crispell family were kidnapped by the Esopus in 1663. It is also noteworthy that Matthew Blanchan prepared more than one will and Antoine Crispell, whose two wives, Maria Blanchan and Petronella Du Mond, predeceased him, prepared at least one will.That they were all connected by ties of kinship or marriage suggests that this may have been an expected or encouraged practice within this family, reflecting a desire to conduct its affairs in an orderly fashion.

The earliest of the Du Bois wills was a mutual will jointly composed by Louis and Catherine. Other than the mutual will of Matthew and Madeline Blanchan, it is the only mutual will prepared by a Huguenot couple in Ulster County that I have been able to locate. Since there are only seven extant seventeenth-century Huguenot wills in Ulster County (including three for Louis Du Bois) it is impossible to determine whether or not Huguenot couples were less likely to prepare mutual wills than were their more numerous Dutch counterparts. Also to be considered is the fact that most people waited until they approached life's end to compose a will.[33] Since wives typically predeceased their husbands, some of these men (Christian Deyo, Hugue Freer, and Antoine Crispell) prepared testaments when they were widowers. The family of Louis Du Bois was atypical in several ways, not only because of its prolific testamentary practices (Catherine would devise a will of her own, which is discussed below, after the death of Louis) but because of its demographics. They had three more children than the average for their generation, and Catherine lived to be eighty-four, nearly forty years longer than most women of her cohort. (Her sister Maria, the first wife of Antoine Crispell, had had six children and died at age thirty-nine.) Under the terms of this mutual will, if both Louis and Catherine died

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at the same time, their children would inherit the entire estate. Provisions were made for the minor children to be educated until they could earn a living. If one partner predeceased the other, the surviving spouse would have control of the entire estate until he or she remarried. At that time the survivor would pay one-half to the children begotten by them. If the survivor remained unmarried, he or she was not compelled to pay out anything to the children unless he or she wished to do so. In this regard the mutual will of Louis and Catherine Du Bois mirrors that of her father and mother. Upon the survivor's death, the children would inherit the entire estate.[34]

The second will was signed by Louis alone and was dated ten years after the previous mutual will and about nine years after the purchase of New Paltz. Therefore, it reflects his concern about the disposition of his land in the New Paltz patent. Based on Louis's wording of the will, his eldest sons, Abraham and Isaac who were also patentees, were expected to divide their father's share between them. Louis indicates that he is willing to let them share this piece of land on the condition that they pay their siblings for this land with interest. Further, they would not be able to inherit any other housing or goods belonging to the estate. Catherine was given charge of the entire estate as long as she remained a widow: if she remarried she would have to surrender the entire estate to their children. While the eldest sons received their father's share of the Patent, the other children would equally share in the remainder of the estate. Louis's last will, was dated March 27, 1694 and updated on February 22, 1696. Once again Catherine was named as executrix and as long as she remained unmarried "all my property in land, houses, goods, debts, and money" belonged to her. If she remarried, the penalties were similar to those of the preceding will. Their seven surviving children and the children of their deceased

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son Isaac would each receive equal shares of one-eighth each. As the firstborn son, Abraham was to receive six pounds. Clearly the wills of Louis Du Bois reflect shifting trends in testamentary practices. The first will conveys a predominantly Dutch flavor, while the third will introduces a token bow to the English preference for primogeniture by setting-aside an additional sum of money for Abraham. Moreover, virtually all of the Huguenot wills prepared in the eighteenth century would continue to divide estates more-or-less equally among all offspring, while adopting the practice of granting an additional token sum of money to the firstborn male. Catherine, meanwhile, found her circumstances reduced in the event that she remarried under the terms of the later wills prepared by Louis Du Bois.

Why did Louis treat his wife in this way in his subsequent wills? As his children were marrying and forming their own households, Louis may have transferred the diminution of his patriarchal authority over them to increased authority over his wife. In this way he could replicate the power he had in the community, as one of the leading patentees and as a church deacon, and within his own family even as he was losing some direct control over his own children. At the same time, their children were no longer young and, if widowed, Catherine would not have to be responsible for their upbringing and financial support in the event of her husband's death; in other words, her services as a mother and guardian of their children were no longer required. If she remarried, it would be the duty of her new husband to support her.

Despite loss of the estate, Catherine chose to remarry sometime before 1703.[35] Her second husband was Jean Cottin who had previously been the schoolmaster at New Paltz and was currently a merchant in Kingston. Since Cottin was a man of some means

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the loss of the estate may not have significantly diminished Catherine's lifestyle. There is also a good possibility that the two had strong feelings of affection. As an older couple with no children to provide for, the Cottins were free to bequeath their assets as they saw fit. Indeed, while she was married to Jean Cottin, Catherine prepared a will of her own which indicates that she still had some assets of her own in this marriage. Written in French, dated July 23, 1712, and designating her husband as the executor, this will is a remarkable and distinctive document. Apparently Catherine had previously drawn-up manumission papers for her two female slaves, Rachel and Dina, in 1702 and 1709, respectively. After Catherine's death, their manumissions were to remain in place and Rachel was to receive thirty pieces of eight before the remainder of Catherine's estate was divided. This kind of generosity was not replicated in any other Ulster County Huguenot wills, which treat enslaved men and women and their children as pieces of property to be divided among one's heirs. The Dutch Church in Kingston was to be given twenty pieces of eight for the benefit of the poor. Eldest daughter Sara was singled-out for special treatment: she was to receive all of Catherine's new clothing and a gold ring, as well as nearly half of Catherine's estate. Her remaining offspring or, in the case of Isaac, his offspring, got roughly equal shares of the remainder.[36]

Jean Cottin's will, dated 1721 and after Catherine's death, is another distinctive and noteworthy document. Apparently he had not been married prior to his marriage to Catherine, or at least he mentions no surviving issue. After Catherine's death he moved from Kingston to New York where he established (or perhaps he had previously established) strong connections with prominent Huguenot merchants including Stephen de Lancey and Augustus Jay, who are among those mentioned in his will. He asks that

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any outstanding debts be paid and bequeaths sums of money to his siblings and other relatives still living in France or in Holland as well as to his servants and perhaps some friends. The bulk of his estate, however, is to go to different churches. Cornelis Elten of Ulster County, perhaps a member of the Eltinge family that had intermarried with the New Paltz Beviers, and who owed him 214 pounds plus interest was supposed to pay this money to the Reformed Protestant Church in New York for the maintenance of their French ministers. Another debt owed to him was to be distributed among the poor of the French Church of New York. Thirty-six pounds was set-aside to compensate the minister of the New York Church who went to New Rochelle to preach. His books, bills, bonds, notes, and some other assets were to be sold by the Reformed Protestant Church at Kingston, while ninety pounds was designated for the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of New York and sixty-seven pounds for the poor of that church. Finally thirty-six pounds was set-aside for the Dutch Church in Harlem. Clearly Jean Cottin was a man of substantial means and presumably of deep religious sentiments as evidenced by his willingness to bequeath funds to so many churches. Oddly, however, the New Paltz church was not one of the beneficiaries of his largesse, nor was it the recipient of any assets from Catherine.[37] Apparently the couple had disassociated themselves from the New Paltz group. From the evidence provided in their respective wills, it would seem that Catherine and Jean were people with strong religious and humanitarian instincts, who wished to leave behind legacies that would benefit the less fortunate.

The will of patentee Hugue Freer, whose occupation is identified as "laborer," was written in French in September 1697. It was sworn before fellow patentee and New Paltz Justice of the Peace, Abraham Hasbrouck, and witnessed by patentee Louis Bevier

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and schoolmaster, Jean Cottin. His eldest son and namesake would receive ten pieces of eight as his birthright. He was also entreated to maintain the rights and interests of his siblings until they were of age. At this time, both of Freer's wives had already died and Freer himself would die within a year. After all of his debts were paid, his household stock and property were to be equally divided among his children. The youngest child Sara, who was born in 1688, at the time of her maturity was to receive a feather bed, blankets, a cow, and some assorted household goods, perhaps in anticipation that she would one day be married and therefore would need these items to help establish her own household. His six sons were to take one horse each, while his other daughter Marie was to get a cow.[38] The assumption here is that the females would need these cows for the dairy products they would provide.

In keeping with his new responsibilities as head of the family, Hugue Freer, Jr. advised his eleven-year-old half-sister Sara to bind herself to serve for three years in the capacity of dressmaker's apprentice to Blanche du Bois, the wife of Reverend David de Bonrepos. Beginning at the end of 1699, young Sara had to obey Blanche and David de Bonrepos "in all things that are reasonable and proper." In exchange, they promised to "feed her, board her, and educate her in the fear of the Lord, and to furnish her with whatever shall be necessary, having regard to her habits and manner of bringing up. . .and above all to teach her the trade of dressmaking." They were also expected to teach her to read and write, in so far as it was possible and in three years she was to leave their home with the same number of dresses and undergarments as she had brought with her.[39] To modern sensibilities this binding-out of the orphaned child Sara Freer may seem unduly harsh, even cruel. Such an arrangement would not have been viewed in this light during

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the colonial period. In fact this was a very thoughtful as well as realistic solution to the dilemma of young Sara's upbringing. Undoubtedly the assets left for Sara would not have been very extensive after Hugue Sr.'s estate was divided among all of his children. This agreement provided Sara with the immediate material necessities of room and board for the next three years. It also placed her into what would presumably be a decent God-fearing environment where she would learn to be a decent God-fearing woman. Her father, Hugue Freer, evidently had been an esteemed member of the New Paltz church, elected first as deacon, then as elder. Quite possibly he had worked closely with Pastor de Bonrepos in carrying-out his duties and as a member of the church consistory. Through this arrangement Sara would have the benefit of learning a skilled trade so she could support herself, and she was to be taught some reading and writing, which would have made her more educated than her father had been.

The will of Hugue Freer, Jr., written in Dutch and dated January 1728, indicates that he is a person with some assets but not as prosperous as other patentee descendants. His thirteen children were to divide his property equally between them and if any wished to sell their shares, siblings would be given first preference. As the firstborn son, Hugue would receive his choice of any horse. Isaac would get the weaver's loom and accessories, suggesting that trades were passed-on from fathers to sons, as well as a sorrel mare for his faithful service. The youngest children were to be brought up as well as possible and permitted to attend school. When these minor children married they were to get outfits similar to what the others had received. Rachel, Jannetie, and Rebecca were granted five, six, and seven pounds, respectively, while Elisabeth was to receive eight pounds and a silver tumbler.[40]

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In contrast to the more modest wills of the Freers is that of Antoine Crispell, who lived in Kingston and had never taken-up residence in New Paltz. It was written in Dutch and dated November 6, 1707. After a lengthy religious preamble, Antoine disposes of his land and other possessions. His assets are such that all of his children are able to receive land somewhere in Ulster County, whether a share of the New Paltz patent, land in Hurley, on the way to Hurley, or woodland. In addition, son Jan got a Negro slave, presumably to help work the land he received, and daughter Maria received a Negro woman and some mortgage money that was due her father. It is difficult to determine if they are being treated more favorably than their siblings or if Antoine was trying to equalize their shares because the land they received was not as valuable as that received by another.[41] It is possible that Antoine Crispell and Louis Du Bois were able to do so well for themselves because they had arrived here with considerable assets. Both men were married to daughters of Matthew Blanchan who was a man of some means and they would have augmented their own assets with those of their spouses.

Patentee Jean Hasbrouck apparently believed in preparing for the inevitable. His will, dated August 1712 and probated two years later was written in Dutch and by his own admission he was "sound in body as I walk and stand and in full possession of my mind and memory. . . ." He then embarks upon a religious preamble in which he commends his "soul to God Almighty my Creator and to Jesus Christ my Redeemer and to the Holy Ghost my Sanctifier and my body to the earth from whence it came to be buried in a Christian manner. . . ." Getting down to the business at hand of dispensing his worldly estate of land, houses, negroes, goods, cattle, accounts, gold, and silver coined or uncoined, Hasbrouck asks that all his honest debts be paid and that his son Jacob

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Hasbrouck, or his heirs, be given all the land in his New Paltz patent, including the house, barn, and other buildings thereon. Jacob was also to receive his father's wagons, ploughs, harrows, and other miscellaneous items and farm implements as well as two negroes named Garret and James. If his eldest son Abraham, who had left the province, ever returned he was to receive a good horse for being the firstborn and one half of the real estate bequeathed to Jacob. Abraham was not permitted to make any further claims on his father's estate. Two interesting elements are intermixed here. First, we have the father's ever-present hope that the prodigal son will return and that he will be forgiven, but there are limits to what he can demand. Hasbrouck was perhaps uneasy that Abraham might try to assert English inheritance rights which favored the eldest son. The sum of sixty pounds was designated for daughter Elizabeth along with a negro woman named Molly and one-half of Jean's personal or movable estate. Elizabeth was also to receive three books, a Testament, the *Practice of Devotion*, and a book of Sermons written by Pieter Du Mallin and printed in French. When the negro woman bore children, Jacob was to get the first daughter after she turned one year old. Money and movable goods were also set-aside for daughter Mary.[42] One of the jarring impressions one gets while reading this will is the way in which Jean Hasbrouck's care, concern, and solicitousness for his own children contrasts with the calculating manner in which he is willing to separate a negro woman from her potential offspring. It is also striking when one considers the manumission papers for two young slave women that had been drawn-up by Catherine Cottin, the way in which Catherine reiterated in her last will and testament that their freedom could not be revoked, and the fact that she made a monetary bequest to one of these former slaves.

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Another noteworthy will was the one prepared by patentee Louis Bevier of New Paltz in May 1720 shortly before his death and written in Dutch. To his eldest son Jean Bevier he bequeathed one pound, a possibly contemptuous means of dealing with the English trend toward primogeniture. The elder Bevier's major concern in writing this will was obviously not primogeniture but rather what would become of his son André when he was no longer around to care for him. André apparently suffered some type of malady or mishap that left him incapable of caring for himself and not in possession of his full mental capacities. Louis implores his other children to "take good care of André, to preserve him from want, and to bury him honorably." An inheritance share equal to those of his siblings was set aside for André but he was not allowed to have access to it as long as he was "not in his right mind" and remained in this "unresponsive condition." If André died without regaining his faculties his siblings were to divide his share equally.[43]

Abraham Deyo of New Paltz did not prepare a will until September 1724 when he was "sick in bed." Written in French, it leaves his wife, Elsie Clearwater, in "full possession of the whole estate without being obliged to render any account to my son Abraham, but if she should marry again, she is to give account to Abraham for land, house, negroes, horses, horned cattle, furniture, and money." Elsie had full power to dispose of all the grain and whatever belongs to him in New Paltz for whatever price she wished. Upon Elsie's death all the land in the Paltz patent would go to Abraham, all of his books were Abraham's as well, except that daughters Marie and Wyntje would each receive four devotional books, including Bibles. In lieu of property, Marie and Wyntje would each receive thirty *pistoles* (Spanish coins) after their mother's death.[44] In this case we have a will that exhibits the Dutch characteristic of delegating much control and

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autonomy to the widow with regard to possession of the estate, but she must share the duties of executrix with Abraham's two brothers, and Jacob and Daniel Hasbrouck. Moreover, their two daughters, Marie and Wyntje were not treated with the same largesse as their male sibling. On a more positive note, they apparently were literate as evidenced by the books he bequeathed to them as well as to their brother.

In marked contrast to the ailing Abraham Deyo, Daniel Du Bois prepared his will, written in French, in August 1729 when he was "well in mind and body but [writing] because the hour of death is unknown." For as long as she lived, his wife Marie was to have full possession of all his goods without having to render any account to their children. If she remarried her portion would be reduced to "one-third of the profits from all lands, one negress, three or four cows, three horses, and all the furniture in the house." Eldest son Benjamin was to receive the cavalry equipment, but not the horse, as his birthright. Their six children would each get equal shares. If he and Marie had additional children they would share equally with the rest. If any of their children decided to sell their shares of the land, their siblings were to be given first preference for purchase. Here we have a will in which the male testator is willing to give his widow full control of the estate. If she remarries, however, the terms of inheritance are more stinting than those in the wills discussed previously, one-third as opposed to one-half, perhaps reflecting some influence of English testamentary practices with regard to women. Further, all of the executors he names are males, rather than naming his wife as executrix or even co-executrix as husbands with surviving wives had done in the previous wills.[45]

One of the major concerns of Jean Tebenin (or Theuvenin as it is sometimes written) in both of his wills, was the disposition of his French Bible after his death. The

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wills were written in French in 1719 and 1730 by Theuvenin, who had been schoolmaster at New Paltz between 1696 and 1700 and possibly at the time these wills were written. He bequeathed his Bible, published in 1644, to the New Paltz church to be used there for as long as services continued to be held in French. If services were no longer conducted in that language he asked that it be sold and that the money obtained from this sale be distributed among the French poor in New Paltz.[46]

In general, the treatment of widows in the wills prepared from the 1730's down to the eve of the American Revolution is not as favorable as had been previously. As long as she remains unmarried and particularly if there are underage children, the wife typically is still given generous, often complete, possession and control of the estate. If she remarries that portion is usually reduced to one-third. In addition she is very unlikely to be named as executrix, at best she might be a co-executor along with her grown sons or with her husband's brothers or other male kin. Fabend found similar practices when she examined eighteenth-century testamentary practices of the Haring family of old Tappan. However, she argued that because testators had grown wealthier, widows no longer needed the bulk of the estate to survive and consequently could afford to share more of it with their children.[47]

The will of Daniel Hasbrouck, dated January 26, 1754 exemplifies this mid-century pattern. His "well-beloved wife Wyntje [daughter of Elsie Clearwater and Abraham Deyo, whose will was mentioned above] shall be and remain in full and simple possession of all my whole estate both real and personal." If she remarried, however, the entire estate was to be delivered up to the possession of the children. Jonas as the firstborn son will get the "pistols, holsters and hangar over and above any of the rest."

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Daniel's six sons were to receive all his lands in Ulster County along with the houses, barns, orchards, etc. on this land. For this they would pay daughter Elsie 200 pounds within one year. The sons also got all the horses, wagons, ploughs, and farm implements, while Elsie got twenty pounds and three milk cows. The estate was to remain undivided until the youngest child had reached the age of twenty-one. The youngest children were also to be "taught and instructed in necessary learning" as long as the executors judged necessary. The executors he named were his wife and her brother Abraham Deyo, Jacob Hasbrouck, and his own three sons Jonas, Josaphat, and Jacob. Whether or not she remained a widow, Wyntje was to remain in possession and control of "one-fifth part in a certain lott of land in the Patent of the New Paltz and adjoining to Hudson River and known by the name of Grandfather part. . . ."[48] "Grandfather part" refers to the land that had belonged to elderly patentee Christian Deyo, which was divided into five equal parts sometime after his death, to represent each of his five children. Since Wyntje was the great-granddaughter of Christian Deyo this bequest was probably a means of transferring part of her family's inheritance to her.

It seems that Wyntje did not remarry since she is identified as Wyntje Hasbrouck, widow of Daniel Hasbrouck in her will which was probated in February 1790. In it she bequeaths all of her clothing and other wearing apparel to her daughter Elsie, while her son-in-law, Petrus Smedes is forgiven all the debts plus interest that he owed to Wyntje. Her son Josaphat was also forgiven all the money and interest he owed. The remainder of her assets were to be divided among her seven children.[49]

Although this will demonstrates that Wyntje controlled some financial assets, suggesting that she still had some economic power, the status of widows, economic and

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other, was not as favorable as it had been in the late seventeenth century. While Wyntje was the wealthiest single woman in New Paltz in 1765, her assets do not rival those of the men of patentee families in that same year. The other three widows are among the poorest inhabitants of New Paltz in 1765. (See below for a discussion of eighteenth-century property and tax assessments.) Certainly, Wyntje's cohorts were living longer than women had nearly 100 years earlier, but women were no longer the rare and vital commodity they had been in the late seventeenth century. Men's and women's average life spans were not as dramatically different as they had been for the second generation in the late seventeenth century and the sexual imbalance had all but dissipated by the Revolutionary era. This meant that a widow, who was no longer likely to retain control of half or more of her husband's estate, was less attractive as a marriage partner than she had been previously. It might also suggest that both single and previously-married women were confronted with fewer options to choose from in a marriage partner. I am reluctant to endorse this interpretation without reservations since there are no documents to suggest that seventeenth-century Huguenot women, particularly the young and desperate widows with small children, had much of a choice in their selection of marriage partners. Still the sexual imbalance implies that there might have been some room for female leverage or selectivity. On the other hand, the fact that most of the patentee families were intermarried suggests that there may have been certain arrangements or understandings contracted between these families. This would be in contrast to the unattached men and women who came to the Chesapeake as described by Carr and Walsh.[50] While the young servants who came to this area in the seventeenth century had severely curtailed freedoms under their contracts of indenture, they were unencumbered by family members

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who might wish to shape their choices and conduct. It may very well be that the characteristics of the Puritan family as described by Edmund Morgan, in which parents typically encouraged but did not force their offspring to marry a certain person, is the more appropriate pattern for the Huguenots of Ulster County.[51] Moreover, the frequency of marriages between cousins or of siblings from one family marrying siblings in another, that Fabend found so prevalent in the Haring family of old Tappan, appears to have been a common practice among the Huguenots of Ulster County as well. Nevertheless, what widows lost in economic autonomy was compensated for by a longer life, improved living conditions and material culture, and growing numbers of slaves to assist with or to perform the most difficult and arduous tasks around the house and farm.

Another revealing characteristic of these mid-eighteenth-century wills (1730's to 1770's) is the expansion of material culture. The wills become longer and more involved as the male testators designate who is to receive not just money and land, and perhaps a family Bible or a few personal items, but all sorts of household goods and personal effects. It is also telling that nearly all testators bequeath a slave or two to surviving family members. While the 1703 Ulster County census had identified seven adult and two negro children in New Paltz at that time, the number was significantly higher from the 1730's on as the white population of New Paltz and Ulster County expanded and as subsequent generations increased in wealth. Perhaps they were less willing to work as hard as the founding mothers and fathers had done. This expansion of slave labor in Ulster County in the mid-eighteenth century coincides with the same years that reliance on slave labor was expanding throughout the colonies.

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In the final analysis, the wills of the Ulster County Huguenots are not identical to those of the Dutch, neither are they decidedly English. Since the sheer numbers of Huguenot wills do not rival the numbers of Dutch and English wills, I hesitate to say that Huguenot wills displayed a distinctive or unique pattern. Certainly they did not maintain the northern French practice of primogeniture that was described above, nor did they embrace wholesale English customs of primogeniture, although most eighteenth-century wills contain a token additional bequest to the firstborn and are increasingly stinting in their treatment of widows, particularly those who remarry. Indeed, most Huguenot wills are more of a hybrid, combining a good part of Dutch testamentary practices with a sprinkling of English practices, and intermixing these with personal proclivities. For example, a child who was more needy or perhaps more deserving might be singled out for extra benefits. Nevertheless, despite a particular child's greater needs or parental favoritism, most offspring, whether male or female, were treated in an equitable fashion. If a father did not wish to subdivide the land, this is particularly true if he did not have diverse landholdings to distribute to different offspring, the inheriting child[ren] were required to make monetary payments to their siblings. Those who inherited land, particularly within the New Paltz patent were advised to give their siblings first choice if they wished to sell this land. Indeed, the most striking theme in Huguenot wills is a desire to provide for the care and upbringing of all their children, regardless of sex. Even the somewhat favorable treatment of widows with young children might be interpreted as a desire to provide for the offspring rather than the mother of those offspring. Once her children reached adulthood, the social and economic importance of the mother was greatly diminished in the eighteenth century, and she might find her circumstances

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reduced and herself in a dependent position as all or part of the estate was divided amongst the children. Hence, the fate of surviving wives was often tied-into the ages of the children at the time of the father's death. Ultimately, eighteenth-century Huguenot wills in Ulster County were concerned more about the futures of offspring rather than of spouses. By eschewing primogeniture and assuring all offspring an equitable share of the estate, which often included land somewhere in Ulster County, Huguenot testators extended their patriarchal power by enabling both male and female descendants to remain within the environs of New Paltz and to marry persons who lived nearby. In this way they created multi-layered extended families with marital ties over generations, not within the same household, but within the same community or in surrounding areas.

TAXATION AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

Death was not the only inevitability faced by the inhabitants of New Paltz since the more they owned, the more they were required to pay in taxes. Several lists of freeholders or taxpayers exist for different decades of the eighteenth century, thereby enabling us to construct a socio-economic profile of the town at different points in time. The first of these lists is dated January 16, 1712/3 and contains the names of twenty men and one woman. Fifteen of these names (71%) are names of patentee families while the remaining names are Dutch. What is most striking about this list is the tremendous disparity in wealth between the patentee taxpayers and that of the Dutch newcomers. At this time three of the patentees, Abraham and Jean Hasbrouck, and Louis Bevier, were still alive. In addition, the name of Mary Du Bois, the widow of patentee Isaac, appears on the list. These four persons are by far the wealthiest individuals in New Paltz, with

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real and personal properties assessed at values of 150 pounds and greater. If we include "Andrew Lefever and Company" with assets of 240 pounds this would increase the number of "very wealthy" persons to five. The next two wealthiest persons, Solomon Du Bois and Hugue Freer, have properties assessed at seventy-five pounds. The next category of wealth drops to forty-five to fifty pounds of assessed wealth, then it drops to twenty-five pounds. All of the patentee families, including those who had married into patentee families (such as Elias Ean, the French-born husband of patentee daughter Elizabeth Crispell who was assessed at thirty-five pounds) had assessed wealth of twenty-five pounds or more. The remaining persons, who appear to have been of Dutch background, were assessed at values ranging from five pounds (three persons) to ten and fifteen pounds (one person each).[52]

The next tax list is from 1728 and contains the names of thirty-one men and two women. Many of the amounts appearing in this tax list are substantially smaller than in the previous list undoubtedly because they reflect divisions of property after the demise of some of the persons who appeared on the prior list. As in the first list, the women whose names appear are both widows, Elsie Deyo, the widow of Abraham, and the widow of Elias Ean (née Elizabeth Crispell). The amounts these women are assessed for are roughly half of what their husbands had been assessed for fifteen years earlier, twenty-three and twenty pounds versus forty-five and thirty-five pounds respectively. These amounts almost certainly reflect their widow's half under Dutch customs of intestacy that were in place at that time. The list contains eleven non-patentee names, apparently all Dutch. Moreover, as in the previous tax list, these persons are clearly on the bottom rungs of the socio-economic ladder. Indeed, the wealthiest of the lot is Maria

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Ean, but even her amount does not parallel the amounts of taxes paid by most of the men from patentee families. The young men of patentee families, who had not yet established themselves nor inherited from their parents, have small tax amounts to pay: Jonas Freer, and Jacob and Moses Deyo, for example, must each pay one pound. Even when, and if, the Freres and Deyos inherit, their assets are not likely to rival those of the more affluent Du Boises, Hasbroucks, or Beviers.[53]

At least two interesting property deeds were composed by women, both of them widows, during the eighteenth century. The first of these was written by Maria Hasbrouck, the daughter of Christian Deyo and Jeanne Verbeau and the widow of patentee Abraham Hasbrouck. There is no extant written will for Abraham Hasbrouck who died of apoplexy (cerebral hemorrhage or stroke) in 1717. Since Abraham died rather suddenly and was intestate, Maria as his widow must have received one-half of the estate. However, in January 1729 Maria decided to cede over some of her land in the New Paltz patent to her grandson Abraham Hasbrouck of Ulster County "in Consideration of the Love, Good Will and affection" which she had for him. The land that he was given adjoined the land of the Widow Elsie Hasbrouck (who was Abraham's mother). Abraham and his heirs were assigned this piece of land forever without any manner of conditions. Maria acknowledged this deed with her mark and the closing statement adds that she gave Abraham this land fully, freely, and absolutely and of her own accord.[54] In June 1754 Elsie Hasbrouck, the aforementioned widow and mother of Abraham, deeded to him and his heirs and assigns her lot of land in the patent of Guilford in Ulster County.[55] Although she would live for another ten years, Elsie was sixty-eight at this time and undoubtedly no longer wanted the headaches and responsibilities of land

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ownership. Abraham, on the other hand, was forty-seven and had already fathered eight children (he would produce four more). These additional landholdings would not only help him to support his own children but would enable him to give his numerous offspring a start in their adult lives. When Abraham Hasbrouck finally composed a will of his own in September 1785 it was a very lengthy and intricately detailed document that specified the persons who would be given his numerous possessions.[56]

The third list of freeholders, for purposes of taxation, is from 1765. A total of 109 men and four women appear on this list. While the actual numbers of women on the tax list doubled since 1728, women were actually a smaller percentage of the landowners in 1765. While their numbers are far too limited to make a reliable statistical observation, the percent of women landowners declined from about 6.5% in 1728 to about 3.5% in 1765. By itself this figure is rather meaningless but if we think of it in terms of changing testamentary practices with regard to women it might be regarded as having some significance. What is perhaps more telling is the comparative penury of these women: three of them, Maritie Du Bois, Petronella Le Fevre, and Catholinetie Le Fevre were assessed for five pounds or less. The remaining woman, Wyntje Hasbrouck, whose will was discussed previously, was relatively affluent with an assessment of nearly forty-nine pounds. However, her "wealth" does not rival that of the wealthiest men in 1765 New Paltz. The property of Abraham Hasbrouck, for example, was assessed at just over seventy-one pounds. A major difference in this latest tax list is the entry of the affluent Abraham Hardenbergh and Josiah Eltinge, with assessments of slightly more than sixty-five and sixty-six pounds, respectively. The remaining five persons with assets of fifty pounds or more all have patentee names. The Eltinges, it should be noted, had

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married into the prosperous Bevier family. For the most part, however, people who do not have patentee names continue to be in the lowest economic ranks. A rather sad entry is the assessment of Maritius Goetschius, the Doctor-Dominie. Despite his apparently demanding schedule as both a doctor and a pastor his assesssed value is among the poorest, just under two pounds. Even if he was also responsible for paying an equal amount of taxes in Shawangunk (where he was the part-time pastor as well) his income would still be one of the lowest. In addition to providing us with a sense of the socio-economic structure of New Paltz in the decade before the Revolution, this tax list gives us a sense of the changing demographics. No longer do we see only French or Dutch names; now there are a number of names that appear to be of British or some other origin, and there is the wealthy German Hardenbergh. Nevertheless, patentee names still comprise about forty-three percent of the freeholders.[57] However, as was pointed out previously in connection with rates of exogamy, many of these people with French names are no longer purely French and many of those with Dutch names are not purely Dutch.

SLAVERY IN NEW PALTZ

African slaves were present in New Paltz from the earliest beginnings of the settlement. As mentioned previously, the 1703 census reveals that there were seven African adults and two children in the village. At that time, slaves comprised 6.9 percent of the population. (See Table 1.) Several receipts that were preserved by the Deyo family reveal that slaves were being purchased and sold in the village as early as the 1680's and 1690's. For example, on July 5, 1680 Christian Deyo and family purchased a negro man named Jack for the sum of 1,160 guilders from Mr. Horton Wessels. Nine years later

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"Abraham Du Bois, laborer, living at the Palle" admitted to having received a negro from Pierre Deyo that he had "inherited from [his] good father" (presumably the now-deceased Christian Deyo). Another receipt dated August 3, 1694 tells of the sale of a "petite" negress named Betty that was purchased from Pierre Deyo of "new pall" by an unnamed person.[58] The Deyos were not the only patentees to own slaves at this early date, but they are singled-out here because they happened to save many receipts from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We know that most, if not all of the other patentee families had slaves by the early eighteenth century because property in slaves is a frequent, and presumably valuable, bequest in the wills of patentee families. When the first census of the United States was taken in 1790, slaves comprised 13.1 percent of the population in New Paltz which was seven percentage points higher than the average of 6 percent for New York State in the same year.[59]

The most important official record of slaveholding in New Paltz is a 1755 census of slaves. (Data appears in Table 3.) At that time, twenty-eight persons were listed as owning either male or female slaves above the age of fourteen years.[60] The total number of adult slaves in New Paltz at that time was eighty, and included forty-eight males and thirty-two females. The actual number of slaves owned per person varied from one to seven, with the average being 2.86. Two persons owned seven slaves each, one owned six slaves, three owned five, and three owned four, while five persons owned three slaves each, four owned two, and ten persons owned one slave, making one the mode. What is not factored into this equation are the numbers of persons living in New Paltz who did not own any slaves at all. Also missing from the picture are those slave children under the age of fourteen. Certainly wills and bills of sale speak of "petite" negresses as well as

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babies and young children. Slave ownership was an indicator of one's financial means, with the more prosperous and larger landowners owning greater numbers of slaves. Therefore, it is not surprising that the persons listed as the largest slaveowners in 1755 are found in the upper brackets of the 1765 property assessment discussed above. Among these twenty-eight slaveowners are the names of five women, undoubtedly widows. Perhaps not surprisingly, women at this time were more likely to be slaveowners than property owners. Even if a widow had to share the inheritance with her children or forfeit all or part of it if she remarried, she was still likely to keep one or more slaves. Indeed one of the largest slaveowners was Sarah Hasbrouck who was mistress to five slaves. The other four women, however, owned one or two slaves, which was less than the average. New Paltz was not unique in Ulster County towns and villages in its slaveholding patterns at this time. For example, there were thirty-nine slaveowners in nearby predominantly Dutch Marbletown in 1755. They owned an average of 2.84 slaves each, with actual numbers ranging from one (which was the mode) up to eight.[61]

What sources are available for reconstructing the living conditions of enslaved persons in New Paltz? Wills serve to illuminate the attitudes of slaveowners toward their slaves, namely, as property or assets that can be sold-off or bequeathed to suit the needs of the master. Whenever slaves are mentioned in these wills they are typically referred to in the same sentence as farm animals. Consider the terms of Abraham Deyo's 1724 will: if his wife Elsie remarried, she was to "give account to my son Abraham for land, house, negroes, horses, horned cattle, furniture, and money."[62] According to his 1743 will, Simon Lefevre of New Paltz wanted his wife Petronella to receive the "negro Charles, four horses, four milk cows, the fattening steer, stock of sheep and hogs. . ."[63] Three

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years later, Jonathan Du Bois left his wife "one negro girl, Judie, and as many cows and household stuff as she had in her portion when I married her."[64] Similarly, in 1750 Samuel Bevier bequeathed to his wife a "negro child, Molly, and two milk cows. . ."[65]

Secondary sources have tended to concentrate on slavery in the antebellum south. If they deal with pre-Revolutionary slavery in the middle colonies, cities, particularly New York, are the focus more often than not. Nevertheless, based on these secondary materials some general observations can be made about the characteristics of slavery in the mid-Hudson Valley during the colonial period. Ira Berlin's recent work, *Many Thousands Gone: the First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*, is the most comprehensive study of slavery in early America to date. Berlin argues that initially slaves were few in number and marginal to commerce and agriculture.[66] Regarding New Netherland he writes, "At the time of the English conquest in 1664, slaves comprised. . .about 5 percent of the population of the entire colony."[67] In 1700 enslaved blacks composed about 12 percent of the total population of the colony of New York.[68] At the time of the New Paltz census in 1703, which was discussed previously, blacks were 7 percent of the population of the village. This places slaveowning in New Paltz slightly below the average for the colony at that time. According to Berlin, slaves usually lived in garrets, back rooms, closets, and outbuildings. Not surprisingly, slaves in the Hudson Valley typically toiled as agricultural workers, tending stock and raising crops for export, much like their rural white counterparts. Since they generally lived on farms rather than plantations, they did not labor in large gangs, but rather alongside their owners.[69] A. J. Williams-Myers discusses the interpersonal relations that existed between masters and slaves in the Hudson River Valley from the 1680's until the end of the eighteenth

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century. Since most of the farms were small, masters and slaves worked alongside each other. On larger estates, relationships were more structured but were not comparable to southern plantations.[70] Williams-Myers also notes that "the smallness of the setting tended to enhance the possibility of functional closeness between the slave and master."[71] Despite these allegedly "close" relationships, masters in New Paltz, and presumably elsewhere in Ulster County, did not hesitate to break-up slave families if they were no longer needed as workers or if inheritance shares necessitated such practices. For example, in his last will and testament patentee Jean Hasbrouck dictated that if "his negress, Molly (whom he willed to his daughter Elizabeth along with a Bible and devotional books) should bear children, Jacob (Jean's son) shall have the first daughter" after she turns one-year-old.[72] However, there were some instances of slaveowners who tried to allow families to remain together. In a letter, presumably from the early 1760's, Louis Bevier writes to his father that he was unable to purchase any negroes from Jacob Decker because Decker "had promised in his lifetime that [his negroes] being one family would be sold together and that they would choose their master, and his children did not want to do otherwise."[73]

After nearly a century of small numbers and economic marginality, Berlin argues that slave life in the Middle Colonies was transformed in the half-century following 1725. Before 1725 slaves were usually brought into the colonies after having been seasoned in the West Indies. Later, however, they were more likely to be imported directly from Africa. This meant higher mortality and lower fertility rates combined with stricter discipline and harder work to degrade slave life even more. On the other hand, the expansion of the slave population allowed them to unite as never before. When the

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Seven Years' War disrupted the supply of white laborers in the 1750's and 1760's, demand for slave labor increased, pushing-up the pecentage of slaves in New York from 11 to 15 percent of the total population.[74] Since there are no census figures for New Paltz that reflect white population in comparison to black population at that time, it cannot be determined with certainty if New Paltz fell above, below, or within these parameters, but it seems plausible to assume that it fell within the average. During this time period, rural slave men continued to perform predominantly agricultural tasks while "slave women migrated into domestic service. . .laboring in the kitchens and pantries of northern farmsteads. But even these women worked in the field part of the time, and Sojourner Truth's powerful iteration that she had 'plowed and planted and gathered into barns, and no man could head me' rang true for eighteenth-century slave women throughout the North."[75] Berlin also points out that the higher mortality rates for newly-arrived Africans and the unbalanced sex ratio in which males outnumbered female slaves, made family life very difficult during this period. Complicating this situation was the fact that both rural and urban slaveholders "routinely sold and traded family members with little consideration for the sanctity of the slaves' family life."[76] Even as the lives of slave women became more difficult and demanding, the living conditions of at least some white women in New Paltz must have been improving. With slave labor available, white women could be relieved of some of the more odious household tasks that would have consumed much of their daily life in the seventeenth century. White women were also experiencing longer lifespans that would enable them to live long enough to see their children's children. Slave women, however, were not accorded these little luxuries and it would not be surprising if they died at much earlier ages than did whites.[77]

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Slaveholders were desperate for labor in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Consequently, very few slaves were emancipated between 1698 and 1763. Fewer than ninety slaves were manumitted in New York during this period and most of them were aged and sickly and therefore nonproductive.[78] In view of the paucity of manumissions, Catherine Cottin's emancipation of two young female slaves along with a financial testamentary bequest to one of them, which was discussed above, is indeed remarkable. It is possible, however, that Catherine's largesse was rooted in the fact that at least one of these slaves had been baptized. During the seventeenth century, rumors and debates circulated over whether or not baptism assured freedom for slaves.[79] For the Dutch Reformed the decision to Christianize one's slaves was left to the head of the household who usually hesitated to do so out of fear that a baptized slave would demand emancipation.[80] Moreover, the Classis of Amsterdam did not encourage slave baptisms and only permitted children of slaves to be baptized if the parents had been converted. Those Dutch Reformed churches that allowed slaves to attend services, for example at Tappan and Philipsburg Manor, typically relegated them to a separate gallery and probably did not admit them to communion or allow them to be married in the church.[81] It would seem that the French Reformed demonstrated a similar reluctance to Christianize their slaves since the New Paltz church records do not mention slave baptisms. Certainly most members of the independent French Church in New York refused to send their slaves to be catechized by former Huguenot and Anglican convert Elias Neau.[82] In contrast, Reverend Pierre Stouppe, pastor of the Anglican-conforming French congregation in New Rochelle, reported numbers of slaves admitted to communion in his letters to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

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in Foreign Parts. Apparently these French Anglicans had not made any connections between baptism or admission to communion and manumission. (The status of slaves in New Rochelle will be discussed more fully in a subsequent chapter.)

The best source for recovering life from the perspective of an enslaved person in Ulster County is the *Narrative of Sojourner Truth*. Although this autobiography was recorded in the mid-nineteenth century it is a pertinent work, since the earliest chapters discuss conditions for slaves in Ulster County at the beginning of that century. New Paltz was still a predominantly rural area in the nineteenth century and many of the same families that had resided there in the eighteenth century had remained in the village. What makes it valuable as well is the fact that Sojourner Truth (or Isabella as she was known at that time) had actually grown-up and lived as a slave in New Paltz after spending the first few years of her life in nearby Hurley.[83]

What aspects of Sojourner Truth's *Narrative*, from the nineteenth century, might serve to illuminate slave life in New Paltz during the eighteenth century? Sojourner Truth reveals that her first master was the comparatively "kind" Charles Ardinburgh (Hardenbergh) of Hurley.[84] It is not inconceivable that he was related to the prosperous Hardenberghs of New Paltz. Indeed Abraham Hardenburgh was one of the two people owning seven slaves whose name appeared on the 1755 list for New Paltz. In view of these factors, it is possible that the early nineteenth-century conditions described by Isabella were similar to conditions that slaves would have encountered in New Paltz prior to the Revolution. Sojourner Truth also tells us that she, along with other slaves, both males and females as was the norm for slaves, slept in the cellar underneath Ardinburgh's hotel in Hurley. She describes their "dismal chamber"in the following way:

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> its only lights consisting of a few panes of glass, through which the sun never shone. The space between the loose boards of the floor and the uneven earth below was often filled with mud and water, the uncomfortable splashings of which were as annoying as its noxious vapors must have been chilling and fatal to health. She shudders, even now, as she goes back in memory and revisits this cellar, and sees its inmates of both sexes and all ages, sleeping on those damp boards, like the horse, with a little straw and a blanket; and she wonders not at the rheumatisms, and fever-sores, and palsies, that distorted the limbs and racked the bodies of those fellow-slaves in after-life.[85]

Her description immediately brings to mind the cellars of the homes on Huguenot Street that might have become the slaves' quarters once the master and his family constructed additional rooms above the cellar. Williams-Myers observes that on smaller farms in the Hudson River Valley during the eighteenth century, African slaves typically lived in either the basement or the attic of the owner's home, while on large estates or manors they were housed in separate "slave quarters."[86]

Truth's *Narrative* also tells of slave children, including herself, at age nine, and her own siblings, who were taken from their parents to be sold to other masters.[87] Her next master, John Nealy, also of Ulster County, beat her for no apparent reason, leaving permanent scars on her back.[88] For a brief time she was the slave of a crude fisherman and inn-keeper named Scriver, until she was purchased in 1810 by John J. Dumont of New Paltz whose ancestors may have been from French Flanders.[89] She remained with the Dumont family until just prior to her emancipation by the State of New York in 1828. In comparison to his wife and two white serving girls, Isabella claims that Mr. Dumont was "kind," since he treated her "as well as he treated his other animals" and praised her for her hard work. She further notes that the Dumont family was accustomed to owning slaves, so obviously her owner was not the first slaveowning Dumont. Nevertheless, despite his "kindness," Mr. Dumont was not averse to beating his young slave girl.[90]

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Although slaves were not allowed to marry under law, they were sometimes urged or even compelled to cohabit in order to produce offspring. For example, while in the Dumont household, Isabella was compelled to "marry" a fellow-slave, named Thomas, who had been "married" twice before and seen at least one, and perhaps both, of these wives sold away from him. Isabella would bring the children she had with Thomas into the fields with her while she was working.[91] Sexual relationships between male slaveowners and female slaves that produced mulatto offspring also seem to have been fairly widespread.[92]

Eventually Isabella was freed under New York State law in 1828. Before that time came around, she would see one of her sons sold-off into permanent slavery in Alabama (she later redeemed him) and she had to run away because Mr. Dumont had reneged on his promise to emancipate her one year earlier. In comparison to a slaveowner named Hasbrouck (undoubtedly a descendant of the New Paltz patentee family of the same name) Dumont's broken promise seems mild. Isabella relates the following story about Hasbrouck:

> He had a sick slave-woman, who was lingering with a slow consumption, whom he made to spin regardless of her sickness and suffering; and this woman had a child that was unable to walk or talk, at the age of five years. . . .This exhibition of helplessness and imbecility, instead of exciting the master's pity, stung his cupidity, and so enraged him, that he would kick the poor thing about like a foot-ball.[93]

In view of Sojouner Truth's *Narrative*, slavery in early nineteenth-century New Paltz did not differ significantly from slavery in the eighteenth century: human beings were considered chattel, even by the "best" of masters. Relatively "benevolent" masters like Dumont were not above lying about manumission, tearing-apart families, physically

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abusing young female slaves, and forcing them to cohabit and procreate with male slaves with whom they had no bonds of affection, and then selling-off the children they produced. From the documentary evidence mentioned previously, there is little reason to think that slaves were treated appreciably better in the pre-Revolutionary period. In short, the lot of New Paltz slaves was wretched throughout the eighteenth century and into the first quarter of the nineteenth century, even as they were on the eve of emancipation in New York. Despite this repressive and abusive atmosphere, Sojourner Truth, and perhaps others of her generation, displayed the same spunk as seventeenth-century middle colony slaves who "when threatened took their complaints to court"[94] when she went to court to secure the return and freedom of her son, Peter, who had been illegally sold into permanent slavery in Alabama.[95]

NEW PALTZ ON THE EVE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

In 1775 New Paltz was a a growing, thriving town. Its religion, politics, and economics were still very much dominated by patentee descendants and by families, primarily Dutch, that had intermarried into patentee families. For example, the "Articles of Agreement Between the Twelve Men," dated April 30, 1774, lists the names of the fifty-one owners of shares of the New Paltz patent. Of these, forty bear patentee names. (I have included Abraham Ean in this category because his ancestor Elias Ean was married to the daughter of patentee Antoine Crispell.) Virtually all of the remaining persons, such as the Eltinges, had married into patentee families several decades earlier, or had done so recently, David Auchmoody, for example.[96] However, New Paltz was becoming noticeably more diverse. As was discussed above, Africans had been among the earliest

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inhabitants of New Paltz, with their numbers and percentage of the total population increasing from 7 percent at the turn of the century to perhaps as much as 11 to 15 percent by the time of the Revolution.[97] What was new in the decades immediately preceding the Revolution, was the influx of persons of British, primarily English, background. Although the English language was not yet regularly and consistently used in written documents, it is possible that many persons in New Paltz would have had at least some cursory knowledge of the English language at this time.[98] By the time of the Revolution, documents with a legal or public significance were very likely to be written in English, whereas private documents, including church records, were more likely to be in Dutch, with very sparse use of either French or English. Testamentary practices still evidenced some Dutch characteristics, although English Common Law was making noticeable inroads in this area. The Church of England had not yet attracted any significant numbers of converts in the Hudson River Valley which was still a bastion of the Dutch Reformed Church. However, the Dutch Reformed Church in America had just recently severed its ties with the Classis of Amsterdam and established its own school of theology in North America.

Where did the allegiances of New Paltz inhabitants reside as the American War for Independence was beginning? On April 29, 1775, not long after the battles of Lexington and Concord, a document known as the "Articles of Association" was drawn-up and copies were circulated to all parts of New York for people to sign. Ralph Lefevre has pointed out that throughout Ulster County most of the people signed this document "that vowed to back whatever measures were recommended by the Continental Congress. . .for the purpose of opposing. . .the arbitrary and oppressive acts of the British

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Parliament. . . ."[99] Two hundred eighteen men in New Paltz signed this document, with the names of patentee descendants figuring prominently. Considering that the 1782 Census counted 331 men over the age of sixteen in New Paltz, this figure must have represented a majority of adult men in the town seven years earlier.[100] Patentee names can be found among the signers in towns elsewhere in Ulster County, as well.[101] Lefevre also notes that descendants of patentees and related persons (i.e. persons who married into these families) were very likely to fight on the Patriot side in any one of the four Ulster County regiments.[102] It is not surprising that Huguenot descendants in Ulster County tended to support independence since, as Patricia Bonomi has noted, "Calvinists--such as the Reformed, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists--whose church government was grounded on and emphasized participation of the laity, were more inclined to embrace the republican form of civil government championed by the American revolutionaries."[103]

Firth Fabend has pointed out that a number of historians, who have written about the Dutch Reformed Church in America and its struggles against the authority of the mother church in the Netherlands, have seen this struggle as a foreshadowing of the colonies' rebellion against Great Britain. Accordingly, during the Revolutionary era they regarded Anglican Great Britain as a threat to their religious freedom. Moreover, the establishment of King's College (Columbia University) as an Episcopalian, rather than as a nondenominational, institution fueled the dissatisfaction with British rule of those Dutch who supported the establishment of Queen's College. Fabend further argues that

> The theological and ideological roots of the American Revolution go deeper in the Dutch Church than those of the coetus-conferentie conflict--and likewise so do the political roots. Coetus proponents in support of the War of Independence

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> were the spiritual direct descendants of their Leislerian and Pietist forefathers who had supported the overthrow of another British monarch in 1689. [104]

As was argued previously, the New Paltz church had long demonstrated an independent spirit in religious matters, particularly in its choice of ministers who tended to be Pietistic supporters of the Coetus faction. In view of the connection that Fabend has made between the Leislerians of the 1690's and the independence-minded Patriots of the 1770's we might argue that the roots of independence were sewn in New Paltz by its first pastors, Pierre Daillé and David de Bonrepos, both of whom had been supporters of Jacob Leisler.[105]

On the other hand, although the inhabitants of New Paltz exhibited a strong sense of independence in political matters by creating the institution of the Twelve Men and in religious matters through their selection of ministers and controversies with the Dutch Reformed Church, this was not translated into a strong sense of individual independence from family and community. Moreover, ties of family and community were strengthened and fostered by religious, political, and economic ties, as well as by extensive intermarriage. Even the tendency to name offspring after parents and other family members can be regarded as reinforcing these ties rather than encouraging a spirit of individualism. Because of these characteristics, the Huguenots of New Paltz closely resembled Puritan and Quaker families in the northern colonies which "were often tight-knit patriarchal 'commonwealths' held together by a strong Protestant faith and a communal ethic."[106] Where emigration was slight (as in New Paltz) "the patriarch's authority increased, which in turn helped cement the community together."[107] This pattern sharply contrasts with most other communities in early America where the

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dictates of kinship, family, and religious values were weaker for demographic, ethnic, and religious reasons.[108] Daniel Blake Smith includes the middle colonies in this pattern where the personal aspirations and economic needs of mobile, nuclear families predominated.[109] If this was indeed the case for the middle colonies, then the Huguenots of New Paltz, as well as the Quakers, must be regarded as exceptional.[110] In view of their tightly-knit families and community, the desire of New Paltz inhabitants to fight on the side of independence in the Revolution cannot be explained by the "enlightened self-interest" that Jack Greene found in the individualistic Chesapeake Bay region both before and during the Revolutionary period[111] but out of a sense of what was deemed best for family, for church, and for community. My findings for New Paltz support James Henretta's argument that "the lineal family. . .stood at the center of economic and social existence in northern agricultural society in pre-industrial America" and that most people in this "yeoman society continued to view the world through the prism of family values."[112] Whether or not these characteristics were paralleled by Huguenots in New Rochelle will be explored in subsequent chapters.

NOTES

1. Some classic demographic studies of New England communities include John Putnam Demos, "Families in Colonial Bristol, Rhode Island: An Exercise in Historical Demography" *WMQ* 3rd Series 21, 1 (Jan. 1968): 40-57; Philip J. Greven, *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970); Greven, "Historical Demography and Colonial America," *WMQ* 3rd Series 24 (1967): 438-54. A pathbreaking study of Maryland was carried out by Lois Green Carr and Lorena S. Walsh, "The Planter's Wife: The Experience of White Women in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *WMQ* 3rd Series, 34 (October 1977): 542-71.

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2. For exemplary studies of New York City demographics see Thomas J. Archdeacon, *New York City, 1664-1710: Conquest and Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976). Joyce Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); David Narrett, *Inheritance and Family Life in Colonial New York City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992) contains some statistics regarding ages at which testators married and the numbers of children that were named in wills. The best sources for demographic comparisons with New Paltz, however, are Firth Haring Fabend's limited statistics on the Haring family of old Tappan in northeastern New Jersey. See Fabend, *A Dutch Family in the Middle Colonies, 1660-1800* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991).

3. Dale Andre BeVier, *The Bevier Family: Its History and* Genealogy (New Paltz: Huguenot Historical Society, 2000); Kenneth E. Hasbrouck, comp., *The Crispell Family in America* (New Paltz: Huguenot Historical Society, 1976); Hasbrouck, comp., *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 3rd ed. (New Paltz: Huguenot Historical Society, 1980); Hasbrouck and Ruth Heidgerd, comp., *The Deyo Family* (New Paltz: Huguenot Historical Society, 1980); Ruth P. Heidgerd, comp., *The Freer Family*, 2nd ed. (New Paltz: Huguenot Historical Society, 1991); William Heidgerd, comp., *The American Descendants of Chrétien du Bois of Wicres, France* (New Paltz: Huguenot Historical Society, 1968); Donald L. Wright, comp., "The New Paltz LeFevres." (Lefevre Family Association, no date).

4. Greven, "Historical Demography," 440-42.

5. Hasbrouck and Heidgerd, comp., *The Deyo Family*, 2.

6. "First Record of the Reformed Church of New Paltz" 1683-1699, New Paltz Reformed Church Records, 1683-1892, Special collections, Huguenot Historical Society Library and Archives, New Paltz; Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family*. (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), 31.

7. Versteeg, *Records*, 80-81.

8. Marital status was not supplied for all persons listed, so there may have been additional offspring born to descendants who left Ulster County and lost contact with their families. In addition, the genealogies do not identify any children that may have been born out-of-wedlock.

9. Edmund B. O' Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1850), 3: 966.

10. For example, Deyo's original plot of land is always referred to as the "Grandfather Part." See the New Paltz Tax and Property Records: Proceedings of the Twelve Men, 1738-1772, Special collections, Huguenot Historical Society Library and Archives, New Paltz. (Hereafter identified as HHS NP.)

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11. Kenneth Hasbrouck, "The Huguenots of New Paltz, New York" *DHM* 36, 4 (Jan. 1962): 8.

12. Bertrand van Ruymbeke has also found evaluations of the rate of exogamy to be problematic when used as an indicator of assimilation. He argued that whenever a Huguenot married outside his or her ethnic group it did not necessarily mean that all of the original ethnic traits were lost. Van Ruymbeke, "From Ethnicity to Assimilation: the Huguenots and the American Immigration History Paradigm" (paper presented at Strangers to Citizens Conference, London, England, April 5-7, 2000).

13. Fabend, *Dutch Family*, 37.

14. *Ibid.*, 86.

15. Michael Anderson, *Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500-1914* (Cambridge: University Press, 1980), 5-6.

16. Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife," 542.

17. John Murrin, "Review Essay" *History and Theory* 11, 2 (1972): 230-31.

18. "Ulster County Census, 1782" in O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3: 996.

19. Narrett, *Inheritance and Family Life*, 21.

20. David Narrett, "Men's Wills and Women's Property Rights in Colonial New York," in *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, ed. Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989), 101.

21. *Ibid.*, 109.

22. Narrett, *Inheritance and Family Life*, 17-18.

23. New Paltz Tax and Property Records: Proceedings of the Twelve Men, 1738-1772, New Paltz Town Records, Special collections, HHS NP.

24. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, "Family and Inheritance Customs in Sixteenth-Century France," in *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800*, ed. Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, and E. P. Thompson (Cambridge: University Press, 1976), 65-70.

25. Narrett, "Men's Wills," 130.

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26. Narrett, *Inheritance and Family Life*, pp. 34-36. Regarding the wording of scribes, Narrett cites the work of Margaret Spufford on English villagers. See Spufford, "The Scribes of Villagers' Wills in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and their Influence," *Local Population Studies* 7 (1971): 41.

27. Fabend, *Dutch Family*, 107-108.

28. The original manuscript certificates of Louis Bevier, 1675, and Jean Hasbroucks, 1672, are still extant. See Louis Bevier Papers. 1675-1719 and Levi Hasbrouck Family Papers: The Locust Lawn Collection, 1672-1968. Both are in the Special collections, HHS NP.

29. Narrett, "Men's Wills," 97.

30. Gustave Anjou, ed., *Ulster Counter, N. Y., Probate Records* (New York: Gustave Anjou, 1906), 1: 30.

31. *Ibid.*, 48.

32. *Ibid.*, 31, 47.

33. David Narrett has pointed out that 65 percent of New York City testators described themselves as sick or weak and an additional 2.7 percent cited old age as the prinicpal reason for declaring a will between the years 1664 and 1775. See *Inheritance and Family Life*, 29.

34. Anjou, *Ulster County Probate Records*, 1: 34.

35. The exact date and place of the marriage is unknown, but a 1703 baptismal record of a seventeen-year-old slave girl named Rachel, at the Kingston Church, identifies Catherine Cottin as her mistress. See excerpt from document in W. Heidgerd, *American Descendents of Chrétien du Bois*, 11.

36. Anjou, *Ulster County Probate Records*. 1: 83-85.

37. "Will of Jean Cottin" in Heidgerd, comp., *Descendants of Chrétien du Bois*, 13-14.

38. Anjou, *Ulster County Probate Records*, 1: 77-79.

39. For original document, see Hugh Freer Family Papers, 1677-1721, Special collections, HHS NP. A translation of this document appears in Ruth P. Heidgerd, comp., *The Freer Family*, 5.

40. Anjou, *Ulster County Probate* Records, 1: 113-14.

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41. *Ibid.*, 71-73.

42. A translated copy of this will appears in Keneth Hasbrouck, comp., *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 88-91.

43. Anjou, *Ulster County Probate Records*, 1: 97-99.

44. *Ibid.*, 110-12.

45. *Ibid.*, 114-16.

46. Jean Theuvenin, "Wills," 1719, 1730, Special collections, HHS NP. Theuvenin's French Bible is in the "Bible and Religious Book Collection, 1582-1969," Special collections, HHS NP.

47. Fabend, *Dutch Family*, 109.

48. Anjou, *Ulster County Probate* Records, 1: 63-64.

49. "Will of Wyntje Hasbrouck" in Hasbrouck, comp., *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 39-40.

50. Carr and Walsh, "The Planter's Wife."

51. Morgan, *The Puritan Family*, 83-85.

52. New Paltz Tax and Property Records: Tax List, 1712/13, New Paltz Town Records, Special collections, HHS NP.

53. O' Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3: 971.

54. Deed appears in Kenneth Hasbrouck, comp., *The Hasbrouck Family in America*, 29-30.

55. *Ibid.*, 37.

56. *Ibid.*, 47-53.

57. Tax list is printed and translated in Ralph Lefevre, *History of New* Paltz (Baltimore: Genealogical Pub., 1973), 94-96.

58. Deyo Family Papers, 1675-1870, Special collections, HHS NP.

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59. Refer to Table 1. For New York State figure, see Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1998), 369.

60. O' Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3: 849.

61. *Ibid.*

62. Anjou, *Ulster County Probate* Records, 1: 110-12.

63. *Ibid.*, 140-41.

64. *Ibid.*, 142-43.

65. *Ibid.*, 164.

66. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 47.

67. *Ibid.*, 51.

68. *Ibid.*, 369.

69. *Ibid.*, 55-56.

70. A. J. Williams-Myers, "The African Presence in the Hudson River Valley: the Defining of Relationships Between the Masters and the Slaves," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 12, 1 (1988): 81-88.

71. Williams-Myers, *Long Hammering: Essays on the Forging of an African American Presence in the Hudson River Valley to the Early Twentieth Century* (Trenton, N. J.: Africa World Press, 1994), 48.

72. "Will of Jean Hasbrouck," 1712, in Anjou, *Ulster County Probate* Records, 1: 90.

73. Louis Bevier Family Papers: The Rutgers Collection, 1687-1921, photocopies. Special collections, HHS NP. Document translated by Victor-Guy Aboulaffia.

74. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 177-78.

75. *Ibid.*, 182.

76. *Ibid.*, 185-86.

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77. I have not found any data for reconstructing slave lifespans in eighteenth-century Ulster County. However, Edgar J. McManus has argued that there is no evidence that the mortality rate was higher among blacks than among whites and that blacks often fared better than whites during smallpox epidemics. See *A History of Negro Slavery in New York* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1966), 62-63.

78. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 187.

79. *Ibid.*, 52; Graham Russell Hodges, *Slavery, Freedom, and Culture Among Early American Workers* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 35-38.

80. Hodges, *Slavery, Freedom, and Culture*, 36-38.

81. Dennis J. Maika, "Slavery, Race, and Culture in Early New York." *DHM* 73, 2 (Summer 2000): 30.

82. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 168.

83. Sojourner Truth who, as a free woman, went on to become a preacher, an abolitionist, and a women's rights activist, has been the subject of several recent biographies. Among these works are Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner: A Life, A Symbol* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996); also, Erlene Stetson and Linda David, *Glorying in Tribulation: The Lifework of Sojourner Truth* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994).

84. Sojourner Truth, *Narrative of Sojourner Truth* (1850; reprint, Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 1997), 1.

85. *Ibid.*, 2.

86. Williams-Myers, *Long Hammering*, 48-49.

87. Truth, *Narrative*, 3-4.

88. *Ibid.*, 10.

89. Sojourner Truth, whose name was still Isabella, would have been no more than thirteen-years-old at this time. Dumont was almost certainly a descendant of Wallerand Dumont, who was born in French Flanders and died in Kingston in 1713. Additional data about Wallerand Dumont may be found in David William Voorhees, "Concise Dictionary of Huguenot Ancestors," Information from Voorhees' unpublished Dictionary has been cited in Peter Steven Gannon, ed. *Huguenot Refugees in the Settling of Colonial America* (New York: Huguenot Society of America, 1985), 369. Nell Irvin Painter identified Dumont as being of French Huguenot descent. See Painter, *Sojourner Truth*, 40.

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90. Despite this harsh treatment, Truth remained in contact with the Dumont family throughout her life. Painter has argued that Truth responded to Dumont's beatings by identifying with him. On the other hand, she despised Sally Dumont who, according to Painter, abused her sexually. See Painter, *Sojourner Truth*, 14-20.

91. *Ibid.*, 12-18.

92. Williams-Myers makes this observation for the eighteenth century. *Long Hammering*, 53-54.

93. Truth, *Narrative*, 47.

94. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 53. The relationship between slaves and New York courts has also been mentioned by Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 58-59.

95. Truth, *Narrative*, 23-28.

96. "Article of Agreement Between the Twelve Men, 1774," New Paltz Tax and Property Records: Proceedings of the Twelve Men, Special collections, HHS NP.

97. "1703 Census" O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3:, 966: Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 177-78.

98. The aformentioned "Articles of Agreement" are in English as are other documents that comprise the Proceedings of the Twelve Men. In addition, it was becoming increasingly common to compose wills in English.

99. Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 1: 167.

100. O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3: 996.

101. Document and names of signers in New Paltz are reproduced in Lefevre, *History of New Paltz*, 1: 167-70.

102. Names listed in *Ibid.*, 171-77.

103. Patricia U. Bonomi, "John Jay, Religion, and the State," *New York History* 81, 1 (Jan. 2000): 14.

104. Fabend, *Dutch Family*, 197-98.

105. David William Voorhees has identified both of these French Reformed clergymen as pro-Leislerians. See "'In Behalf of the True Protestant Religion': The

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Glorious Revolution in New York." (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1988), 430. Even though Daillé and Leisler sometimes had a contentious relationship, Daillé allegedly gathered a petition protesting the impending execution of Leisler. Regarding the relationship between Daillé and Leisler see Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 155-56.

106. Daniel Blake Smith, "The Study of the Family in Early America: Trends, Problems, and Prospects," *WMQ* 39, 1 (Jan. 1982): 17.

107. Murrin, "Review Essay," 232.

108. Smith, "Study of the Family," 18.

109. *Ibid.*

110. I would not be surprised if analysis of ethnically and religiously homogeneous rural settlements in the middle colonies mimicked the communalism of the Puritans and Quakers. Certainly Fabend's study of the Dutch Reformed Haring family of Old Tappan demonstrated strong ties and little movement out of the community by family members. I believe the Pennsylvania Dutch would also fit this paradigm. The model of mobility and personall aspirations may be more appropriate in diverse cities such as New York and Philadelphia, where people neither lived from the land nor created near-homogeneous communities.

111. Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 81-100.

112. James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: *Mentalité* in Pre-Industrial America," *WMQ* 3rd Series, 35 (Jan. 1978): 32. Jack Greene has identified similar proclivities in the Puritan colonies of New England which were "moved by powerful millenial and communal impulses, exhibited rapid community and family development. With strong patriarchal families [and] elaborate kinship networks. . .the puritan colonies [which were mostly involved in cereal agriculture] displayed. . .an extraordinarily low incidence of social discord and contention." *Pursuits of Happiness*, 27.

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Part Three

NEW ROCHELLE, 1687-1776

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Five

THE HUGUENOT FOUNDING OF NEW ROCHELLE

THE ROAD TO NEW ROCHELLE

The founders of New Rochelle encountered significantly more difficulties and dangers in leaving France than did the founders of New Paltz. Unlike their northern French/Walloon co-religionists, the families that would eventually settle New Rochelle did not leave several decades prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, but rather in the years immediately surrounding this fateful decision. Although Louis XIV had been gradually stepping-up his campaign against the Huguenots since the 1660's, his decision to unleash the dreaded *draggonnades* in June 1681, first in Poitou and then elsewhere, served as a major catalyst for flight. The *draggonnades* were soldiers who were sent into towns and villages where they were quartered in the homes of Huguenot inhabitants. The troops had orders to prolong their stay and were permitted to inflict any kind of outrage, short of violation or death, until their hosts abjured.[1] Not surprisingly, under these pressures some Huguenots converted to Roman Catholicism. The depradations suffered by Huguenots at this time resemble an eerie distant mirror for the kinds of depradations that would be visited upon Jews in Germany in the months surrounding *Kristallnacht* over 250 years later. The ultimate fate of the French Huguenots, however, was radically different from that of German Jews. Huguenots who converted to Roman Catholicism were able to retain not only their lives, but their economic assets, jobs, and political

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power. Those who refused to convert and chose to leave France in defiance of the King's orders, often endured a perilous flight. Nevertheless, they would find welcoming havens of refuge in Protestant Europe and in the overseas colonies of these nations, as was discussed in chapter two. For example, following the release of the *draggonnades*, King Charles II issued a royal proclamation "promising letters of denization under the Great Seal of England to all 'distressed Protestants' who desired to shelter themselves under his Majesty's royal protection, for the preservation and free exercise of their religion." They were also offered freedom to practice their trades and handicrafts and the likelihood of naturalization.[2] Holland, Denmark, and other Protestant states likewise offered liberal provisions of settlement for the Huguenots within months of the release of the *draggonnades*.

Virtually all of the future founders of New Rochelle came from the Atlantic coastal provinces of Poitou, Saintonge and, particularly, Aunis, where the Huguenot stronghold and seaport of La Rochelle was situated. Indeed, most of the Huguenots who came to North America (New Paltz excepted) were from these provinces. (Please refer to Map 3 for the locations of these areas.) Fifteen of the early settlers of New Rochelle were Rochellese, including Alexandre Allaire, Louis Bonneau, Jean Bouteiller, Jacques Flandreau, Daniel Gombaud, Jean Hastier, Bartholomew and Isaac Mercier, Daniel Rayneau, Amboise Sicord, André and Peter Thauvet, and Jacob Theroulde.[3] One of the prominent refugees who was from the province of Aunis, but not Rochellese, and who settled in New Rochelle sometime before 1711 was Dr. Pierre Elisée Gallaudet, the ancestor of the founder of Gallaudet University.[4] The Isle of Ré, located off the coast of Aunis and nearly opposite the city of La Rochelle, was the place of origin for ten of the

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future settlers of New Rochelle.[5] The inhabitants here were primarily engaged in maritime occupations: many of them had embraced Protestantism early on and had probably come to the island from the seacoast provinces hoping their religious freedom there would be less circumscribed. Refugees from this small island included Esaie Valleau, Charles Erouard and his wife, Gregoire Gougeon and his wife, and Agnes Constance Le Brun.[6] From Saintonge came several members of the Chadaine and Rembert families, Pierre Parcot and his wife Françoise Gendron, the Forestiers, Reynauds, and Suires.[7] Those who left Poitou and settled in New Rochelle included Daniel Bonnet, the Soulice family, and the physician Jean de Neufville.[8] Because of their proximity to the Channel, Huguenots from these provinces were more likely to escape by a sea route and to take advantage of England's generous offer. Others went to the French West Indies, but would have to move once again when Protestantism became illegal there as well as in France after the revocation.

Whatever the destination, escape by either sea or land required ingenious and desperate methods. Several secondary sources recount the following experience of the Bonnet family as they endeavored to reach the coast. The two small children of Daniel Bonnet and his wife were concealed in *paniers* (baskets) on a donkey and covered with fresh vegetables. When a *gendarme* asked what the *paniers* contained the parents replied "fresh vegetables for the market." The soldier responded by plunging his sword into one of the *paniers*. When the Bonnets later removed their children they found that their son's leg was pierced through the calf.[9] Charles W. Baird describes refugees who were stowed in the holds of vessels, only coming forth at night to breathe the air. Some were concealed in bales of merchandise, under loads of charcoal, or in empty hogsheads, while

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others boarded frail barks. All risked capture by the King's guards who patrolled the coast,[10] and capture meant imprisonment, galley slavery, or death. More recently, historian Carolyn Lougee Chappell edited and translated several accounts of harrowing escapes and concluded that they were essentially truthful.[11]

Jon Butler has observed that young people dominated the Huguenot migration to America, suggesting that there was a significant element of choice in the decision to move again after reaching a European haven of refuge.[12] Certainly this was true for the founders of New Paltz, as was demonstrated previously; it applies as well to the founders of New Rochelle. According to the 1698 census for New Rochelle, most adults in the village were only forty or fifty years old, and nearly all the children were under the age of ten. Butler concludes from this that the original settlers in the previous decade must have been young adults, most of whom were recently married with either very young children or with no children at all.[13] Based on the census the total population of New Rochelle in 1698 was at least 233 persons.[14] Most of the people in these forty or so families were French, although there were three Dutch families, one German family, and one English family.[15] Identifying ethnicity by family name can be deceptive, however, because it is based solely on the father's family name. Indeed at least some of these allegedly non-French families had French ancestors or female members who were French.[16] Moreover, since there were so many places where one could settle in the 1690's it would not make much sense for Dutch or English persons to settle in a French-speaking town unless they had some ties to these Huguenots. Regardless of the true ethnicity of these European families, the largest number of non-French inhabitants were the forty-three persons identified as "negears," who comprised 18.5 percent of the 1698 population.[17]

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After leaving England or the West Indies, most of the initial settlers of New Rochelle did not immediately go to the village of New Rochelle, which was not available for settlement until 1689. Instead they followed a somewhat more circuitous path than the founders of New Paltz had pursued. Most resided briefly in New York City and then moved once again to the more rural surroundings of New Rochelle. A few went first to Boston or Oxford in Massachusetts, to Narragansett in Rhode Island, or even to South Carolina. Refugee Oliver Besley, who was originally from the Isle of Ré, went to England, then to Charleston, South Carolina, then to New York, and finally to New Rochelle. The Reverend Daniel Bondet went from France to England, then to Boston in 1686, to Oxford, then back to Boston, and at last to New Rochelle where he was pastor until his death in 1722.[18] In this way the latest refugees resembled the New Paltz Huguenots who had spent some time in Kingston and Hurley before founding New Paltz. But the earliest settlers of New Rochelle were even more peripatetic than the founders of New Paltz. Further, the time lapse between their arrival in North America and settlement of New Rochelle was not as long as it was for some of the New Paltz patentees. New Paltz patentee Louis Du Bois, for example, had established himself in Hurley for more than a decade before moving-on. The founders of New Rochelle typically removed to the village within a few years of arrival, before they had firmly established themselves in New York City or elsewhere. The fact that most were young couples implies that they were moving to New Rochelle to begin their adult lives with a fresh start.

The desire to establish a Huguenot settlement in Westchester County dates from the mid-1680's, around the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. However, there were a number of prior land deals and transactions, involving the French refugees, that

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took place several decades earlier. In 1654 Thomas Pell purchased a tract of land in what is now Westchester County from the Siwanoy Indians, the native inhabitants of the area. On October 6, 1666, Governor Richard Nichols gave, granted, ratified and confirmed unto Pell "all that tract of land lying to the eastward of Westchester bounds, hereafter known as Pelham, which had been purchased of the Indians." Pelham Manor was inherited in 1669 by Thomas Pell's nephew, John.[19] It appears that there were no white persons living in the area at that time, although by the 1680's there were a few European families in the vicinity of what was to become New Rochelle. For example, the Huguenot Allaires and possibly several other French families were in the area by 1686 and 1687. The English couple, John and Olive Jefferd, were operating a grist mill near Boston Post Road in 1687, suggesting that there must have been some farm activity in these environs.[20] David William Voorhees has surmised that plans for a Huguenot colony may date to 1683 when the prosperous and influential merchant, Jacob Leisler, who was of Huguenot ancestry, began to purchase lands in Westchester County. These plans were formalized in 1686 when large numbers of slave-holding Huguenot planters from the French West Indies began to arrive in New York, following post-revocation outbreaks of violence against Protestants there.[21] At that time Leisler, along with other affluent Huguenot merchants, including Gabriel Minvielle, André Thauvet, Jean Boutellier, and Isaac Des Champs, worked actively to organize a new settlement for these refugees that would be named New Rochelle in honor of the fallen Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle. On July 2, 1687 they entered into an agreement with John Pell to purchase a tract of land that was to become New Rochelle: two years later the dream became a reality. (Please see Map 2 for the general location of New Rochelle.)

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Several copies of the original deed for New Rochelle, dated September 20, 1689, are still extant and may be perused at several locations.[22] Under the terms of the transaction, John and Rachel Pell conveyed 6,000 acres of land in the eastern part of Pelham Manor to Jacob Leisler in exchange for the sum of "1,675 pounds sterling in current money of the province." Considering that Colonel Caleb Heathcote paid only 100 pounds sterling for Mamaroneck in 1697, this would seem to be a handsome price for the land.[23] In view of this it is not surprising that the Pells added another 100 acres of land on which a French church was to be erected. In recognition of Pell's lordship of Pelham Manor, in which this tract of land was located, Leisler agreed that "he, his heirs and assigns" would present "one Fatt Calfe" if demanded by John Pell and his heirs "on every four and twentieth day of June, yearly and every year Forever."[24] The privileges attached to the manor grants in Westchester County varied. "All of them, however, were appointed to be a jurisdiction entirely detached from other established political divisions."[25] Hence, as Lord of the Manor, Pell retained his rights to wreckage, to name the vicar of the church, and the right to hold Court Leet and Court Baron, which gave him jurisdiction in civil and minor criminal cases.[26] In this way, manor grants encouraged the development of a semi-aristocratic system that remained in place for the next hundred years.[27] After acquiring this land, Leisler divided the tract into lots both north and south of what would become Boston Post Road and conveyed this property in plots of varying sizes to persons desirous of settling in New Rochelle. Alexander Allaire, for example, purchased 100 acres while Louis Guion bought 138 acres.[28] The township was surveyed and divided into lots or farms in November 1693 by Alexandre Allaire, one of the original purchasers, and Captain Bond, a surveyor.[29] These initial lots were long and narrow and about a mile in

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length. Most were no more than one field wide. Eventually some lots were further divided, while some increased in size by being joined to other lots.[30] According to a map of New Rochelle that may have been drawn before 1710, the largest farm in the village was 776 acres and the smallest was twenty acres, while nearly two-thirds of the farms were between thirty and ninety acres.[31]

There are no indications that the Siwanoy Indians presented a threat to the safety and security of the fledgling settlement. The Siwanoy had initially occupied the northern shore of Long Island Sound, covering eastern Westchester, of what would become the towns of Pelham, New Rochelle, East and West Chester, North and New Castle, Mamaroneck, Scarsdale, and parts of White Plains.[32] After selling some of their land to Thomas Pell in 1654, they apparently situated themselves somewhat north and west of the Sound in the vicinity of what is today White Plains. During the 1690's they would sometimes come down into the northern part of New Rochelle for a "cider frolic": some still visited as late as 1767.[33] Perhaps like native inhabitants elsewhere, the Siwanoy found their numbers greatly diminished by diseases long before the settlement of New Rochelle. They may have therefore decided to do whatever they could to allow for a peaceful coexistence with the ever-increasing numbers of white families and, whenever possible, to take advantage of land purchase offers that were proffered to them.

Despite the seemingly placid relations with the Siwanoy, the inhabitants of New Rochelle were not completely secure since they must have been aware of French plans for the invasion of New York. Rumors of an impending attack had been circulating for years and, with the resumption of Anglo-French war in 1689, there was a flurry of communications by both British and French officials regarding these designs.[34] In

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addition to this security concern, creating a new community must have been a difficult and demanding endeavor. Except for the area around the Jefferd's mill, the land was, for the most part, uncleared. Nevertheless, there were abundant natural resources, capable of supporting a wide variety of occupations, at their disposal. These resources included forests, fresh meadows, and salt meadows along the sound, creeks and brooks. The land was fairly level and therefore would seem to be well-suited to farming and cattle-grazing. Despite this, farming was not an easy endeavor in New Rochelle as Reverend Pierre Stouppe observed that the land was "very stony, woody, and thorny" and the "farms require a great deal of work and tendence to be kept in order."[35] Traditional histories claim that some settlers may have brought their household goods from New York City by boat.[36] For example, in the possession of the Huguenot and Historical Association in New Rochelle is a desk that Jacques Flandreau brought with him from England in the early eighteenth century.[37]

Several pieces of existing correspondence confirm that the initial years of settlement were not easy ones for the people of New Rochelle. Shortly after his arrival in the town in 1690, the Reverend David de Bonrepos wrote a letter to Jacob Leisler, who had assumed the duties and title of Lieutenant Governor in 1689. (See below under subheading "Local Government" for further discussion of Leisler's ill-fated political career.) In this letter de Bonrepos described New Rochelle inhabitants as being in "poverty and misery"and requested leniency in the collection of taxes.[38] A subsequent petition from the inhabitants of New Rochelle to Governor Benjamin Fletcher, possibly written in the early 1690's, similarly attests to continuing difficulties. Although parts of the manuscript, including the date, have been torn, the gist of their message is quite clear.

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They are "poor and needy" and in debt, "reduced to a lamentable condition" and unable to purchase necessary items because of the expenses they incurred in purchasing land in New Rochelle. As such they "humbly pray" that Fletcher, who was Governor from 1692 to 1698, will grant them "help and priviledges" for "some years."[39] The situation in New Rochelle probably began to improve somewhat, as evidenced by the fact that a church building was constructed in 1692. However, a number of communications from the eighteenth century continue to suggest that many members of this community were by no means affluent.[40] Indeed, as late as October 1762, the newly-arrived minister, Reverend Michel Houdin observed that the "inhabitants, for the most part, are poor."[41]

EARLY HOMES IN NEW ROCHELLE

According to traditional accounts handed down through generations of settlers, the first dwelling to be erected in New Rochelle was a cabin on Bonnefoy's Point that belonged to Louis Guion, but which was used as a communal residence for the initial inhabitants. "The cabin had a stone cellar, five or six feet deep, log walls, and a sleeping dormer, and was roofed with thatch into which saplings were woven." Aman Guion, the first child born in New Rochelle, reportedly entered the world in this house in 1691. In addition to serving as a dormitory and sometime birthing facility, the Guion home was also a meeting house and church. The marriage between Jean Coutant and Suzanne Bonnefoy, performed by Pastor David de Bonrepos, supposedly took place here as well.[42]

This communal residence soon would be replaced by simple one-room wooden homes that accommodated individual families. During the eighteenth century larger dwellings were erected either out of stone or wood or a combination of these materials,

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often by adding-on to the original structures. For example, the initial home of William Landrine, constructed shortly after 1701, measured sixteen by twenty-eight feet. Before it was sold to Ambroise Sicard in 1724, it had been enlarged with a stone addition. Likewise, the Gallaudet, later Carpenter, home was part stone and part wood.[43] These larger, more permanent dwellings thereby accommodated families with growing numbers of children and, at the same time, reflected the burgeoning affluence of some community members as the eighteenth century progressed. One of the more spacious and elegant of the pre-Revolutionary New Rochelle homes was the Pintard Mansion which had eleven rooms in the main building plus two wings. All the rooms but one had a fireplace.[44] In contrast, the Aman and Elias Guion house was a modest frame structure that contained a blacksmith shop where generations of Guion men practiced their trade.[45] Other New Rochelle landowners used their property for multiple purposes as well. Daniel Bonnet, Jr., a tanner by trade, allowed Pierre Gallaudet to build the above mentioned house on his land, but kept his own tanning vats in the rear of this property.[46] Similarly the Sicards, who were weavers, must have plied their trades within the confines of their home.

The first houses were located along the main road, which became known as Boston Post Road, currently Huguenot Street. The middle line that divided the east and west land allotments eventually became known as North Avenue.[47] Unlike the stone houses of the New Paltz patentees, none of the homes of the Huguenot founders are still standing in New Rochelle. Helen Wilkinson Reynolds has pointed out that, as a whole, there are few eighteenth-century homes in Westchester County. However, several of these homes were still around at the beginning of the twentieth century, so some information about them can be gleaned from older histories of New Rochelle, a few of

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which contain photographs.[48] According to Reynolds, most homes in Westchester County during the colonial period exhibited both English and Dutch architectural influences. Roofs typically had a single slant, with some of the rear roof lines sloping nearly to the ground.[49]

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, New Rochelle was evidently a nice place to visit. In 1704, Sarah Kemble Knight, the widow of a prosperous Boston merchant, embarked on a round-trip journey from Boston to New York City. According to her published journal, on December 6 her party stopped in New Rochelle around seven in the morning and had "a good Breakfast." On her return journey to Boston, Madame Knight reports that they set out for New Rochelle on December 22. She made the following observations about the town:

> we had good Entertainment and Recruited ourselves very well. This is a very pretty place, well compact, and good handsome houses, clean, good, and passable rodes, and situated on a navigable River, abundance of land, well fired and cleared all along as we passed, which caused in me a love to the place, which I could have been content to live in it.

She further notes that they passed over a stone bridge and that there were three fine taverns with very good provisions for travellers in the area.[50] Knight had probably visited the tavern operated by François Le Conte which had opened in 1702.[51] Despite the fact that this was still a fledgling community whose inhabitants struggled to make a living, New Rochelle was quickly earning an outside reputation as a place where one could find hospitality as well as comfort. Undoubtedly New Rochelle was well-provisioned for travellers because of its convenient location on Boston Post Road. Moreover, the town was situated within a few hours of travel to and from New York City. Madame Knight pointed out that they arrived in New York one hour before sunset (possibly between 3:30

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and 4 p.m. in December) on the day of their 7 a.m. breakfast in New Rochelle. In 1696 Reverend Henricus Selyns, a Dutch Reformed minister in New York City, had identified the travel time to New Rochelle from New York as about five hours.[52]

The natural resources that surrounded New Rochelle facilitated the maintenance of a variety of occupations including tanning, carpentry, weaving, smithing, milling, inn-keeping, and even boat-building, shipping, and other sea-faring occupations. Moreover, the inhabitants of New Rochelle possessed diverse occupational backgrounds, from La Rochelle merchants to French West Indian planters to seafarers from the Isle of Ré and the Atlantic Coast to skilled artisans in a variety of useful trades. These factors enabled New Rochelle to become the attractive, habitable, and hospitable community that Madame Knight described above. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Jacob Coutant had opened a chair factory that remained in business into the nineteenth century. After Jacob's death, his son, David, took over. Shortly after the Revolution David made a chair (figure 13) that is still in sturdy condition today.[53] Nevertheless, most of the inhabitants of New Rochelle farmed in addition to practicing the above mentioned trades. If farming was as difficult as Stouppe suggested, they obviously needed these additional means of livelihood. Despite the alleged difficulties in tilling the soil, all but seven of the fifty-seven freeholders in New Rochelle in 1763 identified their primary occupation as yeoman.[54]

One essential occupation that has not yet been mentioned is that of "undertaker." Sometime between May 1690 and June 1693, Louis Bongrand donated a piece of land forty paces square to be used as a churchyard. Bongrand was a prosperous New York City merchant who was one of the early purchasers of land in New Rochelle where he

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lived for a few years in the 1690's.[55] Later on the Allaire family acquired a large part of this Huguenot cemetery as a private family burial ground. The Coutants also owned their own family cemetery after 1776. Unfortunately much of the original churchyard was disturbed when a parkway was constructed in the twentieth century.[56] Nevertheless, some graves and headstones, particularly those of the Allaire family, still remain. Guillaume and Marie Cothonneau apparently were the first undertakers in New Rochelle, since the 1699 estate inventory of the Widow Cothonneau lists thirteen and a half shrouds among her many personal and household possessions. The Cothonneaus also supported themselves by farming, as Butler has pointed out, and the inventory included two cows, three heifers, one bull, two mares, three colts, two sows, thirteen pigs, as well as numerous tools.[57]

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Jon Butler observed the following about the local government of New Rochelle:

> The provincial government [of New York] never prevented New Rochelle Huguenots from managing their own town affairs and never diluted Huguenot voting strength in the town by incorporating nearby English settlers within its boundaries as the South Carolina government did with assembly districts in 1696. Nor did the government intervene in any special way when personal disputes afflicted the village.[58]

At the heart of local government in New Rochelle was the annual town meeting. There are no records for nearly all of the 1690's, but there are continuous records from 1699 until 1776, then after a seven year gap, they resume once again in 1783. (As elsewhere, the War for Independence proved to be a major disruption to daily life.) Although the earliest town records are missing, several sources, both primary and secondary, confirm

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that Jacob Leisler attempted to establish the essential outlines of town government in New Rochelle soon after the first settlers had arrived. Leisler had assumed the role and title of Lieutenant Governor in 1689, after Lieutenant Governor Nicholson had fled New York for England to complain about a rebellion that had broken out in the colony after it had been subsumed under the Dominion of New England. This Dominion had been created by James II shortly before his abdication during the Glorious Revolution. Although Leisler himself did not initiate what would become known as Leisler's Rebellion, he eventually became its leader, claiming his authority in the name of the new monarchs, William and Mary. Leisler commissioned André Thauvet as Justice of the Peace for New Rochelle on December 14, 1689. He also ordered an election for assessors and collectors.[59] That Leisler had ordered these elections is evident in the aforementioned letter, dated October 20, 1690, from the Reverend David de Bonrepos. In addition to indicating the impoverished circumstances of the people, de Bonrepos pointed out that, excepting Mr. Strang, none of New Rochelle's inhabitants were familiar with the English tongue, which was a condition for office-holding. In view of this, he requested Leisler's forbearance in the matter of elections. The minister emphasized that the Huguenot refugees would be loyal subjects in every other way and wrote that "despite their poverty and misery they will never lack in submission to the orders on behalf of His Majesty both for the public good and interest."[60] Leisler presumably had wished to expedite the assessment and collection of taxes and to establish local governments that were loyal to the Leislerian rebels. However, some of the inhabitants of New Rochelle were not as polite as de Bonrepos. Apparently they were not pleased with Leisler's taxation plans and in the spring of 1690 a recently-organized New Rochelle military

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under Captain Elié Cothonneau reportedly went to Leisler and told him that the people of that town did not look favorably upon an arbitrary tax.[61] Despite New Rochelle's occasionally contentious relationship with Leisler the town did not turn its back on this controversial man who had played a pivotal role in the acquisition of land for the settlement. Indeed, in 1690, the Reverend Pierre Daillé (of New Paltz and New York), whose relationship with Leisler was also somewhat tempestuous at times, circulated a petition in the town to protest Leisler's death sentence.[62]

Unfortunately the original manuscripts for many of the early New Rochelle town records were lost in a 1917 fire in the town.[63] Fortunately, however, those records had been transcribed, translated, and published during the preceding year. Minutes of the annual town meetings of freeholders, which were held on the first Tuesday in April, were kept in French, interspersed with some English, through 1738. As of April 1739 records of the annual meetings began to be kept in English, perhaps to reflect the increasing diversity of New Rochelle's population and the growing familiarity with English on the part of the town's Huguenot population. Despite the influx of non-French persons, the majority of inhabitants were still persons of French ancestry. A handful of documents, other than the records of the annual town meetings, were written in English before 1739. These include Pell's 1689 grant and a number of property deeds, which suggests that documents contracted with non-French persons or those with legal significance outside the confines of predominantly French New Rochelle were typically drawn-up in English. After 1739, however, virtually all the town records were written in English.[64] This does not mean, however, that French was no longer used for other purposes in New Rochelle. Bertrand van Ruymbeke has argued that although the South Carolina Huguenots

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conducted official transactions in English, they used French among themselves. This bilingualism persisted for most of the eighteenth century.[65] The distinction between the public and the private spheres was also characteristic of the New Rochelle Huguenots.[66]

The town records consist primarily of property deeds and the results of annual elections by freeholders for the offices of Constable, Assessor, Collector, Townmen, Surveyors, and Supervisor. Unlike the inhabitants of New Paltz, the people of New Rochelle do not appear to have created any unique political organizations along the lines of the Twelve Men. Rather they relied on the basic official positions of the County's governance to handle their political and legal affairs. The issue of building and repairing fences arose a number of times in the records as did the seemingly ongoing problem of damage incurred by animals and the identification of the owner of a runaway animal. After several disputes over whose responsibility it was to maintain fences, the elected position of Overseer of Fences was established. In 1715 two persons were elected to this office that attempted to ameliorate an ongoing problem that was the source of much strife and consternation in the eighteenth century. For example, in 1713 schoolmaster Elié de Bonrepos and Louis Guion came to a mutual agreement to keep in good condition the fences between them.[67] On the other hand, in that same year, the widow Suire refused to pay for the fence between her land and that of the neighboring Langevin family until the fence had completely rotted.[68] In 1716 the identifying ear marks on animals owned by the various inhabitants of New Rochelle were made part of the public record. In this way a stray animal could be returned to the rightful owner or the owner could be held responsible for an animal that had done damage to another person's property.[69] During the 1730's the position of Pounder or Poundmaster, whose duty it was to round-up stray

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animals and collect fines from their negligent owners, was introduced.[70] Not surprisingly French family names dominate among the office-holders throughout the colonial period.[71]

The records also include a few wills, estate inventories, transfers of power of attorney, and property divisions. Several contrasts with New Paltz arise based on the characteristics of these documents, particularly the property deeds. There are significantly fewer property deeds for New Paltz because property usually remained in the hands of patentee descendants and was passed-on from one generation to the next, typically upon the death of the parents or, at least, at the death of the father of the family. In New Rochelle some families retained property from one generation to the next, but there was greater movement in and out of the community which necessitated land sales from one person to another. Some members of this community were closely connected with one another during the earliest years of settlement, but as the eighteenth century progressed, the New Rochelle community became more loosely-knit in its ties of religion, ethnicity, and kinship than was typical of New Paltz during the same period. Moreover, unlike New Paltz, where land was held in common by the patentees until 1703 (twenty-five years after its founding), individual tracts of land were drawn-up and sold soon after the land was conveyed to Jacob Leisler, making it more like a real estate development in sharp contrast to the cooperative, communal endeavor of the New Paltz patentees.

EDUCATION

The desire to educate its children was evident quite early in New Rochelle. One of the first schoolmasters was Elié de Bonrepos, the brother of David de Bonrepos who

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was pastor of the French churches in New Rochelle, New Paltz, and Staten Island during the 1690's. Although his brother David resigned as minister of the New Rochelle church around 1694, Elié remained in the town until his own death in 1719, serving as its schoolmaster for much of that time. In 1705 he was licensed by Governor Cornbury to keep school in New Rochelle and again in 1712 by Governor Hunter.[72] In these early years education must have been utilitarian in nature, centering on the basic literacy and mathematics that would facilitate future business transactions and recordkeeping by the children of New Rochelle merchants, artisans, and farmers. It very likely incorporated a good deal of religious instruction as well. Instruction and apprenticeship in trades must have been another ingredient in early education. These trades were frequently passed-on from father-to-son, as in the generations of Guion blacksmiths, or Bonnet tanners, or the Coutant chair-makers later in the century. In some cases the apprenticeship might have been with a skilled craftsman outside the family.

Since public school education was not introduced in New Rochelle until 1795,[73] educational endeavors had to be financed by individuals who agreed to pay certain sums of money or by organizations, which were usually religious in nature. Some studies have been done of the educational endeavors of the Anglican Society for the Propagation of Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) in British North America, but little specifically has been written about education in colonial New Rochelle.[74] One of the earliest and foremost proponents of education in Westchester County was Colonel Caleb Heathcote who, as we shall see later, was also a powerful and determined advocate of the Anglican church in that county. In 1704 Heathcote wrote to the Bishop of London, describing Westchester as

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"the most rude and heathenish country" he had ever seen and he urged the establishment of schools where the children would be trained in learning and in the church.[75]

In his 1941 dissertation on the Church of England in colonial Westchester, Frank Dean Gifford described some of the characteristics of schools that were funded by the S.P.G. in that county. Based on the letters exchanged between schoolmasters and the Secretary of the S.P.G. in London, Gifford identified the typical curriculum in these schools. Students received instruction in reading, grammar, and spelling (which was in English for those towns outside of New Rochelle) as well as in basic arithmetic (addition, subtraction, multiplication, etc.) and higher mathematics including geometry, trigonometry, and surveying. They also may have been exposed to the Latin and Greek languages and to geography. Not surprisingly, religion played an important role in education, with the Catechism being a regular component of the school curriculum. Also particular care was taken to inculcate good morals. Sufficient supplies were an ongoing problem for these schools as many letters request Primers, Psalters, Testaments, Bibles, Catechisms, spelling and Common Prayer Books, as well as reams of blank paper. Because of the paucity of written materials, the method of instruction was chiefly oral, taking on the catechizing technique of question and answer. Other problems encountered by schoolmasters included poor and uncertain compensation for their services and irregular attendance by students who frequently had to assist their families with chores.[76]

One of the schools funded by the S.P.G. was located in New Rochelle from the late 1720's into the 1750's. Its schoolmaster was the Reverend Pierre Stouppe, who was also pastor of the French Church in New Rochelle that had conformed to Anglicanism in 1709.[77] Obviously, education was of vital importance to Stouppe from the beginning of

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his tenure in New Rochelle. At the time of his arrival in the town in 1724, there was no resident schoolmaster. He informed the Secretary of the S.P.G. that the children of New Rochelle were being taught by their parents, which suggests that both mothers and fathers possessed some degree of literacy. Four years later, he repeated the same observation.[78] The industrious and conscientious Reverend soon took the matter into his own hands and started a boarding school for boys. By doing so he furthered the cause of education in New Rochelle, attracted pupils from outside the town, and supplemented his own pastoral income. In addition to Stouppe's letters to the S.P.G., one of the sources for information about this school is a biography of John Jay, the future Chief Justice of the United States, that was written by his son William. Jay's progenitors had come from Poitou and La Rochelle and his grandfather, Augustus Jay, had been a prosperous New York merchant. At the age of seven or eight (around 1753) John was sent by his father to the grammar school that was kept by the Reverend Mr. Stouppe.[79] William Jay describes Stouppe and his school in the following way:

> Stoope (*sic*) was a native of Switzerland and of odd habits. Ignorant of the world, regardless of money, and remarkable for absence of mind, he devoted every minute of his leisure to his studies, and particularly to the mathematics; and he left the undisputed government of himself and his household to his wife, who was as penurious as he was careless. The parsonage and every thing around it was suffered to decay, and the boys were treated with little food and much scolding. Little as he was, John contrived to prevent the snow from drifting upon his bed, by closing the broken panes of glass with pieces of wood.

William points out that these lodgings were in marked contrast to those his father was accustomed to at home. Nevertheless, these accommodations and the plain and simple diet that was offered at the school gave him additional strength and vigor and inured him to hardships later in life. Jay's sojourn in New Rochelle also inculcated in him a thorough

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grounding in the French language which must have been of great benefit to him in the 1780's as one of the members of the American peace delegation in Paris. William further observes that "the inhabitants of the village were chiefly descendants of French refugees and French was spoken by them as well as in the parsonage." After remaining at the boarding school for three years, John Jay returned home and was placed under the instruction of a private tutor for several years until he went on to college.[80]

How reliable is this portrait of Stouppe and his boarding school? We know that Stouppe was educated in Geneva, and it is very possible that he had been born in Switzerland. Certainly he was fluent in French, which was his mother tongue, but he also knew English.[81] Nevertheless, Stouppe must have felt more comfortable communicating in French than in English, and by doing so inadvertently exposed his pupils to what modern linguists would term the "immersion technique" for learning a foreign language. Evidently Stouppe operated this school on a shoestring, since his letters to the S.P.G. frequently ask the Secretary for instructional materials. In view of this, the poor food may have been more a matter of necessity than of harshness or inordinate frugality. Additionally, the story of snow coming in the bedroom window is almost certainly more fact than fiction. After Stouppe's death in 1760, his replacement, the Reverend Michel Houdin, insisted that the parsonage was uninhabitable and that it had to be repaired before he would accept the post. Moreover, the parsonage was in such dilapidated condition that the members of the Church of England (meaning the French-speaking Anglican church that had been pastored by Stouppe) in New Rochelle wrote to Lieutenant Governor Cadwallader Colden requesting leave to build a new minister's house, since the old one was so decayed it was not worth repairing.[82]

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From what we know about Stouppe how would the curriculum in his boarding school coincide with the curriculum described above by Gifford? According to the Jay biography, the French language was a major part of the curriculum. Since Stouppe also wrote and spoke English, it is very likely that his students were given a grounding in English grammar and spelling as well. Quite possibly they would have learned some of the rudiments of Greek and Latin which would have been incorporated into Stouppe's ecclesiastical training. Stouppe had some knowledge of these languages since he occasionally used Greek and Latin in the margins of his manuscript sermons to explain theological terms or the derivation of church doctrines. According to the Jay biography, Stouppe appears to have been consumed by mathematical studies, so this was obviously a key component of the curriculum in his school as it was elsewhere in Westchester County. Since Stouppe was a minister, religious instruction certainly would have been an integral part of the curriculum in his boarding school. In a recent article, Patricia U. Bonomi pointed out that Jay's "Huguenot roots received vigorous reinforcement" at Stouppe's boarding school and that the theological doctrines he adhered to throughout his life "can only [be] characterize[d] as Calvinist."[83] Moreover, the moral instruction of the pupils may have been rooted in the frequent scoldings and lack of creature comforts, which served to strengthen character and fortitude, and emphasized the primacy of spriritual over material values. Despite the material privations, Stouppe's boarding school was evidently well-known and had a respected reputation even outside the ranks of French Huguenots. For example, Philip Schuyler, later a general in the American Revolution, came to New Rochelle to study.[84]

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Undoubtedly Stouppe, like his counterparts in neighboring parishes, was also educating male and female inhabitants of New Rochelle who did not board at his school. These local students may have exhibited the same casual attendance patterns that marked the schooling of young people elsewhere in Westchester County whose studies were frequently interrupted by the demands of farm and household chores. Nevertheless, a majority of the household heads in New Rochelle, were able to sign their names on the extant documents. While this is by no means an accurate indicator of one's ability to read or to write other words, it suggests that at least some, if not all, of the signers possessed a degree of literacy. Several signed petitions exist for New Rochelle from the eighteenth century that provide documentary evidence in this regard. For example, sixty signatures of household heads from the conforming church were affixed to a 1743 petition to the Reverend Doctor Bearcroft of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Only five persons (8%) signed with a mark. Further, the script of those who were able to sign their names, with a few exceptions, is in the typical eighteenth-century style of handwriting and the signatures appear to be quite practiced. At least five of these signers were women; only one "La Veuve Jean (*sic*) Juin" signed with a mark.[85] Stouppe's own wife Madelene was literate, as evidenced by two letters that she wrote to the Secretary of the S.P.G. following the death of her husband.[86] Evidence that the ability to read was widespread is contained in Stouppe's February 1743 letter to Dr. Bearcroft of the S.P.G. In this letter Stouppe requests, for the use of his parishioners, two dozen English Common Prayer books and two dozen French Prayer Books of a larger size and writing because "the elderly have often complained that they cannot read a small print."[87]

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In addition to its useful description of Stouppe and his boarding school, the Jay biography sheds some light on daily use of the French language in New Rochelle in the mid-eighteenth century. If the account is to be believed, and so far there has been no reason to question its veracity, the inhabitants of the town, as well as the inhabitants of the parsonage, were still using French in their daily communications in the mid-1750's, despite the fact that the town records and official legal documents were typically written in English from the late 1730's on. In contrast to the use of English for official public documents at this time, use of the French language appears to have continued in daily life and in the private sphere for at least two more decades. Likewise, during Stouppe's ministry, French was the predominant language used in services and records for the conforming church until the late 1750's. Records for the nonconforming church were also kept in French between 1756 and 1764.[88]

THE FRENCH CHURCH

One of the first buildings to be erected in New Rochelle was the French Church, with the earliest wooden structure dating to 1692. It was situated on Boston Post Road, near the location of the present Presbyterian Church.[89] The first reference to the existence of a church building appears in the Consistory Minutes of the French Church in an entry dated June 16, 1692. The record opens by stating that the Consistory had gathered in "*Le Temple.*"[90] The members of the Consistory at this time were the Pastor, David de Bonrepos, and the elders (*anciens*) whose family names were Thauvet, Jamain, Streing, Cothonneau, and Le Conte.[91] The first extant record is dated December 18, 1691 and no reference is made to the existence of a church building; nevertheless, a church

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organization did indeed exist since Pastor David de Bonrepos and a Consistory are mentioned. The mere existence of these records informs us, not surprisingly, that religion was very important in New Rochelle. It was around this same time that the inhabitants may have petitioned Governor Fletcher for relief and assistance: yet they managed to raise funds to pay a Pastor and to construct a church building.

At the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Reverend David de Bonrepos and his brother, Elié de Bonrepos, who would become the schoolmaster in New Rochelle, were living on the island of St. Christopher, where David was pastor of the Calvinist church.[92] In 1686 David became pastor of the French Church in Boston, but left the following year.[93] Sometime during 1690 David de Bonrepos arrived in New Rochelle where he served as pastor until the end of 1694: the entry for October 14, 1694 was the last to be signed by de Bonrepos. His tenure in New Rochelle was a contentious one from at least the end of 1691 until his departure. The problems revolved around two different and seemingly unrelated issues. The first centered on the location of the glebe de Bonrepos had been given by the church. The land he was given had previously been used by Daniel Gombauld to inter his wife and child. Rather than designating an alternate site for the minister, the elders left him to resolve the problem on his own.[94] The second was an ongoing controversy between the pastor and the prosperous merchant, Louis Bongrand who, as mentioned previously, had donated the land for the Huguenot cemetery. Their dispute resulted in a lawsuit, public confrontations in New York and New Rochelle, and Bongrand's expulsion from the New Rochelle Church.[95] In view of these incidents in New Rochelle, coupled with de Bonrepos' abrupt earlier departure from the Boston Church, and then his testy resignation from the New Rochelle Church,

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Butler has described him as "a prickly man."[96] Undoubtedly he was, but as Butler concedes, the New Rochelle Consistory compromised his position in the situation with Gombauld. Moreover, Bongrand must have been a difficult and headstrong individual. Seacord points out that he was involved in bitter quarrels with several persons in New York and that he disinherited his own son because he had chosen a seafaring life over Bongrand's objections.[97] After his departure from New Rochelle de Bonrepos ministered to several other Huguenot congregations, seemingly without any major controversies or disputes. As mentioned in a previous chapter, he was pastor of the New Paltz Church from 1696 until 1700 or 1702 without any apparent conflicts with members of the community. De Bonrepos was also the only minister in Staten Island in the late 1690's, splitting his time between the two congregations. Indeed, he must have simmered-down and settled-in quite nicely in Staten Island, working as pastor of the French church there until his death in 1734.[98] He also served as a part-time pastor for the French Church in New York, following the death of Reverend Pierre Peiret in 1704, until the elders finally hired Louis Rou as a full-time pastor in 1709.[99]

The Pastorate of Daniel Bondet (1696-1722)

The next minister of the French Church in New Rochelle was the Reverend Daniel Bondet, who had been born into a noble French family around 1652. After studying theology in Geneva, he became a minister in the French Protestant Church, but was forced to leave France at the time of the revocation. He fled to England where he was ordained by the Lord Bishop of London, Henry Compton. This second ordination qualified him to minister to adherents of the Church of England, in addition to his prior

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ordination which had qualified him to minister in French Reformed Churches.[100] After his Anglican ordination he was appointed missionary to the Nipmuck Indians by the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in New England.[101] At the same time Bondet served as pastor to the Huguenot congregation at Oxford, Massachusetts, near Boston. After the Oxford settlement was broken-up by Indian raids, he served briefly at the French Church in Boston. Then he was called or, as Jon Butler put it, "lured" by Colonel Caleb Heathcote to the French Church in New Rochelle in 1695, following the departure of David de Bonrepos.[102] At that time Bondet was in his early forties and his wife Mary was in her late thirties.[103] The first entry by Bondet in the New Rochelle church records is dated July 15, 1696. In addition to being signed by Bondet it is signed as well by several elders. Among the elders whose names appear at this time are Alexandre Allaire, who would be the leading opponent to Anglican conformity in 1709, and Pierre Villeponteax who would later be removed from the position.[104]

Among the most important documentary sources of information about Bondet and his pastorate are the church's records, which were usually kept by Bondet. His entries begin in 1696 and continue until 1712, covering the initial years of the transition to Anglicanism and the building of the stone church. Records for the last ten years of his ministry are missing.[105] The other major body of documentary evidence for Bondet is comprised of approximately thirty letters that were either written by Bondet to the Secretary of the S.P.G. in London, or written by the Secretary to Bondet. There are also a few letters about Bondet, written to the Secretary by Colonel Caleb Heathcote.[106] Several official communications with Governors Cornbury and Hunter and with Lieutenant Governor Ingoldesby concerning Bondet or the New Rochelle church building in the

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years surrounding the church's conformity to Anglicanism are useful for illuminating this period as well.[107]

From the beginning of his tenure in New Rochelle, Bondet experienced financial difficulties, because Heathcote's promise of an assistant pastorate at a new parish in Rye did not materialize and the Huguenot refugees could not support a minister on their own.[108] However, finances were not the only *bête-noir* to plague Bondet since he, like his predecessor, was confronted with several contentious parishioners. This time the problem was over Bondet's alleged refusal to baptize the sickly child of church elder Pierre Villeponteux. The choleric Villeponteux (who had murdered another refugee the preceding year, for which he went unpunished) responded by writing a letter of complaint against Bondet to the Lieutenant Governor, Captain John Nanfan. Villeponteux claimed that although Bondet had refused to baptize the child himself, he had said it would be acceptable for Reverend Pierre Peiret of the New York Church to perform the baptism. After Peiret baptized the child, Villeponteux alleged that Bondet and the elders of the New Rochelle Church "scandalously deposed" him from his position as elder because the child had been baptized in New York. Further, he argued that his removal as elder had "caused his neighbors to scorn him."[109] What Villeponteux did not include in his letter to the Lieutenant Governor was the possibility that his deposition and the scorn accorded him by his neighbors might have been based on the fact that he had previously murdered a fellow refugee. Regarding Villeponteux's murder of David Bourguet in 1700, Butler writes that "the Westchester County grand jury indicted Villeponteux for the crime, but the Court of Sessions subsequently quashed the indictment. Villeponteux never faced trial on the charges and, instead, began disputing with town residents, including the new

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minister. . . ."[110] Perhaps Villeponteux was able to avoid punishment because he was an attorney and therefore familiar with the workings of the system. Following his controversy with Bondet, Villeponteux must have realized that he was no longer welcome in New Rochelle. He sold his farm to Gregory Gougeon in May 1701 and relocated, probably to South Carolina.[111]

Although Bondet was Anglican-ordained, the church he pastored was not an Anglican congregation and the taxes paid by New Rochelle inhabitants went to the support of the Anglican minister at Westchester Parish.[112] Herein lies the essential key to the New Rochelle Church's conformity to Anglicanism in 1709. The major orchestrator of this conformity was Colonel Caleb Heathcote, the current lord of the manor of Pelham. As Butler points out, "Heathcote's interest in the Huguenots was personal and political rather than religious. The New Rochelle refugees simply fitted a plan Heathcote devised to create a phalanx of Anglican congregations across the counties north of the city between Connecticut and the Hudson River in the hope that this would aid his political career."[112] Peter M. Doll, in a recently published work, suggests a more religious motivation for Heathcote's conduct. Doll argues that when Heathcote "looked over the border into Connecticut, he was angered by the sight of so many believers denied a share in the life of the church" and the benefits of baptism and the eucharist because they "had not offered convincing proof of election." Heathcote's solution was "to ride out into Connecticut with an Anglican priest, holding services, preaching, baptizing, distributing Prayer Books and devotional literature, so that the people might know the Church of England for themselves."[113] Whatever the motivation, Heathcote and Bondet worked collaboratively to obtain consent for conformity from the New Rochelle

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congregation. Meanwhile, they pursued other avenues to obtain a salary supplement for the desperate and destitute Bondet. In 1702 Bondet, describing himself as a "French Refugee Minster, incorporated into the body of the Ministry of the Anglican Church," petitioned Governor Cornbury to reinstate the salary of twenty-five pounds a year that he had been paid as the Church of England's missionary at New Oxford, before these funds had been cut by Lord Bellomont.[114] Cornbury apparently referred his petition to the Council, which in turn referred the issue to Heathcote, who affirmed Bondet's story and managed to increase the amount allotted to the French minister to thirty pounds.[115]

In the spring of 1704, Bondet's financial prospects temporarily brightened when the New Rochelle congregation agreed to conform to Anglicanism. But the elders rescinded this decision after being pressured by members of the French Church in New York who were concerned that by the death of their own minister, Pierre Peiret, and the defection of a prominent elder, Elias Neau, to Anglican Trinity Church, then coupled with conformity in New Rochelle might push them to conformity as well. It would take five more years before conformity would become reality in New Rochelle.

During this five-year interim, Heathcote kept the Secretary of the S.P.G. aware of the situation in New Rochelle. In November 1705 he wrote that Bondet was a "good man who preaches very intelligibly in English, which he does every third Sunday in his French congregation when he uses the Liturgy of the Church." He further noted that Bondet was ill paid, receiving only twenty pounds from the New Rochelle congregation and an unreliable supplement of thirty pounds from public revenue. Heathcote further argued that the Church of England could use this man and that they should make sure the thirty pounds was consistently paid to him and that they should set aside fifteen pounds for him

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in the event that the New Rochelle church did not pay him.[116] In this way Heathcote cultivated support from the Anglican hierarchy in anticipation of Bondet's possible future candidacy for a ministerial position should the New Rochelle church conform to Anglicanism. At the same time, Bondet was apparently acclimating his French flock to certain Anglican practices. As late as 1707 Bondet was writing directly to the Secretary of the S.P.G. informing him of the delinquent payment of his public supplement.[117] Apparently the Secretary deemed the complaint to be well-taken as Bondet's next letter, dated January 1708, extended his "humble thanks" to the S.P.G. for its assistance to him in procuring his thirty pounds.[118] Nevertheless, Bondet still found it necessary to preach occasionally at Rye and at East Chester in order to supplement his income.[119]

By June 1709 the elders and members of the New Rochelle Church had become more favorably disposed towards Anglican conformity than they had been previously. After being informed by Bondet "that his people were in a very good temper to receive and conform to the Liturgy" of the Church of England, Heathcote arranged for two Anglican clerics to descend upon New Rochelle in early June. John Bartow, the Westchester Parish minister, conducted an Anglican Sabbath service, while John Sharpe, the Anglican chaplain in Fort George in New York City, preached "a very good sermon" in English. Bondet contributed to the proceedings by profusely thanking Heathcote for arranging his salary supplements. After receiving instructions from Heathcote, twenty-six heads of families voted in favor of conformity to the rules and discipline of the Anglican Church.[120] In a letter written later that year to the S.P.G. Secretary Heathcote reported that "all the inhabitants of the Township of New Rochelle, who were members of the French Church, excepting two, unanimously agreed and consented to conform. . .to the

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Liturgy and rites of the Church of England" on June 12, 1709.[121] The two who refused to accept conformity were Alexandre Allaire, a former elder of the church during the ministry of David de Bonrepos, and Isaac Mercier. Drawing others with them, these men would continue to conduct French Reformed services in the home of Allaire.[122] The presence of this rival French congregation would be a source of ongoing consternation to the conforming church and its ministers for the next sixty years.[123]

Despite the continued presence of dissenters in the town, Anglican conformity bestowed some benefits on the conforming church. Bondet would receive a yearly salary from the S.P.G. for his service to the Church which, presumably, could help to alleviate his financial problems. Additionally, in 1710 the congregation received a license signed by Governor Robert Hunter, permitting them to construct a new church. They also received financial assistance from a number of prominent Anglican politicians, including the Governor and Caleb Heathcote, to defray these building expenses. Among the other contributors were members of the Anglican clergy and some New York French who had conformed to Anglicanism and were attending New York's Trinity Church, such as Elias Neau.[124] The license permitted them to erect a church "forty foot in length and thirty foot in breadth, between the dwelling houses of Francis Le Conte and Zachary Angevin."[125] Construction of a stone church was begun in the fall of 1710 and completed by November of the same year. Church members were so anxious to contribute to this project that, reportedly, "even females carried stones in their aprons to complete the sacred work."[126] As indicated by the above measurements, the building was almost square, its roof was in the form of a square pyramid, and the windows were arched. "It has been suggested that its external shape was modeled after the famous Huguenot

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Temple of La Rochelle, in France."[127] The exterior was of rough, unhewn stone, which perhaps helped to earn it the nickname of "The Old Stone Jug." The interior as well as the exterior was perfectly plain and unadorned. The pews were plain, unpainted, uncushioned, and high-backed. The elevated box-shaped pulpit was situated on the wall opposite the door, which it faced. It was surrounded by a plain railing which formed the altar and there was a small communion table made of cherry wood.[128] Because of its squarish shape, stone construction, and peaked roof it resembles the reconstructed model of the 1717 New Paltz church building. Even the interior description of the pulpit and pews bears a strong resemblance to the New Paltz Church. The descriptions of the New Rochelle Church, however, do not say whether or not the pews faced each other rather than the pulpit. This exterior may not be an architectural style unique to French Calvinists, however, since Gifford has observed that "square churches seem to have been customary at that time."[129] Even Queen Anne was pleased with the church's conformity: in 1714 she sent the congregation a royal patent for the church and grounds at New Rochelle and a solid silver chalice which is still used for special occasions by what is now known as Trinity-St. Paul Episcopal Church.[130]

The independent French Church in New York, which had been losing some of its members to Anglican Trinity Church because it had had no full-time pastor for several years, was spurred to action by New Rochelle's conformity. Instead of being drawn-into the web of Anglican conformity as Caleb Heathcote and Elias Neau had hoped, the New York Church resolved to hire a permanent minister, with the assistance of Huguenots in Amsterdam. This new minister was thirty-year-old Louis Rou, who had been ordained by the Walloon Synod in August 1709. He arrived in New York in the spring of 1710 and

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would remain there until his death forty years later. Butler has pointed out that the Anglican conformity of the New Rochelle congregation and the hiring of Louis Rou were both watersheds in the Huguenot experience in New York, ushering in a period of stability for both churches.[131]

The classic discussion and analysis of Anglicanism's attractiveness for many Huguenots is Robert M. Kingdon's article, "Why Did the Huguenot Refugees in the American Colonies Become Episcopalians?"[132] Kingdon cites a number of reasons for Huguenot conformity to the Church of England. The first, most obvious and most crass reason, was financial. Huguenot churches in North America were usually small and poor. Moreover, they had great difficulty finding suitable ministers once the original refugee pastors had died. Since there were no longer any schools of theology in France they could not turn there for assistance. Additionally they often had trouble paying ministerial salaries and financing the work of their churches. Certainly these were all recurring difficulties for the New Rochelle church. A second explanation is pure and simple gratitude to the English government and its churches in offering them a place of refuge, assistance in resettlement, and liberty of conscience in religious matters. Much of this assistance was channeled through the Church of England. Even in North America, English officials were typically helpful to the French refugees. This explanation also could have played a role in the New Rochelle church's decision to conform. A third reason, and I also would classify this as a crass one, were the social and economic advantages that being an Anglican incurred. Since the wealthiest, best-educated, and most cosmopolitan colonials were likely to be Anglicans, sophisticated Huguenots would

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have felt more comfortable with people of their own social station. Those whose status was not so exalted, could aspire to it by joining an Anglican congregation, which would facilitate their contacts with the more affluent. Likewise, Anglicanism conferred political advantages by enabling them to acquire full naturalization which depended on the favor of the royal government, rather than mere letters of denization. Appointments to positions of power also depended on the favor of royal governors and favor was more likely to be showered on an Anglican than on a dissenter. I would argue, however, that this rationale is more pertinent to an English-speaking Anglican congregation, such as Trinity in New York City, than it is to a relatively poor congregation in the countryside, like the New Rochelle church. For example, in the local government of New Rochelle members of both the conforming and nonconforming congregation were elected to public office. Kingdon's final reason is that there may have been religious attractions which drew Huguenots to the Church of England. He concludes his argument with a brief discussion of the views of Andrew Le Mercier, the last minister of the Huguenot church in Boston. In 1732 Le Mercier had written, ". . . we must be of a sociable Spirit, and submit to the order of the Churches among which we live. . . ." Kingdon believes that Le Mercier was endorsing a kind of adiaphorism, which suggests that there is no one way in which a true Christian church must be organized. If this view was widespread among the Huguenots who emigrated to the American colonies, Kingdon argues that this may explain why it was so easy for them to discard the ecclesiastical structures to which they had been accustomed and thereby pave the way for expressions of gratitude and financial and other advantages.[133]

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It might seem surprising that the Huguenots did not merge with English dissenters such as the Puritans or Presbyterians who, like them, were the direct theological heirs of John Calvin. Additionally, the organizational structure of the dissenting churches was less hierarchical and more akin to that of the French Reformed Churches than was the structure of the Church of England. This hesitation to align themselves with the dissenters arose out of necessity. The Huguenots were very much aware of England's tempestuous history during the Civil War period. To guarantee their own security and the continued protection of the monarch, the Huguenots could not ally themselves with formerly anti-monarchical elements. In other words, they knew better than to bite the hand that, sometimes quite literally, fed them. This tendency would be replicated in the American colonies.

What were John Calvin's views with regard to the Church of England? A number of scholars have argued that John Calvin sincerely desired the unity of the church and was willing to compromise on certain issues in order to consolidate Protestant resistance to Rome. One of the doctrines that Calvin refused to concede was transubstantiation, which he flatly rejected. Although Calvin preferred a pure and simple order of worship, he did not condemn outright some external rites. Of the Anglican liturgy he wrote that ". . .there were many silly things which might be tolerated. . . ." But the learned and virtuous minister of Christ should gradually "prune away unsightly excrescenses and aim at something purer."[134] Calvin also believed that forms of worship, exclusive of satanic and antichristian corruptions, "needed to be accommodated to the condition and tastes of the people."[135] Moreover, in a letter to the French church in London, Calvin urged some latitude in matters of government.[136] John T. McNeill also pointed out that Calvin's

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Institutes and *Commentaries* never condemned the office of bishop itself, but rather the abuses of that office, including the tyrannical consolidation of the pope. For Calvin the episcopate was neither a divine ordinance nor a perversion, but a wise and natural response to conditions and a necessary safeguard against schism and disorder.[137] Throughout his lifetime Calvin maintained an interest in the English church, and even encouraged moderation among the more radical of the Marian exiles who returned with the accession of Elizabeth. "Thus despite wide divergencies on system of government and form of worship, Calvin continued to recognize the Church of England as one with him and the church in Geneva."[138] Considering these arguments, it does not seem likely that the spectre of John Calvin would have haunted those French churches that conformed to Anglicanism. Moreover, there is much to suggest that he would have approved, particularly in view of the fact that the colonial churches had difficulty in finding and paying French Reformed pastors. Calvin undoubtedly would have found Anglican conformity preferable to not having any Protestant church at all or to one that operated only sporadically and left the people unchurched for long periods of time. On the other hand, he certainly would have hoped that the "foolish rituals" of the Church of England would be abandoned for a simpler form of worship.

The Church of England, like other branches of Protestantism, was not an unchanging, stagnant monolith. As demonstrated by Nicholas Tyacke and others, the Anglican Church as it existed under Elizabeth and into the early seventeenth century was essentially Calvinist in its theology even though it maintained some of the outward ritual of the Roman Catholic Church.[139] The Thirty-Nine Articles, which were adopted by the Church of England during the reign of Elizabeth in the late sixteenth century, attempted

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to define the Church's theological position in relation to other branches of Christianity, including Calvinism. Indeed, a number of these articles appear to be decidedly Calvinistic. Nevertheless, although the articles are "not ostensibly vague, they avoid unduly narrow defintion." This "masterly ambiguity" leaves room for "variety of interpretation."[140] In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Anglican Church was so amenable to the Calvinist Reformed Churches of the continent that it even sent representatives to the 1618 Synod of Dort in the Netherlands. Despite this, the Church of England soon assumed an increasingly "High Church" tone during the tenure of Archbishop Laud, a policy which helped to ignite the English Civil War. Although there may have been some recession from Laudian positions by the end of the seventeenth century, the Church of England was less Calvinistic than it had been 100 years previously. Even the Puritans, the most "Calvinistic" elements in the English church, were less Calvinistic by the late 1600's. Certainly this was true for the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay Colony. Given these changes in the Church of England since the time of Calvin, it is difficult to say if the reformer would have been as accommodating of these later tendencies as he had been with regard to the sixteenth-century church. Whether or not John Calvin would have given his hypothetical approval *in absentia*, the New Rochelle Church's decision to conform to Anglicanism was probably a wise one in the long run, at least in terms of financial and ministerial stability. From the perspective of harmony within the town's French-speaking community, however, it was not a very enlightened decision, since it literally tore apart the town, with controversies and rivalries that endured through the 1760's.

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At the time of New Rochelle's conformity, the Church of England was a vital and thriving institution. It was the national church of the foremost Protestant power in the world and it was actively creating dynamic missionary organizations like the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.), founded in 1701, and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.), founded in 1698. In short, it was the only Christian church that could pretend to hold a candle to the international power of the Roman Catholic Church. As such, there was much that was attractive about the Church of England in the opening years of the eighteenth century. Moreover, the Anglican Church had become relatively fluid in its dogmas, lacking the formalized rigidity it had assumed under Archbishop Laud in the seventeenth century or the High Church proclivities of the later Oxford Movement (1833-45). Unfortunately, there are no thorough studies of eighteenth-century Anglican theology in the colonies, in stark contrast to the more heavily reviewed seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. The sense I have gotten from what I have read is that the Church at this time was endeavoring to become an "umbrella" organization, particularly in the colonies, drawing-in all kinds of Protestants, converting "papists," and actively trying to Christianize Africans, both slave and free, as well as native inhabitants. However, the theological mainstream of eighteenth-century Anglicanism tended more toward Arminianism with its emphasis on human free will as opposed to Calvinist predestination. Moreover, Anglicans criticized "Dissenting negativism about human nature."[141] Nevertheless, apparently there was still sufficient room for more Calvinistic shades of interpretation. Although the appointment of a resident Anglican bishop to oversee religious affairs in the American colonies was an oft-discussed issue, particularly in the years preceding the Revolution, the position never

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materialized at that time. This state of affairs fostered a *laissez-faire* atmosphere with regard to doctrine that permitted the conforming French churches to shape their own brand of Anglicanism.

The French Reformed Church, on the other hand, had become a "church without a country" lacking schools of theology and national synods that could ordain ministers and help resolve disputes in individual churches or between churches. Moreover, the French refugees failed to recreate these ecclesiastical institutions in their adopted homelands. Granted, this would have been a difficult endeavor in the colonies where refugee communities could scarcely afford to pay a pastor, but it would not have been impossible to do so in England to where approximately 40,000 to 50,000 Huguenot refugees had fled in the late seventeenth century. Instead, these French Protestants would have to be content to shape and adapt other branches of Protestantism in order to fit their needs and circumstances.

Records of marriages and baptisms for the French congregation in New Rochelle are extant for the period from March 9, 1703 until August 15, 1712.[142] Assuming that no entries were lost or missing during this period, there were thirteen marriages. However, it is quite possible that some entries were lost since there were four marriages in 1703, none in 1704, three in 1705, none in 1706, 1707, and 1708, and then three in 1709, two in 1710, and one in 1711. Eight of these marriages were performed in the church. One marriage, between Elié Pelletreau and Jeane Many was performed in the house of the bride on December 13, 1709. Only two of these entries indicate that three prior announcements of the upcoming marriage had been made in the church. One of these

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"announced" marriages took place in 1703, before conformity while the other was in 1711, after conformity to Anglicanism. The remaining marriages were identified as being performed in New Rochelle in the presence of relatives and other witnesses, but do not specify whether or not the marriage took place in the church. Apparently an advanced state of pregnancy did not preclude a church marriage, since Jeane Bouchet, who married Pierre Martin on November 23, 1709, gave birth to a daughter on February 4, 1710, ten weeks later. The child was baptized two weeks after birth. The Martins continued to be quite fertile, with Jeane giving birth to another daughter on April, 8, 1711. This child was baptized three weeks after birth. There may have been more instances of marriages that were consummated before the ceremony but this is impossible to ascertain since there are no baptismal entries recorded between August 1705 and November 1709. It is very possible these records were lost or destroyed, since the dates coincide with the gap in the marriage records previously noted.

The age at which baptism was performed at this time varies. A few children identified as "sickly" or "weak" were baptized soon after birth or within a few days. Under normal conditions, most baptisms were performed two to eight weeks after birth, with the norm being four to six weeks old, both before and after conformity to Anglicanism, indicating no change in the timing of this practice. Nevertheless, room for variation existed throughout and under both orders. For example, there was one child, Judith Lauran, who was not identfied as sickly, yet who was baptized four days after her birth on March 10, 1703. In contrast, Marie Elizabeth Vergeraud was baptized eight months after her birth on April 7, 1704. Both of these cases were recorded prior to conformity. Then there are the baptisms of older persons like twenty-five-year-old Marie

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Willam, who was baptized on September 17, 1704. This family name does not appear on either the 1698 census or on the 1710 List of New Rochelle, so her identity is uncertain. Perhaps she was a slave, since slaves were usually not baptized in infancy but rather after they had received religious instruction and had indicated that they understood the basic tenets of faith. A sad and desperate case was that of the seriously ill Marie Broun. Bondet wrote that he baptized her "for consolation" at her request on March 25, 1711. He also baptized three of her six children, aged seven months to eleven years. The unfortunate woman, whose husband had died eight months before, died two days after her baptism and was buried in the Church cemetery.[143]

Apparently the S.P.G. was very pleased with Bondet's performance, so much so that it was decided to give him a substantial increase in salary. "In consideration of [his] Great Learning & piety & of [his] Long and faithfull Discharge of Duty" his salary of thirty pounds per year was increased to fifty pounds.[144] In a letter dated April 3, 1714 Bondet profusely thanked the "Honorable Secretary" for the Society's bounty in raising his salary, which he noted would "rescue [him] from several Inconveniences who had rendered the Maintenance of [his] family difficult and uneasy. . . ." He also expressed gratitude for 100 French Common Prayer Books that were sent to him. The letter continued to be upbeat with Bondet informing the Secretary that the number of communicants had increased in the past year to fifty from between thirty and forty. Some of this increase was due to the return of several of the "most sober and serious dissenters." He described the remaining dissenters as disturbed persons "who remain yet backward shewing rather the humour of seditious obstinate disturbers than the Spirit of sound religious Christians." Nevertheless, with "patience and moderation" he waited for

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them to return for a "full and perfect Gathering of the flock." He further reported that every third Sunday he performed the service in English and that some of the young people were able to read this language.[145] Four months later, Bondet wrote "my Congregation hath encreased so fast that our Church building is often found too narrow especially when I Preach in English our company being encreased by them of that Nation. . . ." Since the population of New Rochelle had expanded between 1698 and 1712, as indicated by the censuses for those years, it is not suprising that the main church in town, with the exception of the nonconforming congregation, would experience some expansion.[146] Unfortunately there are no existing marriage or baptismal records between 1712 and 1725, so it is impossible to monitor congregational growth in these areas. After priming the Secretary with these positive comments, Bondet suggested that it would be helpful if the people "were regularly charged to contribute something towards my Ministry," thereby indicating that payment from the church was less than reliable.[147] Bondet continued to report financial difficulties in his 1716 and 1717 letters to the Secretary, partly because his supplement from the public revenue continued to be unreliable and also because his portion of twenty pounds from the New Rochelle church was not always available.

Financial difficulties were not the only woes besetting Bondet after 1716: his wife was in declining health and she died sometime in 1717. Mrs. Bondet was subsequently described by her husband in a 1718 letter as "my Deare and Honorable Consort."[148] Nevertheless, Bondet had some positive news to report in 1717 since the number of communicants had increased from fifty to sixty. He further informed the Secretary that "I have of late admitted to the Communion Two Negroes to the satisfaction of the Church

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who had them Often before giving promise of their Christian instruction and having good report among Our people."[149] Unfortunately he neglected to specify whether or not white communicants had to pass spiritual muster before the minister and the church community before being admitted to communion. Black communicants evidently had to undergo some form of pastoral and member approval, perhaps along the lines of what every potential communicant was subjected to in the Reformed Churches. In view of this it is difficult to determine how much of this growth in the number of communicants was rooted in a more open style of admission to the Lord's Supper that might have arisen after conformity to Anglicanism.[150] Bondet's October 1718 letter told the Secretary that there were now five blacks, three men and two women, who had been baptized and admitted to communion after receiving instruction in the Catechism. He also noted they they "attend the divine service in a convenient place assigned for them."[151]

> In November 1720 Bondet, who was sixty-eight-years-old, wrote that he had been
>
> > Seized with a fitt of Apoplexie as I was in the house of one of my Next Neighbours, having lost the use of my right side, by the space of 24 hours after which God was pleased to restore unto me the free use of all my Limbs. But with such weakness that my good friend Mr. Elias Neau being come to visit me and seeing that my condition required some relief. . .he brought me along with him and kept me in his house about 3 Months.

Elias Neau was a fellow Huguenot refugee who had survived galley slavery and imprisonment in France. After spending several years in the French Church in New York City, Neau conformed to Anglicanism and abandoned a lucrative career as a merchant to become the S.P.G.'s catechist to slaves in New York. Neau brought Bondet to doctors in New York who pronounced that the minister was "a dead Man." Despite their dire prognosis, Bondet recovered sufficiently to return to New Rochelle and to conduct both

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morning and evening services on the Sabbath, much to the "surprise and joy" of his flock.[152]

This letter was Bondet's last communication to the Secretary. The next letter from New Rochelle, dated November 26, 1722, is from the inhabitants who inform the Secretary that "Mr. Bondet departed this life on September 18 last." They "humbly pray" that the Society will continue its favors to them by sending another in his place and remind the Secretary that they are unable to "raise a Sufficient Salary to maintain a preacher." They also point out that "the far greater number of us are unacquainted with the English Tongue." In view of this they would prefer the Society to send a Frenchman who would preach in their native language and sometimes in English for the "Edification of those few English settled amongst us as for our own Emprovement in that language which we are very desirous to learn."[153] Based on this communication, it is evident that there were still many persons of French background who had attained little or no mastery of the English language, although they confess their willingness to do so. They also expressed concern for the spiritual welfare of the few English families in the town who would benefit by having a minister who could speak English as well as French.

We have already seen that the paradigm of Anglican conformity cannot be applied to the French Church in New Paltz. On the surface it would seem that New Rochelle represented a classic example of French Huguenot conformity to Anglicanism. But just how thoroughly Anglican was the conforming church in New Rochelle? Did the pastors and the congregation embrace mainstream Anglican doctrines and practices or was this church more akin to the conforming churches in England which Robin Gwynn

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has described as "Anglican in name rather than by deep conviction"[154] Further enhancing this portrait of the lukewarm nature of conformity in the French churches in England is the work of Bernard Cottret. He has argued that the use of ritual was highly selective in these churches: ministers did not wear a surplice or make the sign of the Cross, and the laity did not kneel at Communion.[155] These observations would also be applicable on the other side of the Atlantic in South Carolina. At least inititially, the conforming churches in that colony played "fast and loose with the Canons and Rubrick" as Commissary Gideon Johnston reported in 1713.[156] We shall see below whether or not Johnston's description of the South Carolina churches presented a mirror-image of the conduct of the conforming church in New Rochelle.

All of these conforming churches, whether in England, South Carolina, or New Rochelle were expected to use a French translation of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer.* This translation, entitled *La Liturgie*, had been prepared in 1662 by the exiled French minister Jean Durel, who was trying to facilitate an Anglican-Huguenot alliance by bridging the obvious language difference. At that time many Huguenots in England objected because so much of Anglican ritual was taken from the Roman Catholic Mass, with ministers using the sign of the Cross in baptism and the laity kneeling to receive communion. Durel's response was that these things were matters of taste and mere national tradition.[157]

The Ministry of Pierre Stouppe (1724-1760)

Bondet's successor as the pastor of the conforming church in New Rochelle was Pierre Stouppe. Stouppe was born in 1690, in either France or in French Switzerland.[158]

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He was educated for the Reformed ministry in Geneva, after which he accepted a call to the independent French Church in Charleston, South Carolina. He was in that colony by 1720, since one sermon that he preached in Charleston on January 24, 1720 still exists.[159] He resigned his position in the Charleston church in the summer of 1723, conformed to Anglicanism, and crossed the Atlantic to be ordained by the Bishop of London. After his ordination he was appointed to serve as the S.P.G. missionary to New Rochelle, with an annual salary of fifty pounds per year, the same as his predecessor had received. He received his license to officiate in New York from Governor Burnet in July 1724.[160] When Stouppe finally arrived in New Rochelle in 1724, the conforming church had been without a pastor for almost two years.

Stouppe revealed some interesting information regarding the New Rochelle church in response to queries from the Bishop of London in a letter dated October 12, 1724. He described the parish as being two miles in length and three in breadth, and inhabited by about seventy families, some of whom were Presbyterians (meaning the nonconforming congregation). When asked if there were any infidels and what he was doing to convert them, Stouppe responded that there were a few negro slaves, some of whom came to church of their own free will, but no other means were used for their conversion.[161] Stouppe indicated that divine service was performed twice every Sunday, on Christmas and Easter, and on Communion days. Communion was administered four times a year and the number of communicants varied from forty to fifty. Stouppe reported that there was no school within the precinct of New Rochelle and that parents instructed their own children. There was no library save for the 400 volumes that were willed to the church by Reverend Daniel Bondet. Elsewhere Stouppe informed the Secretary that these

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books, which were largely historical and philosophical works, had not been acquired by Bondet for his own use, but were "accidentally purchased from a merchant, whose decaying circumstances he intended to relieve." As such they were not particularly useful to Stouppe.[162] Stouppe also pointed out that the people of New Rochelle were poor and could offer him little for a salary since they were obliged to contribute money towards the parish of Westchester which went towards the support of the Reverend Mr. Bartow. Finally, when asked about the condition of the parish house Stouppe implied that it was in rather poor condition.[163] In another letter to the Secretary, dated May 12, 1725, Stouppe pinpointed the number of unconformed families as thirty and observed that Mr. Moulinars, a minister of the French Church in New York visited them quarterly. According to Stouppe the dissenters at every possible occasion "inspired others with a disadvantageous opinion of the Church" and "raile in a plain manner at its Liturgy and Ceremonies." Moulinars reportedly declared that the Church of England and the Church of Rome were "as like one another as two sisters can be." The dissenters allegedly threatened to break commerce with any who crossed-over to the conforming church. Stouppe further asserted that "there is no unlawful practice which they scruple to make use of for the detriment of it" (meaning the conforming church). To make matters worse, the dissenters had built their own church 200 yards from the conforming church and intended to reclaim the 100 acres of land originally donated by the Pells for the New Rochelle church and which had been used by Pastor Bondet. Stouppe closed by asking the Society to remove the cause of these divisions.[164]

Apparently the dissenters had increased their numbers since the initial date of conformity, with perhaps the most significant inroads during the two year period when

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the conforming church was without a pastor. The nonconformists did not have their own full-time minister, but as Stouppe reported, one of the ministers of the New York Church, Jean Joseph Brumeau de Moulinars, visited four times a year. By the time of Stouppe's second letter later in 1725, Moulinars had left the New York Church following a nasty dispute with Reverend Louis Rou and would soon settle-in as full-time pastor of the nonconforming congregation in New Rochelle. It is at this time that the dissenters sought to acquire the aforementioned 100 acres for the use of their own pastor. This must have been a very difficult situation, not only for Stouppe, but for a town as small as New Rochelle, fragmented by such bitter divisiveness. Unfortunately the activities of the dissenters can only be viewed through an Anglican lens since they left very few documents of their own, other than records of marriages and baptisms that were noted by the ministers of the New York Church. As far as I have been able to determine, there are no records from the pastorate of Moulinars which was the only time the dissenters had a resident minister during the colonial period. In view of the lack of source materials, the story of the nonconforming congregation will be interwoven wherever relevant, and an overview of its history will appear at the end of this chapter.

The documents that most clearly illuminate the nature of religious beliefs in New Rochelle belong to the pastorate of the Reverend Pierre Stouppe, who served as the conforming church's full-time minister from 1724 until his death in January 1760. Of all the ministers of the New Rochelle church, Pierre Stouppe is the most recognizable for the simple reason that there are more available documents written by him. We also recognize him because of his boarding school and some of its more illustrious pupils. The documentary evidence for Stouppe and his pastorate consists of three types of sources:

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church records, letters, and sermons. The extant church records from 1725 on consist entirely of baptisms. Nearly all of the entries that were written by Stouppe beginning in March 1725 and continuing until the late 1750's are in French. Whenever Stouppe baptized the child of an English, Dutch, or German couple in the 1750's Stouppe recorded this activity in English. The last entry made by Stouppe is dated February 25, 1757. Stouppe continued to serve as minister until his death nearly three years later but his declining health impaired his ability to perform all of his pastoral functions. Someone other than Stouppe, perhaps one of the elders or *anciens*, as they usually identified themselves, made official recordings of baptisms performed by Stouppe in his home in 1759. The same unidentified person also recorded several baptisms by other Anglican clergymen, primarily the Reverend Mr. Barclay, rector of Trinity Church in New York, during 1760 and 1761 when the church was without a pastor prior to the appointment of the Reverend Michel Houdin.[165]

The second category of documents composed by Stouppe are his letters to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. There are at least twenty-four of these letters, some of which are several pages long. Although written in English, Stouppe continued to use the French version of his first name rather than the Anglicized "Peter." They primarily discussed the state of the conforming church in New Rochelle, numbers of baptisms, numbers of communicants, number and frequency of services, and numbers of attendees. Sometimes Stouppe asked for Catechisms and other religious texts or informed the Secretary of the activities of the rival nonconforming French congregation in town. There are also several letters from the Secretary to Stouppe.[166]

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The last major source of information consists of at least seventy-five manuscript sermons that were written in French by Stouppe, between 1725 and 1741 and delivered by him in the New Rochelle Church, during the same time period and possibly later.[167] It is obvious that significant amounts of time and effort went into the preparation of these sermons. Stouppe nearly always noted the dates when he preached these sermons. Most were delivered more than once. Since there are no extant sermons for his remaining years at New Rochelle, it is possible that Stouppe may have used these sermons throughout his tenure there, particularly in his later years when he seemed to be extremely busy with the boarding school, but this is only speculation. While these sermons cannot open windows into the souls of New Rochelle inhabitants they represent a rare, and hitherto unexploited, opportunity to get inside the mind and heart of a Geneva-trained, Anglican-ordained minister of a conforming French congregation in the North American colonies.[168] Other than the ninety-six manuscript sermons of Louis Rou, who was pastor of the independent French Church in New York from 1710 to 1750, I do not know of any other large collection of sermons preached before a French Protestant congregation in North America.[169] Since there are nearly 900 pages of manuscript sermons, the following analysis will provide an overview of the general characterics of Stouppe's sermons, his beliefs and religious practices in his church.

Stouppe's sermons are, on average, twelve pages long, although actual length varies from nine to fourteen pages. They are written in a very neat and highly legible script typical of an educated person of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, there are some sections that cannot be read because the paper has been torn or crumbled away, or what is more frequently the case, the ink has soaked through from the other side.

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Although William Jay's portrait of the minister suggested an absent-minded, even careless person, Stouppe's sermons do not reflect those characteristics. Stouppe always began by introducing his topic for the day, which was usually based upon a section of Jean Durel's French translation of the Anglican Catechism or Charles Drelincourt's translation of the Petit (small) Catechism.[170] In this way he provided orderly and methodical catechismal instruction for his congregation. Next he proceeded to a careful explication of what this doctrine meant, its Scriptural roots, its importance for the Christian life and faith, and how and why it originated. His statements throughout were firmly rooted in Scripture and he sometimes referred to the early Church fathers. By doing this Stouppe demonstrated that the weight of tradition is not enough to justify adherence to a particular doctrine or practice, since evidence of practice must be found in the Scriptures and in the primitive church. Stouppe's language and message are consistently clear without being condescending. Neither are they overly pedantic. His messages invariably closed with a practical application that described various ways that the homily could be applied to daily life.

The basic structure of introduction, explication, and application typical of Stouppe's sermons is very similar to the structure used by Louis Rou of the French Church in New York. Nevertheless, there are some notable differences. Rou rarely mentioned the Catechism: nearly all of his sermons were drawn from a Scriptural passage. Rou's sermons were also about twenty-five to thirty percent longer, averaging fifteen to eighteen pages. Moreover, Rou timed his presentations and noted in the margins of some sermons that it took him forty-five or fifty minutes to deliver the message. Stouppe did not leave notations of this sort in the margins, but since his

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messages were briefer, I would estimate it would have taken him about thirty minutes to deliver most of his sermons. This, of course, is based on the assumption that he spoke at the same speed as Rou and did not embellish his messages with extemporaneous discourse. While Stouppe's messages invariably focused on the larger issues of faith, Rou often delved into obscure and esoteric Biblical passages, quite possibly to showcase his erudition. Obviously both men were intelligent and learned, but Rou was arrogant and condescending in his approach, quite unlike his counterpart in New Rochelle. From the 1720's on, after a particularly bitter run-in with Moulinars and his Church's consistory, Rou's sermons took-on an increasingly sarcastic tone. Nothing of this nature is evident in Stouppe's messages, almost certainly indicating that he had achieved greater satisfaction with his life and calling than had his counterpart in New York.

The earliest extant sermon written by Pierre Stouppe was delivered in the independent French Church in Charleston, South Carolina on January 24, 1720, about three years prior to his conformity to Anglicanism. It is a few pages shorter than most of Stouppe's later sermons, about eight and one-half handwritten pages, but the script is slightly smaller than usual, so the delivery time may not have been appreciably shorter than for his later sermons. His text for this sermon is I John 3:10: ". . .whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither is he that loveth not his brother."[171] In this sermon Stouppe explained the role of works in the Christian life, which was one of the most decisive issues in differentiating among the Reformed, Catholic, and Anglican approaches to salvation. Stouppe made it very clear that works do not play a role in one's initial salvation: "You cannot be justified by works because of their imperfection." Nevertheless, he conceded that "faith without works is dead." Stouppe sought to explain

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that while God accepts faith for the justification of man, works must then follow. Then he proceeded to enumerate those characteristics by which we can identify a child of God. The first of these characteristics is justice, the observation of all the commandments of God. He also included benificence or charity in this category, as well as right actions and right conversation in all our dealings. The second essential quality of a child of God is love, defined as compassion for all men, a fraternal love. It also implies possession of the fruits of the spirit (love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance as per Galatians 5: 22-23) The child of God loves his enemies as himself and feeds him if he is hungry. Further he possesses mercy, humility, and sweetness, and rejects anger, animosity, malice, and dishonest words. In short, he who says he loves God but hates his brother, is a liar.

Stouppe brought this sermon with him to New Rochelle, after he had conformed to Anglicanism, and delivered it almost verbatim on May 2, 1725. This time Stouppe expanded on a few ideas that were mentioned in the Charleston sermon. For example, he added several more verses from Scripture to reinforce the importance of charity or love in the life of a Christian. Indeed he emphasized that the first commandment is to "love God with all your heart" and the second is to "love your neighbor as yourself." He then repeated the distinguishing characteristics of a child of God and contrasted them with the characteristics that identify the children of devils. None of these amendments convey a shift of emphasis away from his previous views as pastor of the independent French Reformed Church in Charleston before his conformity to Anglicanism. Moreover, these minor revisions underscore and emphasize his earlier theological position. In view of this information it seems certain that Stouppe's conformity to Anglicanism did not affect a

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major change in his approach to justification, the role of good works, and the importance of being able to identify a child of God, which suggests his beliefs had some affinities to what the Puritans would have called "visible sainthood" or signs of Election.

The Inventory of Sermons (Table 4) indicates the range of topics that Stouppe chose to preach about during his ministerial career. While some topics were only dealt with once or twice, certain topics evidently were more popular with Stouppe and possibly with his audience as well. The Sacraments in general were the most frequently discussed topic. In particular, the sacraments of baptism and communion (*La Sainte Cène*), the only two sacraments recognized by Stouppe and by the Reformed Churches, were the most frequently addressed topics. Eleven different sermons that discussed communion were preached a total of twenty-one times. Stouppe composed four different sermons on baptism which were preached on nine occasions. Finally, four sermons discussed the sacraments in general.[172] The faith versus works controversy was the main issue in eight different sermons that were preached on nine occasions; this topic was alluded to frequently in a number of other sermons as well. The nature of prayer was also popular, and was the focus of six different sermons that were preached a total of nine times. Since these were the issues and topics that Stouppe presumably deemed to be most important, the following analysis will concentrate on these sermons. The analysis will also explore ways in which beliefs and practices in Stouppe's church differed from Anglican practices, including the nature, number, and efficacy of the sacraments, doctrine of Election, the role of good works in salvation, perserverance of the Saints, and the use of images for religious purposes.

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What was Stouppe's attitude toward the sacraments in general? In a sermon on the second part of section eight of the Petit Catechism, entitled "Of the Sacraments," Stouppe provided an overview of his beliefs regarding their nature, number, efficacy and virtue, and the reasons for their institution.[173] According to Stouppe, Sacrament is the "general name for all those holy things that are hidden from our senses, and particularly those mysterious truths of religion." They "signify the alliance of grace established by God with his church" and are "used to combat the Devil and sin and to keep us faithful to God." Only two sacraments, baptism and communion (*La Sainte Cène*) were instituted by God and therefore are the only two sacraments for the Christian church. Moreover, they effectively replace the Old Testament "sacraments" of circumcision and Passover that God had ordained for the "church" of ancient Israel. Just as giving a crown to a king or the keys of the city to a conqueror as an indication or confirmation of their right and possession, the sacraments represent and confirm for us our own possession of the grace of God. The Roman Church, in contrast, maintains that the sacraments contain grace. If this were true the wicked could obtain God's grace simply by partaking of the sacraments. Stouppe insisted that this view is in direct contradiction to the word of God and a "very great absurdity." He then proceeded to tear down the basis for all the remaining sacraments of the Roman Catholic church which were not instituted by God, nor practiced by the primitive church. He dismissed confirmation as not being instituted by God, while extreme unction and prayers for the dead are useless. Penitence is a work of piety, but once again it was not instituted by God as a sacrament. Indeed, he argued that faith, prayer, and charity, are more excellent than penitence but are not sacraments. Ecclesiastical orders cannot be a sacrament since it was not instituted by Jesus Christ and

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does not pertain to all Christians. Further, the imposition of hands merely signifies the receiving of orders, not salvation. According to Stouppe, this practice was made a sacrament in order to communicate the right and power of ecclesiastics. Finally, marriage cannot be deemed as a sacrament since it, like holy orders, is not common to all. Moreover, the Roman Church contradicts itself by refusing to allow priests to marry and by saying that marriage is of the flesh. Stouppe's stand on the sacraments is clearly that of Reformed Protestantism. The Anglican church, in contrast, accepted all seven practices that had been accorded sacramental status by the Roman Catholic Church at the Council of Trent. However, the Church of England at that time acknowledged that baptism and communion deserved a special rank since they, unlike the other five, had been ordained by Christ and referred to in the Gospels.[174]

These ideas are reiterated and expanded upon in a sermon on Section 48 of the Catechism. Stouppe once again linked baptism and holy communion to the Old Testament sacraments of circumcision and Passover. This time he referred to the others as "*les cinq prétendus sacraments*," quite possibly a play on words of the pejorative term, "*la religion prétendue reformée*" used by the French government when referring to the French Reformed religion before the revocation. Regarding the "pretended" sacrament of penance Stouppe asserted that true repentance does not consist of a confession to a priest, recitation of a certain number of "Our Fathers" or "Hail Marys," a donation to a church, or even a pilgrimage to Rome. Instead there must be "true repentance which consists of the renouncing of sin, the mortification of the flesh, and the rebirth of the natural man created in the image of God in justice and holiness." For Stouppe the "sacrament" of penance is nothing but impiety. In lieu of the destruction of vices the Roman Church had

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created a cover to serve this pretext. He again attacked the sacramental validity of marriage and ecclesiastical orders on the basis that they were not instituted by Jesus Christ and were not common to all Christians. Moreover, he pointed out that the Roman Church contradicted itself with regard to marriage by insisting that it is of the flesh and that those who marry are less pleasing to God than those who do not, yet marriage is elevated to sacramental status along with ecclesiastical orders.[175]

Throughout his sermons Stouppe stressed that there are only two sacraments, namely baptism and communion. In a sermon on Section 51 of the Catechism, Stouppe discussed the meaning of the words attributed to Jesus, "This do in memory of me" (Luke 22:19). In this way he emphasized the solemn commemorative nature of holy communion: it is done in memory of the sacrifice of Jesus and does not in any way convey saving grace.[176] This concept is further developed in a series of messages on Section 52 of the Catechism, that were preached between 1734 and 1740. In one of these messages he insisted that "all hope for our salvation depends on our communion with Jesus Christ, who is the sole mediator between God and man, and by whom we can obtain all of God's grace." Grace is thereby received, not by exterior communion but by one that is internal and spritual.[177] Another sermon on Section 52 clearly contrasted the celebration of *La Sainte Cène* with the Mass. Holy communion in his church offered the bread and cup to the people, in obedience to the words of Jesus to "eat and drink all of it." In the Mass, "the priest urges the people to look and adore and denies the cup to the people." Although Jesus said "Do this in memory of me," the Roman church converts "*fait ceçi*" (do this) into "*sacrifier ceçi*" (sacrifice this). While Jesus Christ instituted holy communion as a memorial of his sacrifice and death, each time a priest performs the

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mass, "Jesus Christ is sacrificed anew to God." In this way the Church of Rome makes a mockery of holy communion. Elsewhere Stouppe suggested that the Roman church mocks more than communion: it "accuses" the sacrifice of Jesus on the Cross of being imperfect or insufficient to effect our salvation.[178] Just as man has been appointed to die once, Jesus, likewise, was offered one time for the abolition of sin. For Stouppe the one-time sacrifice of Jesus was accomplished at Calvary. The mass instead, "sacrificed Jesus an infinite number of times in houses, in streets, and in public places."

In another sermon on Section 52 Stouppe wrote that the troubles began in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the Roman Catholic Church no longer conformed to the truth of the Gospels. At that time they began to invoke the saints, pray for the dead and introduced images into the churches. For Stouppe, all of these are pagan abuses that corrupted Christianity with false doctrines. He then returned to his primary focus with a denial that the mass has the power to abolish our sins since they have already been abolished by Jesus Christ on the cross. Moreover, he argued that "it is with good reason that infidels, pagans, Jews, and Turks mock a religion which teaches that it is necessary to eat the corporeal body of its God" to obtain salvation.[179] With these words Stouppe implied that the Roman Catholic Church was more barbaric and steeped in superstition than the non-Christian religions. It is not inconceivable that Stouppe's views may have helped to shape the attitudes of some of the students at his boarding school, including the young John Jay. Patricia Bonomi, for example, has noted that although he "was generally tolerant of religious beliefs other than his own, Jay harbored an intense aversion to the Church of Rome."[180] Such anti-Catholic virulence is peppered throughout Stouppe's sermons. Since Jean Joseph Moulinars, the pastor of the nonconforming

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congregation in New Rochelle, had accused the Anglican Church of being as like the Roman Catholic church "as two fishes can be," Stouppe must have felt the need to clearly delineate the accepted beliefs in his congregation and to distance himself and his church from beliefs held by the "Romanish" Church and possibly even some of the more "Romanish" practices of the Anglican Church. In this way, Stouppe, like the French conforming ministers in South Carolina and in England, adhered to a distinctively French brand of Anglicanism that was decidedly Calvinistic in orientation.

Stouppe's sermons on Section 53 of the Catechism, preached between 1735 and 1740, continued to recount the errors of the Roman Catholic Church. He reiterated that the Roman Church not only added sacraments that were not established by the Lord, but also corrupted the sacrament of communion by changing it into a propitiatory sacrifice. In particular, he focused on the Roman belief in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and the imaginary transubstantiation of the bread and wine. Also, they added the adoration of the Eucharist and denied the cup to the people. For Stouppe denial of the cup of the Lord is "nothing but the insolence and tyranny of the Church of Rome" contrary to the teachings of Jesus and the practice of the apostles and the primitive church. He even goes so far as to call this practice "antichristian."[181] In another sermon on the same topic he again stressed the importance of communion in both kinds to be in full compliance of Jesus' command to do this in remembrance of him. Never one to miss an opportunity to condemn the Roman Catholic Church, Stouppe insisted that "the poor people of the Church of Rome are held captive in these errors and in tyranny. In addition to being kept in ignorance by the tyranny of their leaders, they are frightened by the horrors of the detestable Inquisition." To his credit, Stouppe did not attack all Roman

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Catholics, rather he saw them as frightened victims kept in ignorance by the ecclesiastical establishment.[182]

Whenever Stouppe referred to the Roman Catholic Church, he did it through inference. Instead it was the "Romanish"or "Romish" Church or "Church of Rome." By using this terminology in conjuction with his arguments, he attempted to connect the Roman Catholic Church to the paganism of ancient Rome. Indeed, Stouppe argued that the Roman Church cannot claim to be truly Catholic since Rome was merely a city in Italy, not the universe. Further, he stated that this Church was still pagan and corrupt in its faith and worship.[183] Elsewhere he likened the Protestant break with the "heretical, idolatrous, and tyrannical" Roman Church to the departure of the ancient Hebrews from decadent Babylon.[184] In yet another sermon on Section 53 Stouppe mockingly derided the Roman Catholic assertion of the bodily presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, by calling this doctrine a "logical absurdity." If this was the case, he asked if this meant that Christ was also present in other inanimate objects, such as chairs, cabinets, et cetera? Throughout all of these sermons on holy communion, Stouppe insisted that the bread and wine commemorated the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and merely served to augment pre-existing faith. Rather, "it is the shed blood of Jesus Christ, not the sacrament, that is the remission for our sins and it is Jesus alone who sanctifies our hearts."[185] Stouppe also cautioned that communion should only be adminstered to those persons who embraced the truth of the Gospel and who offered an indication of their instruction, their faith, and their repentance. Wicked persons who partake of this sacrament will not be justified since justification can only follow the "calling" of God.

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Baptism was also a very popular topic in the sermons of Pierre Stouppe. Most of his sermons on this sacrament are based on Sections 47 through 50 of the Catechism. In at least one of these messages Stouppe links baptism to circumcision which signified God's promise to Abraham. This enabled Stouppe to connect Protestant Christianity to its Jewish roots in contrast to the pagan roots of Roman Catholic Christianity.[186] Stouppe made a number of very interesting points in one of his sermons on Section 48.[187] After he dismissed, indeed attacked, "*les cinq prétendus sacraments*" of the Roman Church, he proceeded to dismiss the sign of the cross. He wrote, "when St. Peter and St. John baptized Philip they laid on their hands for him to receive the Holy Spirit. Where does it speak of the holy oil of the Roman Church or where is it mentioned that the apostles used the sign of the cross?" In this remark, Stouppe was criticizing the Anglican as well as the Roman Catholic Church since ministers of the Church of England also used the sign of the cross when they baptized. By shunning this usage Stouppe placed himself in the same category as French ministers of the conforming churches in South Carolina, whom Commissary Johnston had reviled for not using the sign of the cross unless a parishioner insisted upon it.[188]

Stouppe's sermon on Section 49 distinguished the four different and distinct forms of baptism: the baptism or receipt of the Holy Spirit which is an interior act, the baptism of blood or suffering, the baptism of light or repentance, and the baptism of water, which is the exterior sacrament of baptism. He pointed out that although baptism by immersion was practiced in the Bible, baptism by aspersion or sprinkling was acceptable in cold climates since immersion would be too dangerous. Stouppe then argued that baptism by water signifies knowledge of the remission of our sins and of our sanctification. Nowhere

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did he suggest that grace is imparted by the act of baptism.[189] Nevertheless, as Stouppe asserted elsewhere, it was necessary to baptize the children of the faithful, since they too were saints. Citing Acts 2:39, Stouppe argued that baptism represents God's promise that his grace will be extended to the offspring of the faithful. Moreover, by baptizing their children parents demonstrated their desire to consecrate their offspring to the service of God.[190] This view seems reminiscent of the Puritan Half-Way Covenant that was adopted in New England in 1662. According to this Covenant, "a descendant of any 'saint,' though he himself could offer no evidence whatever of regeneration, was allowed to present his children for baptism."[191]

In another sermon on Section 50 Stouppe resumed his attack on the "Church of Rome" for its insupportable abuse of baptism. Here he is referring to the baptism of "inanimate things such as bells and boats, using the same words and ceremonies used for reasonable creatures formed in the image of God." He argued that baptizing dead heretics was also abusive since "one cannot administer baptism to Pagans, Jews, Mohammadens and other infidels unless they have renounced their religions, nor to their children, who reside under their power." On the other hand, it was acceptable to "administer baptism to adults or persons capable of knowing and who have embraced the truth of the Gospel and who have given indication of their instruction, or their faith and their repentance." One can also baptize children who are born to faithful parents or who have at least one faithful parent. The children of infidels can be baptized if they have fallen into the hands of Christians by war, by purchase, or by some other event. In this regard Stouppe must have been thinking of the enslaved Africans who were baptized and admitted to communion in the New Rochelle Church after they had received instruction and

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demonstrated their understanding and acceptance of the tenets of faith. Once again he reiterated that even though the alliance with God pertains principally to adults or persons who are of an age of understanding, baptism signifies that God's promise or alliance will be passed on to the children of the faithful. Hence baptism, like circumcision, is the sign for children and holy communion, just as Passover, is a sign for adults, with each designating the identities of the faithful.[192]

Another frequent topic for the sermons of Pierre Stouppe concerned the efficacy of good works versus the role of faith. Stouppe maintained a consistent posture regarding this issue throughout his tenure as minister of the conforming church in New Rochelle. He discussed the necessity and nature of good works on May 30, 1725 in a sermon on Section 4 of the Petit Catechism. Stouppe quoted from Paul as well as from James, since each of these apostles expressed seemingly different views on the role of works. James had written the classic statement that "faith without works is dead" while Paul had placed greater emphasis on the primacy of faith. Stouppe reconciled these two views by arguing that one must have faith in order for good works to be agreeable to God and that these works must be done in humility out of love for God and for the glory of God alone. The following week Stouppe continued to develop the theme of faith versus works. This time he emphasized that even though it is necessary for us to do good works, since they glorify God and are agreeable to him, they play no role in our salvation. He wrote, "Eternal life is a gift of God, an inheritance that we have acquired through Jesus Christ." He then proceeded to argue that the Roman Church, in addition to its many other errors and absurdities, defended the merit of works against all formal passages of Scripture and taught that merit is the way to gain eternal life. For Stouppe it was God alone who

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justified the Elect (*les Elus*) of God.[193] Here Stouppe left no room for the Arminian view that human free will and merit played a role in justification. Also he used the characteristically Calvinist term "the Elect."[194]

One week later Stouppe again reiterated that good works have no role in our justification and advanced another Calvinistic position regarding the permanency of justification. In response to his own question "Are we justified for all eternity?" Stouppe insisted that "Justification follows the calling (*la vocation*) and calling follows the preaching of the Scripture and the illumination of the Holy Spirit. If God has called us we are called for eternity and all of our sins, past, present, and future are forgiven." What is the purpose of good works in all of this? Works do not merit our justification, since it is the justice and obedience of Jesus Christ that are the sole cause of our salvation, nevertheless, good works should follow the act of repentance. In this way, good works are a necessary effect of our justification.[195] Stouppe repeated this concept in another sermon on Section 20 of the Catechism, that was preached on Feb. 27, 1732 and Sept. 28, 1736. He wrote, "our works do not merit us the Grace of Justification, also they do not merit us eternal life." Good works, however, are useful and necessary with regard to God, ourselves, and to others. In the first connection, good works glorify God and show our light before men, demonstrating to them that we are a "particular" people chosen by God. Secondly, good works keep us from stumbling and from scandal. Finally they affirm our "Election" and "Vocation" before others. They are the signs of our faith and our adoption as the children of God. In view of this, good works must always accompany our faith. Elsewhere he encouraged members of his congregation to meditate and reflect on the fact

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that the sacrifice of Jesus has more than enough merit to expiate their sins and not to doubt their salvation.[196]

Stouppe's views regarding the relationship of faith and works are further expounded in three different sermons on Section 19 of the Catechism and in one sermon on Section 20.[197] In the first of these Stouppe defined what is meant by faith, the firm and certain knowledge of God's predilection toward us. According to Stouppe, this faith comes from hearing the words of God, especially through preaching and in prayer. Further, if we ask God to strengthen our faith he will do so. In the second sermon Stouppe compared the natural state of sinful man to that of the Church of Laodicea in the book of the Apocalypse or Revelation: "Miserable, poor, blind, and naked." Stouppe then juxtaposed his views on justification in direct contrast to those of the Roman Catholic Church, once again leaving no room for Arminian interpretations. We are justified before God by faith in Jesus Christ. Works must follow justification before God because works will justify us before men. A further indication that Stouppe was still very much part of the Reformed tradition is his reference to the 1645 Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches of Poland which stated that we are efficaciously sanctified by the virtue of the death and resurrection of Christ. Moreover, if we insist that it is possible to obtain justification through works, then Christ has died in vain. In the third sermon on Section 19, Stouppe emphasized the corrupt nature of man: "Without grace we can do nothing. . .we are incapable of having good thoughts." Hence, "good works do not precede the grace of Justification and are not the cause of justification due to the imperfection of works." Rather they "show us to be a particular people and distinguish us from other peoples."

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In one of the sermons mentioned above, Stouppe identified prayer as a means to strengthen faith. Although Stouppe upheld the Lord's Prayer as the model for the prayers of the faithful, he did not insist that all prayers must follow a rote formula. Instead, in several sermons he explicated the characteristics of the Lord's Prayer and recommended that the prayers of the faithful should be devised along the same lines. Since this prayer is addressed to our Father in heaven, it signifies that prayers to Saints or to anyone else are contrary to the Lord's example. After requesting that individual spiritual needs be met and God's will be done, it proceeds to a modest request for material needs: "Give us this day our daily bread." Here Stouppe argued that man is composed of a soul and a body, each of which need to be nourished. We must ask for our spiritual needs first, then we can ask for bodily needs. Regarding those bodily needs, we should only ask for enough bread as is necessary for that day. After all in the final analysis, "man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God."[198] Perhaps the reason why the students at Stouppe's boarding school were accorded such modest amounts of food was to drive home this point of the relative unimportance of material goods beyond what was absolutely necessary to live.[199]

Stouppe composed two sermons on Sections 34 and 35 of the Catechism that discussed the nature of prayer in general.[200] He began his sermon on Section 35 by indicating the power of prayer to change the nature of things and to work miracles in favor of the faithful. As an example of this power he used Joshua, whose prayer stopped the course of the sun for the advantage and service of the people of Israel. Next Stouppe outlined the conditions of true prayer. First of all, it must proceed from a sincere heart: without sincerity even the most beautiful prayers are vain babble. We must approach God

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with humility, mindful of the fact that he is grand, infinite, majestic, and all powerful, the creator of angels and of man. In contrast we are of a base nature, fragile and in need of God's help. In view of this our prayer must not contain anything that is not worthy of the grandeur and sanctity of God. Our words should be infused with zeal, ardor, and fervency of spirit, and we should be willing to persevere in our requests. The position of the body during prayer was relatively important, according to Stouppe. Elevated eyes, for example, reflect confidence that God is listening and will answer our prayers, while lowered eyes reflect humility. Likewise, open hands are again a sign of confidence, while clasped hands signify humility. Standing, moreover, demonstrates confidence and kneeling shows humility, while lying on the ground indicates extreme abasement. For an extraordinary calamity it is acceptable to tear one's clothing, and don sackcloth and ashes. Prayer can be audible or it can be silent, but under no conditions should it be in an unknown or unintelligible language. Perhaps here he was encouraging the use of the vernacular language as opposed to the Latin used by the Roman Catholic Church. Nowhere in his sermons did Stouppe require or even suggest that prayer should follow a rote formula or that it must conform to the formulaic compositions in the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*. Indeed his sermons never mentioned any of the prayers in this work as desirable models to emulate despite the fact that French and English versions of the *Book of Common Prayer* were both available at that time in New Rochelle.[201]

None of Stouppe's sermons focused solely on the role of women in religion or what constituted a "good woman" or even a "goodwife." Rather than pointing out what women in particular should do, Stouppe typically concentrated on what all of the faithful, both male and female, should do. Nevertheless, individual women in the Bible were

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referred to on occasion, usually to demonstrate what women should not do. King David, for example, was tempted to commit adultery by viewing Bathsheba, and we all know of the proverbial evils of the temptress Jezebel.[202] Stouppe also made it clear that women should not administer the sacraments. In a sermon on Section 55 of the Catechism he argued that it is useless to authorize women to baptize based on Zipporah's circumcision of her own son (Exodus 4:25-26). According to Stouppe, "nothing could be more absurd." He also quoted St. Paul who condemned women for speaking in churches (I Cor. 14: 34-35). Like the apostle, Stouppe felt that "they should ask their husbands at home." However, William Jay's depiction, albeit a fleeting one, of the Stouppe household suggests that the minister delegated most household matters to his wife, while he tended to more scholarly concerns.

A few insights regarding women may be gleaned from several of Stouppe's sermons on the Ten Commandments. He composed two sermons on Exodus 20:14, "Thou shalt not commit adultery," which were preached on three occasions.[203] Stouppe identified three kinds of adultery: spiritual fornication or the abandonment of God for idols, adultery in the heart, and carnal adultery. The last category could take the form of either simple adultery, when only one party is married, or double adultery, when both parties are married. He pointed out that adultery affected the entire family. For the female, adultery is a sin that "divests her of innocence and honor among men. In its trail is an abominable life of debauchery and luxury." He likened the male adulterer involved with a married woman to a thief who "has stolen the most precious of all goods, the love and fidelity of a wife." "For children this sin is a veritable larceny that introduces into the family those heirs who do not belong there." It is interesting that he characterized the

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results of adultery on injured husbands and children in material terms, as a loss of property. For the adulterous woman, however, it entailed a loss of innocence and respect. Stouppe did not bother to discuss the effect on the adulterous male, other than characterizing him as a thief. Nor did he discuss its impact on the injured wife. In order to avoid the pitfalls of adultery, there were a number of practices that must be eschewed. These include "dirty words that lead to dishonest ideas, indecent dances, lascivious comedies, evil books that corrupt innocence, any luxuries in habits that are the messengers of adultery such as free airs, face makeup, pretense of affection, dirty songs, unnecessary feasts, and excessive leisure or recreation." All of these things promoted the destruction of purity and did harm to the soul. Even our inner thoughts, passions, and inordinate desires could detract from the purity of the heart or soul. There were, nevertheless, certain practical virtues that should be followed to counter these problems. First we should exercise modesty and general prudence in all our conduct, including thoughts, words, and actions. The practice of continence would help to banish all those thoughts that corrupt our purity. Finally, we must be chaste, marriage or celibacy are the only options. Fornication, adultery, rape, incest, molestation, bestiality, and sodomy and anything that served the occasion for these sorts of offenses were all sins against nature. In short we should not only abstain from "evil" behavior itself, but from all appearances of evil as well.

Stouppe also delivered a sermon on Exodus 20:12, "honor thy father and mother" on three different occasions.[204] He placed both mothers and fathers in the category of superiors, along with masters (father of the family), kings (father of the country), and pastors (spiritual fathers). A father of the family must provide his children with the

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temporal necessities of life, food, clothing, shelter, protection. Both parents have a spiritual responsibility toward their offspring. To facilitate the development of their children's piety, parents should set an example based on good works and conduct, they should pray for their children, and be sure to chastise and correct them when necessary. Once again, Stouppe must have been exercising this "parental" duty as schoolmaster when Jay speaks of frequent scoldings for the pupils. Children, in return, should honor and respect their parents, not abandoning or scorning them in old age, and regard them as sacred persons in the image of God. They should obey them without resistance. Children should love their parents, taking especially good care of widows, even as Jesus recommended the care of his mother to John the disciple. Finally, parents should be feared. By this he meant that children should be humble and not use sharp words, engage in argumentation or raillery against their parents. Moreover, parents should be honored all the days of their lives.

As indicated on Table 4, the latest date for which an extant sermon exists is September 24, 1738 and March 1, 1741 is the last date Stouppe noted that he had preached one of these sermons. If Stouppe composed more sermons, I have not yet been able to find them. In 1742 or early 1743 Stouppe requested the S.P.G. to allow him to resign his position in order to return home to Europe in order to settle some affairs with relatives whom he was unable to reach by mail. But before the S.P.G had notified Stouppe that his resignation had been accepted, Stouppe changed his mind and decided to remain in New Rochelle. After Stouppe's reversal, the congregation sent a rather anxious petition to the S.P.G. Secretary, Dr. Bearcroft, requesting that Stouppe be permitted to return to New Rochelle.[205] After Stouppe returned from Europe in June 1744 he

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remained as pastor of the New Rochelle Church until his death in January 1760. In his June 5, 1744 letter to the Secretary, Stouppe wrote that he preached twice on Sunday, French in the morning and English in the afternoon. Due to the shortness of winter days, beginning on October 14 he hoped to preach only once on Sunday, with English services performed every third week and French on the other weeks, provided that this arrangement was agreeable to the Society. On April 14, which was Easter, he would return to the two sermon pattern. In a letter dated November 15, 1744, he pointed out that there were a few more people at the English service, not because the English were more numerous than the French in New Rochelle, but because the French persons attended both services, while the English and others attended only the English service.[206]

On the whole, Stouppe seems to have been satisfied with his congregation and they with him. In letters to the S.P.G. Secretary Stouppe described the behavior of his own congregation as "discreet and devout" and "an encouragement" to him.[207] Even if we take his letters with a grain of salt in recognition of the fact that Stouppe wanted his mission to appear successful to the S.P.G. so that he would continue to receive money and supplies, I think it is safe to assume that this was a mutually agreeable relationship. The New Rochelle congregation's letter to Dr. Bearcroft, dated June 1, 1743 described Stouppe's ministry as being "much to our Satisfaction and Edification, his Doctrine being very Sound and his Pronunciation full, clear, and intelligible." In view of this they "beg" the society to allow Stouppe to return to them after his sojourn in Europe.[208]

Other documentary evidence attests to the successfulness of Stouppe's ministry. As his letters to the Secretary of the S.P.G. indicated, all of which are supported by the baptismal records, Stouppe consistently baptized more than twenty white children as well

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as several blacks each year. For example, in the six months between August 1728 and February 1729, Stouppe reported that he had baptized twelve white children and four black children and had received thirty-four communicants at the Lord's Supper.[209] In April 1733 he reported a similar number of baptisms and communicants for another six month period.[210] By the late 1740's his reports reflected an increase in the numbers of baptisms and communicants. Some of this increase may be attributed to the fact that the dissenters no longer had a resident minister in New Rochelle after 1741. Since Louis Rou, the minister of the independent French Church in New York, refused to cater to the New Rochelle dissidents by visiting them in order to perform marriages, baptisms, and holy communion, some of these dissenters began to attend the conforming congregation. Stouppe noted their return in a July 15, 1747 letter to the Secretary:

> Seeing of late some of the Dissenters are become Communicants with us, and have also a young person of their Persuasion now under Instruction for that Holy Sacrament. I wish God would convert them all, and bring them over to us; Then New-Rochel Church would be not only more Numerous, but one of the most regular and religious Congregations in the Province, and well Deserve the honorable Society's Favour in continuing to them, after my Departure, a Missionary able to preach in both Languages, English and French, which is their great and earnest Desire, and would satisfy all their Wishes.

In the same letter he reported that he had baptized a total of fifteen children in the past six months and had had sixty-eight communicants the last time that this sacrament was offered. The following April he wrote that he had baptized thirteen white and six black infants and "one adult person, well instructed in the principles of religion." Once again the number of communicants was sixty-eight. At this time Stouppe was considering another trip to Europe and therefore was concerned about the continued growth and progress of the New Rochelle Church. This journey never took place, however, because

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his wife was not "disposed" to do so, neither was his congregation, according to Stouppe's letter of May 1, 1749.[211] In this letter Stouppe reported that there were 382 persons living in New Rochelle. Of these 252 were professors of the Church of England, 130 were dissenters, and there were no heathens or infidels. Within the last six months he had baptized sixteen infants and had sixty-eight communicants. On May 10, 1752 Stouppe informed the Secretary that there were now 450 persons in New Rochelle, with 310 being Anglican and 140 dissenters. Once again there were no heathen or infidels. He had baptized thirty-three infants in the past year and the most recent number of communicants was seventy.[212]

How did the average age at baptism during Stouppe's pastorate compare with the average age under Bondet's ministry? As was discussed previously, age for baptism varied, but the typical age at baptism during Bondet's pastorate was between two and eight weeks, with most of the baptisms performed between four to six weeks after birth. This pattern did not change significantly in the early years of Stouppe's ministry, although the children were a bit younger than under his predecessor. Stouppe performed at least fifty-six baptisms between March 14, 1725 and December 25, 1730. Information on date of birth is either unavailable or undecipherable for fifteen children. The remaining thirty-seven baptisms were performed anytime between two-days-old up to twelve-months-old. Of these thirty-seven baptisms, fifteen were performed at around three or four weeks after birth. Six babies were baptized at five or six weeks and seven were baptized within two weeks after birth. The remaining nine children were all more than six-weeks-old at baptism. Since all of the extant baptismal records refer to babies and name parents and godparents, these candidates were undoubtedly white. In his letters

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to the Secretary of the S.P.G. Stouppe reported that he baptized black children and adults (usually at an age of understanding), so these records must have been kept in another register. Towards the end of his ministry, Stouppe performed a total of eighty-one baptisms in the period between March 17, 1751 and November 28, 1756. Birth dates were either not recorded or unreadable for sixteen of the persons baptized at this time. Ages at baptism varied from one-day-old up to several years old, with one family presenting three children, aged six years, four years, and four months, at the same time. Twenty-nine of these baptisms were performed at four-weeks or less after birth, while thirty-one were performed at six-weeks or older. Quite surprisingly, Alexandre Allaire, Jr., the son of one of the founders of the dissenting church, was identified as the godfather to the daughter of Josias and Ester Le Conte in a December 25, 1726 entry. The name Alexandre Allaire appears at least one more time as the father of Anthony who was baptized by Stouppe on March 2, 1755, perhaps because neither the nonconforming church in New Rochelle nor the French Church in New York had a pastor at the time. This suggests that some families were torn between the conforming and the nonconforming churches.[213]

Since holy communion was the only other sacrament observed in the conforming church in New Rochelle it would be useful to know the conditions under which this sacrament was offered. None of Stouppe's records indicate the age at which communion was first offered. In his communications with the S.P.G. Secretary, Stouppe referred to most of the persons preparing for admission to communion as "young people." In his August 1726 letter, he described has activities in this connection as having "fitted 8 Young People for the receiving of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, to which

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accordingly they have been admitted."[214] Again on December 2, 1734 he indicated that he now had "Two Young people Under my Instruction in order to fitt them for the next Communion, and note if you please Sir that these Two make the Number of 28 Young Persons which I have instructed, and after due preparation and repeated Examination, admitted and received to the Participation of the Lords Table since my being appointed for New Rochel Church."[215] On June 5, 1744 Stouppe wrote that the usual number of communicants was sixty-six, forty-six of which he himself had "received and prepared for that Holy Duty."[216] Stouppe informed the Secretary in June 1750 that the church had lost some of its older communicants by death, however, the number of communicants remained steady since "there are young Persons, who desire to be received and admitted in their Stead."[217] In May 1752 Stouppe noted that the number of communicants had, for the first time, increased to seventy.[218] Although their actual ages are never mentioned, it seems likely that these "young persons" who were being prepared to receive the sacrament were no longer children. For example, when Stouppe baptized children who were six or eight-years-old, he referred to them as as such. Neither are they referred to as adults, which would have meant they were at least in their late teens or early twenties. In light of this, preparation and examination for admission may have taken place around age sixteen or seventeen. Patricia Bonomi has pointed out that Anglican ministers in South Carolina "apparently examined youths at about age sixteen or older and, when satisfied with their level of understanding, admitted them to communion."[219] Whether or not this was also the case in New Rochelle is unclear, but given the late admissions to communion in the Reformed Church in New Paltz it does not seem likely that the French Anglicans of New Rochelle, who had come out of the Reformed Church would admit

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persons who were significantly younger. Stouppe described the young persons as "desirous" of receiving instruction and of being admitted to Communion, which implies a certain voluntarism or that persons were not automatically enrolled or compelled to receive instruction. However, most young people would have been shaped and molded by family and community norms and probably would not have resisted if their parents wanted them to participate in this activity. Stouppe's letters also indicated that admission was not automatic after they had received instruction, since he wrote that they had been examined repeatedly before being allowed to partake of the sacrament.

Stouppe remained active as minister and schoolmaster until at least the mid-1750's. Indeed, as discussed previously, John Jay was a student at his boarding school from about 1753 until 1756, suggesting that Stouppe was still very much involved in this educational endeavor at that time. Stouppe's final letter to Dr. Bearcroft is dated October 11, 1759. In this communication he wrote that "God's afflicting hand continues heavy upon me, I find no Mitigation of [the] Disorder." Since there were no letters to the Secretary for at least two years previously and no baptismal entries exist for this period either, it is quite possible that Stouppe had been "afflicted" for more than a year. While Stouppe was so indisposed, lay readers were conducting the services and the Eucharist was being administered by the Reverend Mr. Wetmore. Stouppe, himself, was still performing a few marriages and baptisms in his home. He did not identify the nature of his illness but apparently it prevented him from leaving the house.[220] After Stouppe died in January 1760, at age sixty-nine or seventy, the congregation wrote that they had "great reason to lament his loss." They "humbly pray that the honorable Society" will send them a "minister who can preach in both the French and English tongues, there being still

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several of the antient people that cannot understand the English." This letter was signed by four church wardens and twenty-four other heads of families including three women, Mary Bonnet, Mary Parcot, and Jane Cantine. They pointed out that there was a parsonage with one and one-half acres of land close to the church and an additional ninety acres of land for the pastor's use. No mention was made of a salary other than use of the house and land.[221]

The Reverend Michel (Michael) Houdin (1761-1766)

By the fall of 1761 the S.P.G. had appointed a replacement for Stouppe in the person of Michel Houdin. Houdin was probably born in 1705 in a French province adjoining Flanders. He spent the first part of his adult life as a Roman Catholic monk, who was also an ordained priest, serving as the Superior of a convent of Franciscan friars in Montreal. After being declared an apostate in 1744, he left Canada for New York accompanied by a woman whom he married somewhere along the way. Upon their arrival in New York City, they were consigned to a house in Jamaica on Long Island and kept under close surveillance because it was feared that Houdin was a French spy. Houdin took an oath of allegiance on August 11, 1744, which gave the couple greater freedom of movement. Then in 1747 he renounced Roman Catholicism and joined the English Church, obtainining a license to preach two years later. He was assigned to New Jersey to preach, but following the outbreak of war with France, he became an army chaplain in April 1757. In 1759 Houdin ably demonstrated his loyalty to Great Britain by rendering intelligence information, based on his intimate knowledge of French Canada, that facilitated the capture of Quebec.[222] When the conforming church in New Rochelle

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requested a pastor who could preach in both French and English, Houdin, who was fluent in both languages, appeared to be an ideal candidate.

All of the extant documents written by Houdin that I have found are in English. Like his predecessors Bondet and Stouppe, his letters to the S.P.G. are in English. But in contrast to Pierre Stouppe, Houdin always signed his letters with the Anglicized version of his first name--Michael rather than Michel. His baptismal entries are also in English which marks a decisive break with the past. Here, too, he is "Michael Houdin." Indeed it is during the pastorate of Houdin, which coincides with the French and Indian War and the earliest protests against British policies, that English replaces French as the preferred language for religious discourse in New Rochelle. It is possible that Houdin, as a former French Roman Catholic cleric, felt compelled to continue to prove his loyalty and trustworthiness to his adopted country and religion and therefore embraced English culture more fully than his predecessors. Also to be taken into consideration is the fact that most, if not all, of the New Rochelle inhabitants of French descent would have been comfortable and familiar with the English language by the 1760's. Moreover, New Rochelle was becoming more diverse and English would be the shared language of communication for persons of French, Dutch, German, and other backgrounds, as well as for those who were of English extraction.

In one of his first letters to the Secretary of the S.P.G. as pastor of the New Rochelle Church, Houdin identified several problems that confronted his pastorate: the poor condition of the parsonage, which would have to be rebuilt; the relative poverty of most of the New Rochelle inhabitants; and legal challenges from the "Calvenists" (*sic*) who wished to lay claim to the Glebe land. Houdin must have been less than pleased with

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the conditions he encountered in New Rochelle since he closed his letter with the suggestion that he would be willing to comply with the Society's orders should they wish to appoint him as a missionary to Canada.[223] In subsequent letters Houdin kept the Secretary abreast of the latest legal battles with the "Calvenists" over the disputed land. The land in question was the 100 acres granted by John and Rachel Pell for the building of a French Church in New Rochelle. Houdin described the "Calvenists" as a "very stubborn and litigious people. . .ready to defend their right to the last." He claimed that they altered the date on Pell's deed to four months after the original French Church had conformed to Anglicanism. It was upon this title that they based their claim to the land and thereby prevented Houdin from using it. He concluded that only a "strong bleeding of their purse will bring them to an agreement after New York Court."[224] Houdin was not able to report to the Secretary that the matter had been settled, in favor of the conforming Church, until September 1765 .[225] At that time the property was returned to the minister and members of the conforming church in exchange for the sum of 100 pounds.[226] It is worthy of further comment that Houdin always referred to the nonconformists as "Calvenists," while Bondet and Stouppe always referred to them as dissenters or nonconformists. Perhaps this is because Bondet and Stouppe still thought of themselves as Calvinists. Certainly, as demonstrated previously, there was nothing in the sermons of Pierre Stouppe that would have prevented him from assuming this appellation. Houdin, on the other hand, had never been a Calvinist and therefore this theology was alien to him and he had no difficulty in using it in a derisive manner.

Despite the unsettled legal affairs that consumed most of his pastorate, Houdin continued to administer those duties that he had been called to perform. He was quite

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pleased to report the conversion of a Roman Catholic father and an Anabaptist mother who had their three children baptized in his church. It is interesting that Houdin, a former Roman Catholic friar, here uses the name Roman Catholic rather than the terms Church of Rome or Romish Church that had been used by Stouppe.[227] Throughout his tenure Houdin baptized at least twenty-nine persons between November 1761 and June 1765. Actual birth dates could only be identifed for fourteen children. Their ages varied from one day up to fifteen weeks. There was also a family with seven children whose ages at baptism ranged from two months to thirteen years. Because of these limited numbers of baptisms performed by Houdin, effective comparisons cannot be made with those of his predecessors, Bondet and Stouppe.[228] In contrast to Stouppe, Houdin never reported the numbers of communicants during his pastorate. Therefore, it is difficult to determine if there was a decrease in numbers who attended the conforming church during Stouppe's illness, his subsequent death, and the nearly two year period when the church was without a pastor. Certainly the number of baptisms appears to have fallen-off since Houdin only baptized twenty-nine over a period of nearly four years, while Stouppe typically baptized at least that many each year in the late 1740's and early 1750's.

Before the legal matter was settled, Houdin reported to the Secretary that in the past winter he had been visited twice with a dreadful distemper and was "seized with a kind of dead palsy on his left arm." He recovered from these afflictions only to be "seized by a violent cold in the Church." Although not perfectly recovered he was able to perform his duties and hoped that his strength would increase as the weather grew warmer.[229] In his next letter to the Secretary Houdin again expressed "hope that the Society would take the poor people of Canada under their consideration" and offered his services to cultivate

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that field if the Society found it acceptable.[230] This was one of his last communications as he died some time in October 1766. Bolton described him as "a worthy missionary of considerable learning and irreproachable morals." His remains, like those of his predecessors, Bondet and Stouppe, were interred beneath the chancel of the church, which has since been torn down.[231]

The conforming church, which had enjoyed an almost steady succession of ministers since the 1690's (Bondet and Stouppe together had served for nearly 65 years), now entered into an unsettled period after the death of Houdin. These problems were rooted in several factors, including the ongoing lack of suitable ministers willing to serve anywhere in the colonies which was a problem for all denominations, and the growing tensions between England and its colonies. Further complicating the situation for New Rochelle was the fact that the Reverend Mr. Auchmuty wrote the following to the Secretary of the S.P.G. following Houdin's death:

> I beg the Society will not think of appointing another missionary to New Rochelle at at present, the people really do not deserve one; not one farthing did they contribute towards the support of the two last, besides they are too small a number to be indulged with a minister to themselves, and are distant from the Eastchester church only four miles, from Westchester and the Rye church five, and from Philipsburgh church nine miles.[232]

The Society must have been swayed by Auchmuty's letter as the New Rochelle church would not have a regular pastor again until after the American Revolution. In the interim, the Reverend Samuel Seabury, rector of the parish of Westchester and the future Episcopal bishop, took it upon himself to voluntarily perform services in New Rochelle. In June 1767 Seabury informed the Secretary that the congregation consisted of

> near 200 people decent and well behaved, part English and part French. The French understand English tolerably well; and except half a dozen old people

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> in whose hands is the chief management of affairs, full as well as they do French. The greatest part of them would prefer an English to a French minister; and none yearn for a French one but the half dozen above mentioned.[233]

If Seabury's account can be taken at face value it would seem that most of the inhabitants of New Rochelle had by now been acculturated to the English language and were ready and willing to accept a minister who was not French or even French-speaking. However, Seabury also indicated that the French language and customs still held sway over a small number of people who wielded a disproportionate share of power. Even the majority of persons of French descent were described as understanding English "tolerably well" which suggests that their primary language in the private sphere was probably French. This observation coincides with the Jay biography mentioned previously that claimed that the inhabitants still spoke French in the mid-1750's. This view is further reinforced by Stouppe's continued use of the French language for religious purposes. In view of this, it is the 1760's, approximately eighty years after the original settlers of New Rochelle had arrived in America, that mark a break with the predominant use of the French language and with the desire to have a French minister. The following year Seabury voiced concerns about Anabaptists who were making converts in the area and expressed regret that the people of New Rochelle had fallen under the Society's censure, meaning that they were no longer receiving financial support from London.[234] Nevertheless, the church continued to exist under these conditions until it was apparently closed during the Revolution.[235] Records for this church would not resume again until 1795.

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The Nonconforming Congregation

Because of the paucity of sources, the nonconforming congregation exists as only a shadowy entity. The primary documents that discuss it are nearly all Anglican sources and therefore the nonconformists or dissenters often take on ominous characteristics. This is particularly true for the letters of the conforming ministers to the Secretary of the S.P.G. At the time when the decision was made to conform to the Church of England, two family heads, Alexandre Allaire and Isaac Mercier, refused their consent. What we must keep in mind, however, is that both of these men had families which would have increased the numbers of "dissidents" from two to at least fourteen. According to the "List of the Towne of New Rochelle for 1710," the Allaire (Allear) household consisted of eight persons. Identifying the Mercier household is a bit more problematic, although it is very likely that the Merciers are identified as "Morcye," with a household size of six.[236] As the children of these men reached adulthood in the next decade or two they would marry and possibly draw in more families and produce children of their own, thereby swelling the numbers in the nonconforming congregation. Another factor that has not been taken into consideration is that there may have been more families that were not present at the meeting when the question of conformity was voted upon, so the initial numbers of nonconformists may have been even higher. Butler has pointed out that the twenty-six household heads that voted in favor of conformity represented only half of the New Rochelle households at the time.[237] According to my own analysis of the 1710 "List of the Towne of New Rochelle," there were about fifty-six households in the town. Nevertheless, some of these households may have included persons who would not have been eligible to vote either because they were "unchurched" or had not been admitted to

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membership. While the names of 264 white persons appeared on the 1710 list, the compiler only identified 204 persons as Christians. Presumably he meant church members.[238] Regardless of the original numbers, the numbers of dissenters in New Rochelle were not miniscule in the mid-1720's. In July 1728 Pierre Stouppe reported to the S.P.G. that there were about 100 dissenters, including children, in the town.[239] Twenty-seven years later, in 1752, he reported that there were 140 dissenters as compared with the 310 that adhered to the Church of England.[240]

What is remarkable about the nonconformists is their tenacity and determination to continue to remain independent of the Church of England. Undoubtedly this decision caused them many difficulties and financial sacrifices over the years. Alexandre Allaire was willing to hold religious meetings in his own home and even donated land on which to construct a church building in the 1720's. In addition, they must have had to pool their resources in order to build a wooden church at that time and then to pay Reverend Jean Joseph Brumeau de Moulinars who apparently served as their full-time minister from around 1726 until his death in 1741. In his July 1728 letter to the Secretary of the S.P.G., Stouppe reported that Moulinars had been in the town about one year and that he was assisted by contributions from the New Rochelle dissenters as well as by some of the French "dissenters" of New York.[241] When they were without a pastor the nonconforming congregation must have conducted their own services under the direction of a lay reader. Prior to becoming the full-time pastor, Moulinars had traveled to New Rochelle several times a year to administer the sacraments when he was assistant pastor of the New York Church. After the death of his one-time nemesis Moulinars, Louis Rou of the New York Church refused to minister to the dissidents and insisted that they had a

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legitimate church and minister in the town, meaning the conforming congregation. "Tradition has it that on occasions some made the journey to the New York Church on foot, stopping by a pond near Canal Street to rest and eat and put on the shoes they had been carrying before attending the services."[242] This scenario is not very tenable, since the journey to New York on foot would have taken about five hours each way.[243] A more plausible scenario would be that they travelled to New York on Saturday, stayed overnight with friends or relatives there, then returned home after the morning service on Sunday. Perhaps they did this several times a year in order to observe the sacrament of holy communion and to have their children baptized.

After the death of Louis Rou, his eventual replacement, Jean Carle, occasionally went to New Rochelle to minister to the nonconformists. Ironically, during the 1760's Carle was pressuring the New York Church to conform to Anglicanism so that his income would be enhanced and the church would have greater stability after his eventual departure. The Consistory, after much deliberation, refused to comply with his request out of deference to their forefathers.[244] Whenever he visited New Rochelle between 1756 and 1764, Carle kept records for the dissenting congregation. These records make it possible to determine which persons in New Rochelle belonged to this congregation.[245]

It appears that the conforming church lost at least a few members during Stouppe's illness and when the church was without a minister. The Coutant and Badeau families, who figured quite prominently in the records of the conforming church in the 1740's and especially in the 1750's, are an effective illustration of this trend. For example, Isaac, the son of Isaac Coutant and his wife Françoise (née Badeau) was baptized on March 8, 1752. On April 21, 1754 the Coutants had presented another son for baptism.

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Likewise John, the son of Peter and Catherine Badeau (née Coutant), was baptized on March 4, 1752. Again, on November 28, 1756 Pierre Stouppe baptized a son of Peter Badeau and his wife Catherine.[246] Two years later, on July 7, 1758, the Badeaus presented another son, Jacob, for baptism but this time by Jean Carle in the nonconforming church. A few months later, on April 12, 1761, Isaac and Françoise Coutant presented a daughter, also named Françoise, for baptism. Two years later, on July 8, 1763 they baptized another daughter, Catherine Claret. Both of these children were baptized by Jean Carle in the nonconforming church. Not to be left behind, Pierre and Catherine Badeau presented their daughter Catherine to be baptized on October 12, 1759 by Carle. Less than two years later on July 10, 1761 they presented another child, Jacques for baptism by Carle in the nonconforming church. This ever-fertile couple produced another child, Madelaine, who was baptized by the Revererend Jean-Pierre Têtard in the nonconforming church on November 9, 1762.[247]

What does all of this mean? A few entries with the names Coutant and Badeau appeared in the conforming church records in December 1725 and January 1726. These names do not appear again in the records of the conforming church until June 6, 1742 when Jean Badeau is baptized. Thereafter the Coutant and Badeau names continue to appear in the records of the conforming church every few years. Unfortunately there are no marriage records for the conforming church during this period that would indicate whether or not Coutants or Badeaus were married in this church. As stated previously, there are no records for the New Rochelle nonconforming congregation during the pastorate of Moulinars. It is possible, however, that the sympathies of the Badeaus and Coutants lay with the nonconforming church and that they attended services there during

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the tenure of Moulinars (ca. 1726-1741). The absence of the Coutant and Badeau family names in the records of the conforming church directly coincides with the pastorate of Moulinars in New Rochelle. After his death these names surface once again in the conforming church's records. Certainly Stouppe had noted that this was happening in his letters to the Secretary in the late 1740's and early 1750's. When Stouppe became ill, and the conforming church was without a pastor for nearly two years after his death, the Coutant and Badeau names began to appear in the records of the nonconforming church. These families did not return to the conforming church after it secured a full-time minister in the person of Michael Houdin, since their names remain prominent in the records of the nonconforming church until the entries cease after July 1764.[248]

Abel Devaux and his wife Marie were another couple who transferred their allegiance to the nonconforming church. On June 8, 1755 Pierre Stouppe had baptized their daughter Madelaine.[249] However, their son Josué was baptized by Jean Carle on October 6, 1758. Abel and Marie Devaux are also listed in the records of the nonconforming church as godparents to David, the son of Jacques Sicard and Madelaine Badeau. (Oct. 12, 1759) The couple appears again in these records when they present their son Benjamin to be baptized on October 10, 1760. Like the Badeaus and Coutants they did not return to the conforming church after the arrival of Houdin, since Carle baptized another child, Suzanne, for them on October 10, 1762.[250] The loss of all of these persons supports my previous observation that some persons may have left the conforming church because Houdin performed noticeably fewer baptisms than Stouppe.

Being a member, or even a minister, of the nonconforming church did not prevent someone from becoming a godparent to an infant baptized in the conforming church. On

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August 22, 1763 Reverend Michael Houdin baptized John Peter, the son of John Guerino (Guerineau) and his wife Susanna. The godfather was identified as John Peter Têtard.[251] Têtard's signature on the register is identical to the signature of J. P. Têtard in the registers of the nonconforming church.[252] All of these observations suggest that religious divisions between these churches, at least for some parishioners like the Coutants, Badeaus, and Devauxes, may not have been as rigid as they appear to be with regard to legal battles over the glebe land. The fact that a conforming minister was willing to perform a baptism with a nonconformist minister as godfather, and that this nonconformist minister was willing to serve in this capacity implies that deep-down neither party found the other's doctrine to be totally abhorrent. A possible mitigating factor is that this baptism took place a few months after the land dispute had been resolved.

Since neither Carle nor Têtard were resident pastors in New Rochelle it serves no purpose to calculate ages at baptism for purposes of comparison with the conforming church. Typically, children who had been born after his last visit were baptized on his next visit. Nevertheless, these records are still an important source of information. Godparents were usually close relatives, often siblings, of the child's parents. For example the Coutants and Badeaus, who were intermarried, frequently named one another as godparents. Occasionally grandparents were chosen to serve in this capacity. Most parents and godparents were able to sign their own names, however, the use of "X" appeared slightly more frequently in the nonconforming church than in the conforming church. This suggests that members of the conforming church may have had more opportunities to obtain formal schooling because of Stouppe's educational endeavors.

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Another small difference is that members of the nonconforming church almost always used the French version of their names when they signed the registers. (Peter Badeau is one of the few exceptions.) Also most of the couples whose names appear in these records have French names. Intermarriage with persons who were of English or other European descent was somewhat more likely to be found in the conforming church. Moreover persons who were not of French descent were much more likely to attend the conforming church where they would sometimes have the opportunity to participate in an English language service. Presumably services in the nonconforming church were conducted in French. I cannot say this with certainty but it seems very likely since the church records were in French and because virtually all of the names that appear in these records are French, suggesting that this congregation was unable to attract persons of other backgrounds because of the language barrier.

Carle or Têtard usually visited New Rochelle three times a year, but this pattern was not graven in stone. For example, Carle visited once in April 1756 to administer holy communion and to baptize three children. He came again in October 1757, once again to administer communion and to perform five baptisms. The nonconformists received five pastoral visits in 1758, one in February from Têtard, and from Carle in March, April, July, and October. Carle visited twice in 1759, in April and October. On all of these visits the ministers administered communion and baptized one or more children. Carle visited three times in 1760, in April, September, and October. He was kept very busy on his April 1760 visit. On April 11 he preached, administered communion and performed baptisms. On April 12, presumably a Monday, he married André de Bonrepos and Marie Clark "according to the liturgy of the Reformed Churches of France". The announcement

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of the marriage, however, had been made for three Sundays in the "English Church of New Rochelle." By this Carle means the conforming church. The Clark name had appeared previously in the records of the conforming church. This couple is not mentioned again in the records of either church. The following day Carle baptized Jean Marqui(?) the "natural" son of "Pierre Negre" and "Anne Negresse" both of whom were slaves of Madame Marie Besley, who signed the baptismal register much as a godmother would do. It is notable that he does not include the word legitimate since slaves were not allowed to marry. Nevertheless their children could be baptized provided they had a sponsor such as Madame Besley. On that day he also baptized "Marie Negress" the slave of Madame Le Mercier.[253] Also worth comment is the fact that they were not baptized at the Sunday service like the white children, but rather on what must have been a Tuesday. This might imply that black slaves were not permitted to attend Sunday services but that they may have been allowed to receive private religious instruction if their master or mistress was willing to undertake this task.

The September visit was a routine one with holy communion and a baptism being performed. Carle repeated the same activities on October 10, 1760, but he performed an additional baptism on October 12, which must have been a Tuesday. On this day Carle baptized Moyse the "natural and legitimate" son of Nicholas Toulon and Deborah de Ste. Croix. Carle notes in the records that he administered this baptism "ignoring the religion of the father who was absent" and that the child's grandfather, Moise de Ste. Croix, was present and served as godfather. That this baptism was performed, presumably without the knowledge or consent of the father, implies that it was acceptable, even desirable, for a pious mother to raise her children in the faith, regardless of her husband's inclinations.

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It is very likely that Toulon was a Roman Catholic, possibly one of the exiled Acadians who appeared in New Rochelle in the late 1750's.[254] Soon after little Moyse was baptized in the nonconforming church, Deborah must have joined the rival conforming church sometime prior to May 1762 because she and her parents were among the signers of the Charter of Trinity Church at that time.[255] Perhaps Deborah decided to join this church in the hope that her husband would find something in common with the Church's new pastor, the former Roman Catholic Michael Houdin. It is also possible that the Ste. Croix family had attended the conforming church prior to 1760, but had the child baptized by Carle because the other congregation was without a pastor at that time.

Carle continued to make visits three or four times a year to perform baptisms and administer communion until 1764. On April 14, 1764 he performed a marriage between Peter Flandreau and Anne Le Conte in the house of Mademoiselle Le Conte. The following day, he received a letter from the Consistory of the nonconforming church, attesting to his faithful service, Christian conduct and pure evangelical doctrine. It was signed by the elders and deacons, Louis Gillot, Michel Honoré, Jean Badeau, and Jean Parcot. This was Carle's last visit to New Rochelle. Têtard returned on July 7, 1764 to perform two baptisms and administer communion. This was the final extant entry in the records of the nonconforming church.

It is ironic that at almost the same point in time both of the New Rochelle churches found themselves adrift and without a permanent resident minister. The conforming church fared slightly better in this regard since Reverend Samuel Seabury voluntarily visited several times a year to perform the sacraments. Only sketchy observations can be made for the nonconforming church at this time. Making the journey

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to New York was not a viable option since the French Church in New York was also without a permanent pastor at this time. Some sources suggest that English-speaking Presbyterians and Methodists were making inroads with this group in the 1770's and after. For example, in 1770 Methodist preachers were holding services in the former nonconforming church's building and in 1771 Frederick Devaux occasionally held Presbyterian meetings in his own home.[256] It was not until February 1808 that that a formal Presbyterian congregation began to be organized in New Rochelle. Although most of the persons involved with the founding of this church had English names, they described themselves on the certificate of incorporation as the "Trustees of the Presbyterian Church in the Town of New Rochelle, formerly known by the name of the French Church."[257]

Concluding Observations

All things considered, the conforming church in New Rochelle was very fortunate in that it was able to acquire several sincere and dedicated men of eminently good character to serve as its ministers until the 1760's. Aside from a baptismal controversy with the volcanic-tempered Pierre Villeponteux and his own ongoing financial difficulties, the pastorate of Daniel Bondet seems to have been a placid one. As was discussed previously, there was nothing to suggest friction or disharmony within the church during the pastorate of his successor, Pierre Stouppe. Likewise, the tenure of Stouppe's replacement, Michel Houdin, does not appear to have been wracked by internal controversies. I am a bit hesitant, however, to say there were no problems, since there are no extant Consistory Minutes for this church that might shed light on petty

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internal disputes between the Minister and the Elders and Deacons or the Congregation. Unlike the Reformed Churches, Anglican Churches did not have Consistories. It is unclear whether or not the conforming church had its own Consistory, however, the church continued to retain the position of elder or *ancien* as this title appeared frequently in the baptismal records under both Bondet and Stouppe. In the same way that use of the French language and preaching of Calvinist doctrines was continued after conformity, it is possible that something like a Consistory endured, with the elders continuing to assert the same kinds of powers that they had had prior to conformity. The biggest problem for the conforming ministers and their congregation was not internal but rather external--the ongoing controversy with the nonconforming congregation in New Rochelle over the 100 acres of land donated for a church by John and Rachel Pell.

From the perspective of ministerial stability and continuity, the conforming church fared much better than the nonconforming church which had a steady pastor for only fifteen years. All three conforming ministers remained in their positions in New Rochelle until they died. Indeed, Bondet and Stouppe together spent a half century ministering in New Rochelle. Granted, there were periods when the church was without a regular pastor after the deaths of these men. Nevertheless, the S.P.G. sent Bondet's replacement, Pierre Stouppe, who spoke both French and English, in about two years. Likewise, after the death of Stouppe, French and English-speaking Michel Houdin arrived in New Rochelle approximately two years later. This is in stark contrast to the New Paltz church which endured a thirty year interval without a pastor in the early eighteenth century, and saw many temporary ministers come-and-go until the 1750's. Even the independent French Church in New York City did not enjoy this kind of growth

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and stability. The New York Church had a permanent full-time minister, Louis Rou, from 1710 until his death in 1750, but his tenure was sometimes contentious and the church experienced numerous defections to other denominations.[258]

The nonconformists, in contrast, were confronted with an uphill battle right from the start. Except for the period between 1726 and 1741, when Jean Joseph Moulinars was their full-time pastor, they were dependent upon the good will and inclination of the pastor of the New York Church, provided there was a pastor, to visit them. As was mentioned previously, Reverend Louis Rou refused to go to New Rochelle. The nonconforming church, therefore, experienced a number of defections in the 1740's and early 1750's before Jean Carle resumed pastoral visits. Moreover, the struggle must have been a financial one as well. Unlike the conforming church they did not receive outside sources of funding, except for some possible donations from the New York Church. Members of this congregation had to donate land, raise funds to build a church, and pay a minister, that is, when they had a minister. The very fact that such a congregation existed as long as it did attests to the tenacity of these individuals and their firm desire to preserve their religious beliefs and traditions regardless of the cost.

On the other hand, the conforming church had by no means completely embraced English cultural values. As was demonstrated above, this church, particularly under Reverend Pierre Stouppe, managed to preserve use of the French language and characteristically Calvinist doctrines until about 1760. Bertrand van Ruymbeke suggested a similar pattern in the conforming churches in South Carolina, although based on slimmer evidence than I have been able to find for New Rochelle. He pointed out that elders in the conforming churches continued to use the term *ancien* in the early

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eighteenth century. In this way they were able to "preserve a French Calvinist structure within an Anglican parish."[259] Likewise, Amy Ellen Friedlander, in her unpublished doctoral dissertation on the Carolina Huguenots, described their conformity to Anglicanism as "superficial" and claimed that they maintained "a cultural residue within the English superstructure."[260] What I have found for the conforming church in New Rochelle represents much more than a "cultural residue." Not only did elders continue to sign as *anciens* throughout the pastorate of Stouppe, but the teachings of the church consistently maintained a strongly Calvinistic bent under his ministry. Even the ceremonial aspects of Anglicanism were downplayed by Stouppe when he criticized the use of the sign of the cross as unscriptural.[261] While the general structure of his sermons was rooted in a section of the French translation of the Anglican Catechism, the heart and soul of his message was Calvinist. In this way, the French conformists of New Rochelle, under Stouppe's ministry, practiced a form of Anglicanism that was essentially Calvinistic. All of this was made possible by the financial assistance and ministerial appointments of the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.[262] When Anglican Commissary Gideon Johnston sent a report to the Bishop of London in 1713, he accused the conforming French Churches in South Carolina of "playing fast and loose with the canons and rubrick."[263] Had Johnston visited New Rochelle several decades later, he undoubtedly would have made the same comment about the French Anglicans there.

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NOTES

1. Charles W. Baird, *History of Huguenot Emigration to America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1885),1: 249-50; David William Voorhees, "'Hearing. . .What Great Success the Dragonnades in France Had': Jacob Leisler's Huguenot Connections." *DHM* 67, 1, Spring 1994: 15-20.

2. Baird, *Huguenot Emigration*, 1: 254.

3. *Ibid.*, 1: 291-93; Henry Darlington, Jr., "The Significance of New Rochelle as a Huguenot Settlement," in *Huguenot Refugees in the Settling of Colonial America*, ed. Peter Steven Gannon (New York: Huguenot Society of America, 1985), 235.

4. Baird, *Huguenot Emigration*, 1: 301.

5. Darlington, "Significance of New Rochelle," 235.

6. Baird, *Huguenot Emigration*, 1: 302-307.

7. Ibid., 2: 22, 25, 40.

8. *Ibid.*, 2: 56-58, 62-63.

9. Darlington, "Significance of New Rochelle" 237, repeats this tale which appeared previously in Robert Bolton, *History of the Several Towns, Manors, and Patents of the County of Westchester from its First Settlement*, 3rd ed. (New York: J.J. Cass, 1905), 1: 595-96.

10. Baird, *Huguenot Emigration*, 1: 251.

11. Carolyn Lougee Chappell, "'The Pains I Took to Save My/His Family': Escape Accounts by a Huguenot Mother and Daughter after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes." *French Historical Studies* 22, 1 (Winter 1999): 1-64.

12. Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 57.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Actually the census lists 231 persons, but the preparer Constable Pierre Le Roux, neglected to list himself and Alexandre Allaire, who was also alive and living in the town. Le Roux undoubtedly meant to include Allaire since Jenneay Alear is identified as "is wiff" rather than as a "weadoe." The "New Rochelle Census, 1698" was published in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 58, 2 (April 1928): 105-107.

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15. Herbert B. Nichols, *Historic New Rochelle* (New Rochelle: Board of Education, 1938), 59. A cursory glance at the census supports this observation.

16. The Schurmans, for example, were from the Netherlands, but may have had some ancestors in La Rochelle. Further, Schurman men typically married Huguenot women in New Rochelle. See Bolton *History of Westchester County*, 1: 690; also Dorothy Schurman McHigh "William Schurman, Loyalist" *Quarterly Bulletin of the Westchester County Historical Society* 8, 3 (July 1932): 121-130.

17. "New Rochelle Census, 1698." Obviously, African slavery had taken hold during the incipient years of New Rochelle. Characteristics of this census and of slavery in New Rochelle will be discussed more fully below.

18. Morgan H. Seacord, *Biographical Sketches of the Huguenot Settlers of New Rochelle*, 1687-1776 (New Rochelle: Huguenot and Historical Association of New Rochelle, 1941), 12-13.

19. Robert Bolton, *History of the Several Towns*, 1: 581.

20. *Ibid.*, 582; Nichols, *Historic New Rochelle*, 16.

21. D. W. Voorhees, "Jacob Leisler and the Huguenot Network in the English Atlantic World" (paper presented at Strangers to Citizens Conference, London, April 5-7, 2000). I am grateful to Dr. Voorhees for supplying me with a copy of this paper.

22. "Deed from John and Rachel Pell to Jacob Leisler for Land in New Rochelle," September 20, 1689, Ms. coll., Westchester County Archives. Another copy of this document is hanging on the wall of the Thomas Paine Cottage in New Rochelle which is operated by the Huguenot and Historical Association of New Rochelle. There is also a photostat copy in the Manuscript Collection of the New-York Historical Society. The entire grant or excerpts from it has appeared in print in a number of sources. For example, J. Thomas Scharf, ed. *History of Westchester County*. Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1992, 1: 690-91.

23. Darlington, "Significance of New Rochelle," 234.

24. For further discussion see Caryl Coleman, "Introduction," in Jeanne Forbes, ed. and trans., *Records of the Town of New Rochelle, 1699-1828* (New Rochelle: Paragraph Press, 1916), ix-x.

25. Frederic Shonnard and W. W. Spooner. *History of Westchester County From its Earliest Settlement to the Year 1900* (New York: New York History Company, 1900), 1: 187.

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26. Darlington, "Significance of New Rochelle," 234. Jacob Judd has pointed out to me that these words merely echoed an ancient form and that Courts Leet and Baron were never held in Westchester County.

27. Shonnard and Spooner, 1: 190.

28. Bolton, *History of the Several Towns*, 1: 586-87.

29. Charles E. Lindsley, "New Rochelle," in Scharf, ed., 1: 688.

30. *Ibid.*, 686.

31. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 149.

32. Edward Ruttenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson's River*, (1872; reprint, New York: Kennikat Press, 1971), 81.

33. Bolton, *History of the Several Towns*, 1: 582.

34. Regarding an impending French attack on New York see Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1853-57), 3:650-51, 4: 485.

35. Pierre Stouppe "Letter to Dr. Bearcroft," June 5, 1745, transcribed in Frank Dean Gifford, "The Church of England in Colonial Westchester: A Study of the Work of the S.P.G. Missionaries in the Parishes of West Chester, Rye, and New Rochelle" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1942), 2: 917-918.

36. Nichols, *Historic New Rochelle*, 20-21.

37. Desk is on display in the Thomas Paine Cottage, New Rochelle. I am grateful to Norman Herzberg, President of the Huguenot and Historical Association of New Rochelle, for sharing with me this information about the desk.

38. Copy of letter, dated Oct. 20, 1690, is printed in Robert Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Westchester* (New York: Stanford and Swords, 1855), 395-96. Letter also appears in O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 2: 304-5.

39. Corwin, *ERNY*, 1: 926-27. Corwin surmised that the petition dates from 1696, but I think it could have been written earlier. In view of the fact that Jacob Leisler, who had played a vital role in the acquisition of the land for New Rochelle, had been executed for treason in 1691, it is my belief they might be trying, not only to make Fletcher aware of their situation, but to form a connection with the new Governor and to let him know that they accept and acknowledge his leadership.

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40. See, for example, Rev. Pierre Stouppe's 1724 letter to the S.P.G. Secretary in which he described the inhabitants of New Rochelle as poor. Document appears in Bolton, *History of the Protestant Epsicopal Church*, 436-37.

41. Letter to Secretary of the S.P.G., Oct. 19, 1762. transcribed in Gifford, "The Church of England in Colonial Westchester," 2: 939-40.

42. Darlington, "Significance of New Rochelle, 234. In a footnote Darlington cites L. J. Coutant's *Local History of New Rochelle* (New Rochelle Press Almanac, 1880), pp. 34-35 and 44-45. Coutant's source of information was probably the elderly Elias Guion, Jr. Bonnefoy's Point is known today as Hudson Park.

43. Morgan H. Seacord and William S. Hadaway, *Historical Landmarks of New Rochelle*. New Rochelle: Huguenot and Historical Association, 1938, 43-47.

44. Lindsley, "New Rochelle," 1: 690-91.

45. Seacord and Hadaway, *Historical Landmarks*, 49.

46. *Ibid.*, 46-47.

47. Nichols, *Historic New Rochelle*, 20-21.

48. For example, see C. H. Augur, *New Rochelle Through Seven Generations*. New Rochelle: National City Bank, 1908, which contains small photos of the following houses: Pintard, p. 23, Allaire, p. 26, Berpo (de Bonrepos), p. 27, and Flandreau, p. 35. Seacord's *Historical Landmarks* is also useful in this regard.

49. Helen Wilkinson Reynolds, *Dutch Homes in the Hudson Valley Before 1776* (New York: Dover, 1965), 294-95.

50. Sarah Kemble Knight, *the Journal of Madame Knight* (1825; reprint, New York: Garrett Press, Inc., 1970), 48-49, 59.

51. Seacord and Hadaway, *Historical Landmarks*, 84.

52. Corwin, *ERNY*, 2: 1173.

53. Chair is in the possession of the Huguenot and Historical Association of New Rochelle and is on display in the Thomas Paine Cottage. I am grateful to Norman Herzberg, President of the Association for allowing me to take a picture of the chair.

54. "A List of 801 Freeholders in Westchester County," February 28, 1763. Van Cortlandt Papers, Ms. coll., New-York Historical Society.

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55. Seacord, *Biographical Sketches*, 13.

56. Seacord and Hadaway, *Historical Landmarks*, 103.

57. Forbes, *Town Records*, 5-6; Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 149-50.

58. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 148.

59. Nichols, *Historic New Rochelle*, 53.

60. O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 2: 304-305.

61. Nichols, *Historic New Rochelle*, 21.

62. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 154-55. A brief overview of Leisler's Rebellion may be found in Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 121-26. A more detailed analysis of the Rebellion, as well its aftermath, is furnished in David William Voorhees, "'In Behalf of the True Protestants Religion': The Glorious Revolution in New York" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1988).

63. Caryl Coleman, "Introduction," in Forbes, ed., *Records of the Town of New Rochelle*.

64. I wish to thank Corinne Roe for sharing her master's thesis with me, in which she included a very clear chart that identified these language shifts. Roe, "A Tale of Two Villages: Huguenot Settlements in Colonial New York" (Masters thesis: Stanford University, 1998), Appendix A, 101-105. My own perusal of these records attests to the general accuracy of Roe's assessment of these linguistic trends.

65. Bertrand van Ruymbeke, "From Ethnicity to Assimilation: the Huguenots and the American Immigration Paradigm" (paper presented at Strangers to Citizens Conference, London, England, April 5-7, 2000). I am grateful to Dr. van Ruymbeke for sharing a copy of his paper with me.

66. Examples of the persistance of the French language in the "private" spheres of home and church will be discussed below.

67. Forbes, *Records of the Town of New Rochelle*, 74.

68. *Ibid.*, 85.

69. *Ibid.*, 149.

70. For example, see *Ibid.*, 238-39, 265, 302-3, 363-64.

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71. In her Master's thesis, "A Tale of Two Villages," Corinne Roe tallied the numbers and percents of New Rochelle town officials with French surnames. The figure varied from a high of 100% into the 1730's, thereafter the proportion decreased to roughly two-thirds in the 1760's. Roe, Appendix D, p. 120. Roe's figures coincide with my own cursory perusal of office-holder names in the town records. The shortcoming of this methodology is that it does not identify persons who were part French, for example, a man whose mother was French but whose father was not French or who was French on his mother's side. In view of this, a person who is identified as English or Dutch based on family name, could in reality be half or even three-quarters French.

72. Seacord, *Biographical Sketches*, 20; Bolton, *History of the Several Towns*, 1: 606.

73. Nichols, *Historic New Rochelle*, 116.

74. See, for example, John Calam, *Parsons and Pedagogues: The S.P.G Adventure in American Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), for a general overview. Calam's study, however, has little to say about Westchester County. A more useful work in this regard is the previously cited doctoral dissertation by Frank Dean Gifford, "Church of England in Colonial Westchester," 1: 63-87.

75. Heathcote, April 10, 1704, to the S.P.G. as quoted in Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 28.

76. Gifford, "Church of England in Colonial Westchester," 1: 63-86.

77. This church and the issue of Anglican conformity will be discussed in greater detail below.

78. Pierre Stouppe's Answers to Bishop of London, Oct. 12, 1724, letter printed in Bolton, *History of the Protestant Epsicopal Church*, 436-37. Pierre Stouppe to Secretary of the S.P.G., July 1728, "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Papers, 1701-1799" (Yorkshire, England: Microform Academic Publishers, 1964), Series A, 21: 349-57.

79. William Jay, *The Life of John Jay* (New York: J. and J. Harper, 1833), 1: 11.

80. *Ibid.*, 12.

81. Stouppe kept the church records in French and his manuscript sermons were written in French. These documents will be discussed in greater detail below. He also spoke and wrote English. His letters to the Secretary of the S.P.G. are in well-written English and he was supposed to preach in English on occasion.

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82. Corwin, *ERNY*, 1: 954-55.

83. Bonomi, "John Jay, Religion, and the State," *New York History* 81, 1 (Jan. 2000): 9-18.

84. Darlington, "Significance of New Rochelle," 239.

85. "Letter from the Congregation to Dr. Bearcroft." June 1, 1743, Duane Papers, Vol. II, Ms. coll., New-York Historical Society. For another example of a document signed by both men and women, refer to the "Petition of Members of Church of England to the S.P.G. for a Minister," July 23, 1760, Ms. coll., N-YHS.

86. "Records of the S.P.G." Series B, 3: 177-78.

87. Feb. 13, 1743, transcribed in Gifford, "Church of England in Colonial Westchester," 2: 907-910.

88. This issue will be probed more deeply below in the section on the French church in New Rochelle.

89. Lucien Fosdick, *The French Blood in America* (New York: Henry Revell, 1906: reprint, Baltimore: Clearfield, by Genealogical Pub., 1994), Bk. 3, Pt. 2, p. 236.

90. Huguenots in France had referred to their churches as *temples* or temples.

91. Huguenot French Church, New Rochelle, "Records, 1691-1719," Ms. coll., N-YHS.

92. Morgan, *Biographical Sketches*, 65-66.

93. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 66.

94. *Ibid.*, 65; HFC, "Records," Dec. 18, 1691.

95. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 66.

96. *Ibid.*, 65.

97. Seacord, *Biographical Sketches*, 13.

98. Charles W. Leng and William T. Davis, *Staten Island and its People: A History* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co. Inc.,1930), 1: 434.

99. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 166.

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100. Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 397.

101. Seacord, *Biographical Sketches*, 12-13.

102. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 66, 77, 170.

103. Their ages are listed on the 1698 census as 44 and 40 respectively. If the birth date of 1652 is accurate, this would have made Bondet about 46 at the time of the 1698 census. The 1710 list of the town of New Rochelle gives his age as 58, which would coincide with the 1652 birth date.

104. The contentious and potentially murderous proclivities of Villeponteux will be discussed below.

105. Huguenot French Church, New Rochelle, "Records, 1691-1719" Ms. coll., N-YHS. Although the dates for these records are identified as continuing to 1719, this is incorrect. The last entry by Bondet is dated 1712, there is a list of contributors for the building of the stone church, also dated 1712, an entry that has been scratched out, and finally, an entry by Bondet's sucessor, Pierre Stouppe, dated January 1728/9. Perhaps the date of 1719 was a misreading by the cataloguer. Some of Bondet's church records have been translated and printed. See A. J. Wall, trans. "Records of the French Church at New Rochelle, N. Y." *New-York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin* 1, 3. Oct. 1917: 77-81.

106. Originals of these letters are at Lambeth Palace Library in London. Microfilm copies are available at several large research and academic libraries in the United States, for example, New York University's Bobst Library. Transcriptions of most of these letters have appeared in some secondary sources. A nearly complete collection appears in an unpublished doctoral dissertation by Frank Dean Gifford, "The Church of England in Colonial Westchester," 2: 830-950. This work also includes letters from Bondet's successors at New Rochelle, Pierre Stouppe and Michel Houdin. Some of these letters have also been transcribed and printed in Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church.*

107. See Corwin, *ERNY*, 1: 929-31, 941-43, 948; 2: 1493-94, 1614, 1750-51, 1808, 1864, 1891.

108. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 170.

109. O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3: 927-28.

110. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 148.

111. Morgan H. Seacord, "John Coutant, Constable and Scrivener in New Rochelle," *Westchester Historian* 33, 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1957): 97; also Seacord, *Biographical Sketches*, 53-54.

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112. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 170.

113. Peter M. Doll, *Revolution, Religion, and National Identity: Imperial Anglicanism in British North America, 1745-1795* (Madison, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000), 158-59.

114. Corwin, *ERNY*, 1: 929-31.

115. Letter reprinted in Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 401-402.

116. O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3: 126-27.

117. Daniel Bondet, Letters to the Secretary of the S.P.G., July 24, 1707, transcribed in Gifford "The Church of England in Colonial Westchester," 2: 830-832.

118. Letter transcribed in *Ibid.*, 2: 833-34.

119. "Letter from Elias Neau to the Secretary, June 6, 1709," transcribed in *Ibid.*, 2: 839.

120. Butler, *Huguenots in* America, 171. Butler observed that these twenty-six heads of families represented only half of the family heads who appeared on the New Rochelle census the following year, nevertheless the number was sufficient for an Anglican victory. This observation suggests that either approximately half of the inhabitants did not attend the French church or that if they did attend, they had not been deemed worthy of membership. An eye-witness account of the proceedings is provided in Heathcote's June 13, 1709 letter to the Secretary of the S.P.G. Quotations are from the Heathcote letter.

121. Letter from Caleb Heathcote to the Secretary, December 18, 1709, printed in Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 405-406.

122. "The First Presbyterian Church of New Rochelle: a Brief Sketch of its History, 1688-1946." New Rochelle, New York, 1946, 6.

123. This independent church will be discussed more fully below under the subheading "Nonconforming Church."

124. Huguenot French Church, New Rochelle, "Records, 1691-1719." The only date on this contribution list is May 1712 and it appears in the margin. Most of the amounts are rather small--one or two pounds or less. This list is also printed in Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 416-17.

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125. O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3: 942.

126. "A Look at Trinity, Its Past, Present and Future," New Rochelle, New York: Trinity-St. Paul Episcopal Church, no date. Much of the information in this pamphlet is taken from Bolton's *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church.*

127. Lindsley, "New Rochelle," in Scharf, 694.

128. Most of this information is from *Ibid.*

129. Gifford, "The Church of England in Colonial Westchester," 1: 102. There are several extant sketches of this church building, one of which is hanging on the wall of a second floor room of the Thomas Paine Cottage in New Rochelle.

130. Patent is printed in Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 422-23. Information about the chalice is from "About Trinity Church," a pamphlet printed by Trinity-St. Paul Episcopal Church, New Rochelle. I had the opportunity to see this chalice when I visited the church to examine its records.

131. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 172-73.

132. R.M. Kingdon, "Why Did the Huguenot Refugees in the American Colonies Become Episcopalians?" *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 49 (1980): 317-35.

133. *Ibid.*, 330-35.

134. Letter from Calvin to the English church at Frankfort, as cited in John H. Kromminga, "Calvin and Ecumenicity" in *Calvin's Ecclesiology: Sacraments and Deacons*, vol. 10, *Essays on Calvin and Calvinism*, ed. Richard C. Gamble (New York: Garland, 1992), 45.

135. Philip Hughes, "Calvin and the Church of England" in *Calvinism in France, Netherlands, Scotland, and England*, vol. 14, *Essays on Calvin*, 325-348.

136. Kromminga, "Calvin and Ecumenicity," 50.

137. John T. McNeill, "Calvin and Episcopacy," in *Essays on Calvin*, 10: 54-55.

138. W. Stanford Reid, "The Ecumenicalism of John Calvin," in *Essays on Calvin*, 10: 105-106.

139. Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism, 1590-1640* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987; Clarendon Press, 1991). A similar

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argument has been made by P. G. Lake in "Calvinism and the English church, 1570-1635," in *Essays on Calvin*, 14: 280-324.

140. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, ed. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), s.v."Thirty-Nine Articles." "Even though the Church of England, through the Thirty-Nine Articles, officially accepted the doctrine of predestination, it was already becoming more completely identified with presbyterianism than with Anglicanism" in the early seventeenth century. See Stuart Prall, *Church and State in Tudor and Stuart England* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1993), 102-103.

141. One of the few studies of colonial Anglicanism is John Frederick Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984). Although Woolverton does not provide a very thorough analysis of Anglican theology, he does suggest that mainstream Anglicanism in the colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century did not interpret the Thirty-Nine Articles in a Calvinistic manner. See esp. 184-189. Further, Harry S. Stout has pointed out that between 1731 and 1763 most Anglican ministers endorsed Arminian conclusions in their sermons. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 227. Regarding Anglican criticism of Dissenters see Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 167. Alan Heimert and Perry Miller, ed. *The Great Awakening* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), xvii-xxiv, contains some discussion of Arminian tendencies in eighteenth-century Anglicanism. Horton Davies has observed that eighteenth-century Anglican sermons in England had "become mere moral essays, characterized chiefly by a cold good sense. . . ." Davies, *Worship and Theology in England: From Watts and Wesley to Martineau, 1690-1900* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans), 68.

142. Huguenot French Church, New Rochelle, "Records, 1691-1719. Ms. coll., N-YHS. Some of these records have been edited and translated by A.J. Wall, "Records of the French Church at New Rochelle, N. Y." *N.Y.H.S Bulletin* 1, 3, Oct. 1917, 77-81. There is a gap in the records until 1725. Then the baptismal records resume until 1765, followed by another gap until 1795. Records for 1725 to 1765 will be discussed below.

143. Wall, "Records," 81.

144. Letter from the Secretary to Mr. Bondet, Nov. 6, 1712, transcribed in Gifford, 2: 855.

145. Letter transcribed in Gifford, 2: 864-67.

146. "New Rochelle Census, 1698" *NYG&B Record* 59, 2, April 1928, 105-107; "Census of Westchester County, 1712," in Corwin *ERNY*, 1: 949. Demographic patterns will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

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147. Bondet to Secretary, August 18, 1714, transcribed in Gifford, 2: 868-70.

148. Letters transcribed in Gifford, 2: 874-884.

149. Bondet to Secretary, November 12, 1717, transcribed in Gifford, 2: 881.

150. The issue of admission to communion in Reformed Churches has been discussed in connection with the New Paltz Church.

151. Bondet to Secretary, Oct. 21, 1718, transcribed in Gifford, 2: 883-884.

152. Transcribed in *Ibid.*, 2: 885-86.

153. *Ibid.*, 2: 887-88.

154. Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contributions of the Huguenots in Britain* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), 99.

155. Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England: Immigration and Settlement c. 1550-1700.* Translated by Peregrine and Adriana Stevenson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 178.

156. Amy Ellen Friedlander, ed., "Commissary Johnston's Report, 1713," *South Carolina Historical* Magazine (1982), 260.

157. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 37.

158. Patricia Bonomi identified him as being French-born, while William Jay said that Stouppe was a "native of Switzerland." Bonomi, "John Jay, Religion and the State," 12; Jay, *The Life of John Jay*, 1: 11.

159. "Sermons of Pierre Stouppe," Ms. coll., Huguenot Society of America, New York.

160. Biographical data on Stouppe is from Seacord's *Biographical Sketches*, 48-49, and Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 435.

161. Stouppe's response that there were a few negroes was far from accurate since the 1712 Census identified 54 slaves in the town, which was nearly 18 percent of the total popluation of 304 persons. "1712 Census," Corwin, *ERNY*, 1: 949. Percent calculation is my own.

162. "Letter to Dr. Bearcroft," Feb. 13, 1743, transcribed in Gifford, 2: 907.

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163. Document printed in Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 436-37.

164. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, "Records" (Yorkshire, England: Microform Academic Publishers, 1964), Series A, 19: 363ff. Letter is also transcribed in Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 438-40. Bolton, however, transcribed "sisters" as "fishes."

165. Originals and photostat copies of these records are kept in a safe at Trinity-St. Paul Episcopal Church in New Rochelle, New York. (Identified hereafter as TEC NR)

166. See note 106 above regarding the whereabouts of these S.P.G. materials.

167. Actually there are seventy-eight manuscripts written by Stouppe in the sermon collection. As Table 4, Inventory of Stouppe's Sermons, indicates, one of these was preached in Charleston, and another is incomplete since only the first page is extant. The remaining document is thirty-nine pages long, undated, and is not written in Stouppe's typical sermon format, so its purpose is unclear.

168. It is possible that congregants understood the content of these manuscript sermons in much the same way that Stouppe did. For example, Harry S. Stout has argued that surviving lay sermon notes from colonial New England correspond point for point with the manuscript notes of the minister. Stout, *The New England Soul*, 5, 317 fn. 7.

169. Louis Rou, "Sermons and other Writings, delivered in the Hague and New Rochelle, 1704-1711, and New York, 1711-1750," 3 vols., Ms. coll., New York Public Library. Bertrand van Ruymbeke, the most recent scholar to examine the Huguenots of South Carolina, has informed me that no French Protestant sermons exist for that colony, except for the one that was preached in the independent church in Charleston by Reverend Pierre Stouppe in 1720. As far as I have been able to determine, the only copies of Stouppe's sermons are contained in a bound volume at the Library of the Huguenot Society of America in New York City.

170. Jean Durel was born on the Island of Jersey in 1625. Although Jersey was an English possession, the inhabitants spoke French and the island became the home to many of the earliest Huguenot refugees prior to the revocation. Durel was educated at Oxford and eventually became pastor of the French Church of the Savoy which was one of London's larger conforming congregations. As a French-speaking conforming minister Durel helped to acculturate other French-speaking persons to Anglicanism through his French translation of that church's Catechism as well as the previously mentioned *Book of Common Prayer*. Both of these were used by French Anglicans in England and the colonies. Charles Drelincourt, who was born in Sedan in 1595, translated the small Catechism into French. These men corresponded with one another in the 1660's and Drelincourt also wrote to a "Reverend Stouppe" in London. It is possible that this Stouppe was the father or another close relation of Reverend Pierre Stouppe of the New

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Rochelle Church. See "Une lettre de Jean Durel à Charles Drelincourt," ed. Brian Armstrong and Elisabeth Labrousse. *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 122 (Avril, Mai, Juin 1976): 263-79. Bolton has surmised that Pierre Stouppe was closely related to the Reverend Stouppe who was the minister of the French Church in London and who was sent to Geneva by Oliver Cromwell to negotiate in affairs relating to the French Protestants. Since Stouppe is an uncommon name, a family connection between the two seems very likely. Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 435.

171. Translation is from the Authorized King James Version.

172. The date was undecipherable on one of these sermons based on the second part of Section 8 of the Petit Catechism.

173. The top of first page is torn so there is no date(s) given for delivery of the sermon. Since Stouppe seemed to be methodically progressing through the catechism, I would surmise that it was first delivered sometime in July or August of 1725.

174. Cross and Livingstone, *Oxford Dictionary*, s.v. "Sacrament." The editors point out that the Church of England has viewed the remaining five sacraments more positively in the modern period. Presumably this means since the Oxford movement of the nineteenth century. All quotes in the paragraph in the text are this writer's direct translation of Stouppe's French manuscript sermon on Section 8 of the Petit Catechism. See also Article 25 of the Thirty-Nine Articles regarding "Those five commonly called Sacraments. . .but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper." W. H. Griffith Thomas, *The Principles of Theology: An Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles* (London: Church Book Room Press, Ltd., 1951), 345. See pp. 351-57 for further discussion of the status of the other five.

175. Sermon delivered on June 16, 1734 and Sept.16, 1739.

176. Message delivered Oct. 20, 1734 and Feb. 10, 1740.

177. Oct. 10, 1734 and March 2, 1740 message.

178. January 19, 1735, July 20, 1740.

179. Feb. 16, 1735, Aug. 10, 1740.

180. Bonomi, "John Jay, Religion, and the State," 13.

181. April 20, 1735, Oct. 26, 1740.

182. May 11, 1735, Nov. 16, 1740.

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183. Sermon on Section 15 of the Catechism, July 11, 1731 and July 18, 1736.

184. Sermon on Section 16, Aug. 22, 1731, Aug. ?, 1736.

185. See esp. Sermon on Section 52, Oct. 10, 1734 and March 2, 1740.

186. Sermon on Section 47, May 12, 1734, August 26, 1739. This was a recurrent theme in Stouppe's sermons; see citations above for additional references to this topic.

187. Sermon delivered on June 16, 1734 and Sept. 16, 1739.

188. Friedlander, "Commissary Johnston's Report," 260. Signing of the cross in baptism was typical practice in the Church of England. See Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, 20.

189. Preached on July 14, 1734.

190. Sermon on Section 50, preached Jan. 20, 1740.

191. Heimert, *Great Awakening*, xlvii.

192. Delivered on Aug. 25, 1734.

193. Sermon on Section 5 of the Petit Catechism, June 6, 1725.

194. An exhaustive collection of articles on various aspects of Calvinism and its diffusion throughout Europe may be found in the following multi-volume work: Richard C. Gamble, ed. *Articles on Calvin and Calvinism* (New York: Garland, 1992). Garland brings together articles by leading authorities in the field that were previously published between the late 1940's and late 1980's.

195. Sermon on Section 6 of the Petit Catechism, June 13, 1725.

196. Sermon on Section 6 of the Catechism, June 7, 1730 and March 28, 1736.

197. Preached Nov. 24, 1731 and Sept. 19, 1736; Jan. 16, 1732 and Oct. 17, 1736; Feb. 6, 1732; Feb. 27, 1732 and Sept. 28, 1736.

198. Sermon on Section 41, Dec. 2, 1733, Nov. 12, 1738. See also Sermons on Section 43, Feb. 10, 1734, March 4, 1739, and Section 44, March 3, 1734, May 6, 1739.

199. Jay, *Life of John Jay*, 1:11.

200. Delivered on June 17, 1733 and June 4, 1738 and on July 7, 1733 and June 25, 1738, respectively.

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201. Stouppe himself had requested these materials in several letters to the Secretary of the S.P.G. Letters to Secretary, August 10, 1726, and April 7, 1733, transcribed in Gifford, 2: 895 and 896.

202. Sermon on Section 43, Feb. 10, 1734.

203. July 23, 1727, Dec. 3, 1732, and Oct. 16, 1737.

204. June 24, 1727, Oct. 22, 1732, and Aug. 28, 1737.

205. "Letter from the Congregation to Dr. Bearcroft," June 1, 1743. Duane Papers, Vol. II, Ms. coll., N-YHS. Further communications between Stouppe and the S.P.G. regarding his resignation have been transcribed in Gifford, 2: 907-912.

206. Letters transcribed in Gifford, 2: 913-916.

207. "Letter to Dr. Bearcroft," June 5, 1745, *Ibid.*, 2: 917-18. On April 15, 1748 he described his congregants as being "well inclined and affected toward the Church" and that they "devoutly and constantly attend Divine Service." 2: 922-23.

208. "Letter from the Congregation to Dr. Bearcroft," June 1, 1743. Duane Papers, Vol. II., Ms. coll., N-YHS.

209. "Records of the S.P.G." Series B, 1: 67.

210. "Records of the S.P.G." Series B, 1: 23.

211. Letters transcribed in Gifford, 2: 920-25.

212. *Ibid.*, 2: 926, 933.

213. Trinity Episcopal Church, New Rochelle, "Records, 1725-1765" Originals and photostats at Trinity-St. Paul Episcopal Church, New Rochelle. Hereafter identified in the notes as TEC NR "Records."

214. Aug. 20, 1726, transcribed in Gifford, 2: 892-93.

215. Dec. 2, 1734, *Ibid.*, 2: 900.

216. *Ibid.*, 2: 913-14.

217. June 8, 1750, Ibid., 2: 927, see also June 10, 1651 letter, 2: 929.

218. *Ibid.*, 2: 931-33.

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219. Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, 115. On page 250, fn 86, she writes that the the Fundamental Constitution of Carolina suggested that seventeen was considered to be the age of consent in religious matters there.

220. Letter transcribed in Gifford, 2: 935-36.

221. "Petition of Members of Church of England to the S.P.G. for a Minister," July 23, 1760, Ms. coll., N-YHS.

222. Seacord, *Biographical Sketches*, 29-30; Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 453-58.

223. Letter dated Oct. 19, 1762, transcribed in Gifford, 2: 939-40.

224. Oct. 10, 1763, *Ibid.*, 2: 941-44.

225. Ibid., 2: 949-50.

226. "A Look at Trinity, Its Past, Present, and Future," 6.

227. Letter to Secretary, April 17, 1764, transcribed in Gifford, 2: 945.

228. TEC NR "Records."

229. April 13, 1765, transcribed in Gifford, 2: 947-48.

230. Sept. 23, 1765, *Ibid.*, 2: 949-50.

231. Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 470.

232. *Ibid.*

233. *Ibid.*, 471.

234. *Ibid.*, 172.

235. *Ibid.*

236. Another problem here is that Isaac is listed as James. However, his age, the age of his wife, and the names and ages of the children would coincide with those of the "Measseay" family listed on the 1698 census. "The List of the Towne of New Rochelle, December 9, 1710," in Corwin, 1: 946; "New Rochelle Census, 1698" *NYG&B Record* 59, 2 (April 1928): 107.

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237. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 171.

238. "List of the Towne of New Rochelle," December 9, 1710. Corwin, *ERNY*, 1: 946-47.

239. "Records of the S.P.G." Series A, 21: 349-57. On May 12, 1725 he had told the Secretary that there were thirty dissenting families in New Rochelle. Letter printed in Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal* Church, 438-40.

240. Letter transcribed in Gifford, 2: 933.

241. Undoubtedly he was referring to those persons who were dissatisfied with the ministry of Reverend Louis Rou. For Stouppe's letter see "Records of the S.P.G." Series A, 1: 349-57. It is possible that Moulinars may have supplemented his income by visiting other pastorless churches to perform services. For example, as mentioned in a previous chapter, his name appeared in the records of the New Paltz Church.

242. The First Presbyterian Church of New Rochelle: A Brief Sketch of its History, 1688-1946" (New Rochelle, New York, 1946), 7.

243. This was the estimate given by Reverend Henricus Selyns in 1696, Corwin, *ERNY*, 2: 1173.

244. French Church de St. Esprit, New York City, "Consistory Minutes," 1723-66, Ms. coll., N-YHS. See entries for Jan. 8 and 10, 1764.

245. Huguenot French Church, New Rochelle, "Records, 1756-1764," Ms. coll., N-YHS. (Hereafter identified as HFC NR)

246. TEC NR "Records."

247. HFC NR "Records." Têtard usually signed with his initials as "J. P. Têtard."

248. HFC NR "Records."

249. TEC NR"Records."

250. HFC NR "Records."

251. TEC NR, "Records." The Anglicization of his name is noteworthy here, since he is always identified as Jean-Pierre in the Consistory Minutes of the New York Church which were still kept in French at this time.

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252. See, for example, entries for February 1758, November 9, 1762, June 24, 1763, and May 1764, HFC NR, "Records." Têtard was serving as a minister of the New York Church at this time and made a few visits to New Rochelle when Carle was unavailable. Têtard's signature is quite distinctive in its formation of the capital "P" and "T." Neither Carle nor Têtard seemed very willing to remain in New York for any length of time. Carle, in particular, was desirous of returning to his native Switzerland. French Church du St. Esprit, "Consistory Minutes," May 30, 1763, July 15, 1764.

253. Slavery in New Rochelle will be explored in the following chapter.

254. Seacord, *Biographical Sketches*, 51-52.

255. "Charter of Trinity Church" is printed in Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 460. The name Ste. Croix does not appear in the earlier records of the conforming church, nor does it appear elsewhere in the records of the nonconforming church, although Seacord noted that they family may have been in New Rochelle as early as 1751. See *Biographical Sketches*, 21.

256. "The First Presbyterian Church of New Rochelle," 8.

257. *Ibid.*, 10.

258. Regarding dwindling numbers in the French Church, see Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 190.

259. Bertrand van Ruymbeke, "The Huguenots of Proprietary South Carolina: Patterns of Migration and Integration," in *Money, Trade, Power: The Evolution of the South Carolina Plantation System*, ed. Jack P. Greene, Rand J. Sparks, and Rosemary Brana-Shute (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001). I am grateful to Dr. van Ruymbeke for sharing this essay with me in advance of its publication.

260. Amy Ellen Friedlander, "Carolina Huguenots: A Study in Cultural Pluralism in the Low Country, 1679-1768" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1979), 199.

261. Sermon on Section 48 of the Catechism, June 16, 1734 and Sept. 16, 1739.

262. Regarding the role of the S.P.G. in appointing and paying Bondet and Stouppe and in financing other endeavors for the New Rochelle church please refer to the pieces of correspondence cited in notes 118, 124, 130, 144, 162, and 207 above.

263. Friedlander, ed. "Commissary Johnston's Report."

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Six

FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS IN NEW ROCHELLE

A TIME TO BE BORN AND A TIME TO DIE

One of the most valuable sources for reconstructing household size and ages of family members is the census. Fortunately two early censuses, dated 1698 and 1712, were taken and there is also a list of the inhabitants of New Rochelle, dated 1710. Although these documents are not always entirely accurate, when consulted together and in conjunction with other materials, they can provide useful demographic insights. The 1698 census identified by name and age, in most cases, 233 persons living in New Rochelle.[1] This total of 233 includes forty-three persons identified as "negears," in reference to enslaved Africans. I used information contained in this census to determine average family size and average household size. By family size is meant parents and dependent children presumably living within the same household. Household size includes other persons, such as an aged parent or any other relative who is not a child, an apprentice, or a slave. It is not always clear which slaves belonged to each family, neither is the situation self-evident when a different name crops up in the midst of a list of family names of people who are obviously related. As such, slaves and seemingly single persons are factored into the general calculation of household size. There are several cases of older persons with the same family name, most likely widowed parents, who are listed

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with other persons of the same name. These single persons are factored into household size but not into family size, which I have designated as a nuclear family of parents and dependent children. A few of these nuclear families listed a mother, but no father or vice versa. In several instances the names of young children were listed separately from the names of their parents, therefore I combined the children with the parents in order to determine average family size.

According to the census there were at least forty nuclear family units of two or more persons, with a combined total of 180 persons, living in New Rochelle in 1698. This would place the average nuclear family size at 4.5 persons, which would mean that most families had two or three living children. In reality, numbers of offspring varied tremendously. There were several couples who did not appear to have any children living with them; in marked contrast there were the Neufvilles (listed as neveall) with nine children ranging in age from three to twenty-years-old. If we factor in all the persons living in New Rochelle--slaves, possible apprentices, older widowed parents, and a few apparently single persons--this would place the average household size at just over 5.8 persons. (Averages for 1698 in comparison with later years appear in Table 5.) With regard to both figures we need to keep in mind that these averages would be slightly lower if a few of the singles lived alone or with slaves and therefore would have constituted additional households. Their numbers are few, however, and would not dramatically alter these averages more than a fraction of a point.

The census also informs us of the ages of husbands and wives. Ages of both spouses were available for thirty-three couples. Of these, four husbands were younger than their wives and two spouses were the same age. The remaining twenty-seven

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husbands were all older than their wives. In some cases the age difference was quite dramatic, much more so than the average difference in age for New Paltz couples at this time. Only three husbands were less than four years older, eight husbands were four to six years older, and six were from seven to nine years older. The biggest surprise was that seven husbands were ten to twelve years older than their wives and the remaining three were fifteen or more years older. The largest gap in age, seventeen years, existed between the aforementioned Neufvilles. John, a physician, is listed as being fifty-nine, and his wife Racheall, forty-two. The Neufvilles appear again twelve years later on the 1710 "List of the Towne of New Rochelle." This time John is sixty-nine and his wife "Katherine" is fifty-five.[2]

The census also gives us an idea of the ages at which women began to give birth as well as the number of years between each child. It must be taken into consideration that there very likely were some miscarriages, stillbirths, and childhood deaths. Keeping this in mind, we can make the following generalizations based on twenty-four women whose children were still living with them in 1698. The average age at first birth was 23.6 years, but the actual ages varied from nineteen to forty.[3] Exactly half of these women first gave birth between the ages of twenty and twenty-two. Another five gave birth between twenty-three and twenty-five, and only two, both of them nineteen, were under twenty when they first gave birth. Finally no women appear to have given birth for the first time between twenty-six and twenty-nine, but four were thirty or over. Most of the children of these women were born, on average, every two or three years, which is identical to the pattern I found for New Paltz. Likewise the average age at first birth is

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roughly equivalent to that of New Paltz women during the same time period, but in actual practice the New Rochelle women typically were a year or two younger.[4]

At what age did men typically become fathers for the first time? Ages were indicated for twenty-four men with minor children in the 1698 census. While it is possible that a few of the older individuals had already fathered grown children with a wife who was now deceased, it seems unlikely because they would have been extremely young (teens or early twenties) the first time around. The ages of these men when the first child was born varied from twenty-two to forty-four. The average age, however, was 31.8 years. This average mirrors the fact that most first-time fathers were between thirty and thirty-four-years-old, while only seven men under thirty had fathered a child. Two men, aged thirty-five to thirty-nine seemingly became fathers for the first time and there were four fathers who were over forty.

At the end of the 1698 list the following is written: "a trou Leas mad by me peter Le roux Contobeall of nuro cheall." Pierre Le Roux, who had been born in Holland to refugee parents, was a tailor by trade. He and his family were in New York City by 1683, where he was later married. He moved to New Rochelle around 1695 and was elected Constable sometime before the 1698 census.[5] He listed the age of his wife, Halleday, as twenty-four and also the ages of his children, two and three, but neglected to indicate his own age. The spelling is understandably atrocious because Le Roux was struggling to record the information in what he believed to be English, and was probably doing it by ear. In this way, "his wife" becomes "is wiff," "widow" becomes "weadoe," and the minister becomes a "meaneaster."

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Although the 1710 "List of the Towne of New Rochelle" is marred by errors, it provides us with further insights into the names and ages of white inhabitants of the town. Unfortunately the 1712 Census does not identify people by name, but rather groups them according to age, sex, and race. Nevertheless, these two documents can be used in conjunction and as checks for one another since the demographic composition of the town would not have been dramatically altered in this period of less than two years.[6] The names of 264 persons, all presumably white, appear on the 1710 list. This time there appears to be about fifty-six households, reflecting a 40 percent increase over the 1698 figure of forty. Almost certainly 253 of the persons on the 1710 list were members of nuclear family units of parents and children. This would mean that average family size was about 4.5 persons, which is identical to my calculations based on the 1698 census. Keeping in mind that a few of these families were headed by single parents, this would once again place the average number of children per family between two and three. Since many of these couples were the same couples identified in 1698, the husband-wife age disparity remained little changed in 1710. Likewise the number of years between children demonstrated no significant alterations. Assuming that the number of households remained constant at fifty-six for the 1712 Census, this figure can be used to divide the total population of 304, including slaves, to arrive at an average household size of 5.4 persons, a figure that is not dramatically different from the 1698 average of 5.8 persons.[7] This slight change cannot be attributed to a decrease in the percentage of enslaved persons. Although the number of slaves had increased since 1698 (fifty-five persons out of 304) the percentage of slaves remained fairly constant at just over 18 percent.[8]

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James Pitcher's "Ledger," which contains a list of the "Numbers of Inhabitants in the Parish of New Rochelle" for 1771 is an invaluable source regarding population in the town just prior to the American Revolution. Since Pitcher provided the same kinds of information contained in the 1712 census, as well as the names of heads of household and numbers in each household according to race, it makes for illuminating comparisons with the profiles described above. As indicated on Table 6, the percent composition of the population according to age, sex, and race remained fairly constant between 1698 and 1771. The male: female ratio for white inhabitants was distributed fairly equally according to all three sources. Somewhat surprising is the fact that women slightly outnumbered men in 1698 and also in 1771. The 1698 figure is in marked contrast to the gender imbalance found in New Paltz in the 1703 census, in which white men were 56.9%, women were 36.2%, and slaves were 6.9% of the population.[9]

The information supplied by Pitcher makes it possible to compute average family size as well as average household size. Because Pitcher does not identify the name and age of every household member, family size in this computation will have to include aged parents and other single white persons not part of the nuclear family who were living in the household in 1771. Presumably their numbers were small as in the earlier censuses, and therefore will not alter the figures significantly. The average family size was 5.6 persons, with the actual numbers varying from one to twelve persons. The average household size, including slaves, was 7.1 persons, while actual size ranged from one to fifteen persons. These figures indicate an increase in average family size by at least one person and in average household size by 1.7 persons. The averages suggest that couples were now producing at least one more surviving child and that the ratio of slaves

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to white persons in New Rochelle had increased.[10] Seven of these households were headed by women, although the female-headed households tended to be smaller than the average. The largest had seven persons, four of whom were slaves. (See Table 7) There was only one family/household that was comprised of one person. The name listed for this household was "Stoupe." This refers to Madelane Stouppe, the widow of Reverend Pierre Stouppe, who had remained in New Rochelle after her husband's death.[11] Although the average family size had increased to 5.6 persons, the majority of families were comprised of only three or four persons, as indicated in Table 8.

In order to put a more human face on the demographics of New Rochelle, and to fill in the gaps between 1712 and 1771, I analyzed some of the available genealogical records. Finding complete genealogies for New Rochelle families presented a greater challenge than it did for New Paltz. While the genealogies of all the New Paltz patentees have been researched, this is not the case for the early settlers of New Rochelle, most of whom do not have complete genealogies. Nevertheless, a few relatively complete published genealogies do exist. I chose two for closer analysis, those of the Angevine and the Guion families. Both families had arrived in New Rochelle by the early eighteenth century. In fact the Guions were among the earliest persons to arrive in the town. According to tradition, their home was used as a communal dwelling place. The Angevine and Guion names appear on the 1710 "List of the Towne of New Rochelle" and members of these families remained in the town until the time of the American Revolution and even later.[12] Moreover, the names of these families appear regularly in the church records and occasionally in the town records, indicating that both were actively involved in the life of the community on an ongoing basis. The Guions, in

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particular, had firm ties to the community with three Guion men listed as freeholders in 1763, as compared with one Angevine listing.[13] Because the available information for dates of marriage and death is limited, I will combine data about these two families to form a composite profile of the second and third generations, born between 1685 and 1729, and from 1720 to 1774, respectively. Neither of these families extensively intermarried with the other so there is no danger of overlapping ancestors as was the case with the New Paltz families who intermarried frequently, although not within close degrees of consanguinity. Huguenot families in New Rochelle often intermarried during the second generation. But because there were more unrelated families in New Rochelle, and therefore more potential marriage partners to choose from at the beginning of the eighteenth century, inhabitants were less likely to marry their cousins or the sibling of an in-law than they were in New Paltz.

The progenitors of the Angevine family in New Rochelle were Zachariah and Pierre Angevine. Although it has not been clearly proven that the two were brothers, it is almost certain that they were.[14] Zachariah Angevine, the son of Louis and Marguerite Angevine, was born around 1664 in either La Rochelle or somewhere in the province of Poitou, France. He, his wife, and infant son probably escaped in 1686, but the wife and child both died before reaching the Netherlands. Zachariah arrived in New York City sometime before 1690, where he married Marie, daughter of André Naudin, on March 5, 1690. Zachariah, who was a tailor by trade, became a Freeman in New York in December 1695 and took an oath of allegiance in that City in May 1696. In 1701, together with his brother-in-law, André Naudin, and Louis Guion, he bought a home lot and appurtenant land in the West Division of New Rochelle. Thereafter he was elected to a number of

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positions in the New Rochelle town government almost continuously throughout his lifetime. Among these positions were Constable, 1703-1710, Surveyor of Highways, 1710-1713, 1727, 1728, and 1733, Assessor, 1715, Poundmaster, 1717, 1718, and 1727, Fence Viewer, 1719, and Townsman, 1725, 1726, and 1731. Zachariah and his second wife, Marie, had a total of eleven children, seven girls and four boys. Six of these children were born in New York, two died in infancy or early childhood. The remaining five were born in New Rochelle.[15] Zachariah's will, dated October 26, 1739, was proved January 17, 1740 and he was probably buried in New Rochelle, as was his wife who died there sometime after October 1715.[16]

Pierre Angevine was born around 1666, possibly in La Rochelle or the province of Anjou or Poitou. It is uncertain when he left France and arrived in New York, since there are no records that place him in the City or in New Rochelle until 1705. In that year he was elected one of the Assessors of New Rochelle, a position that he was elected to again in 1707. Later he was elected Overseer of Highways in 1715 and 1718, and as one of the Poundmasters in 1718. As early as 1714 he owned a small lot of land by the waterside. His first wife Deborah, who may have been a Guion, was born around 1668. The couple had very likely married in France. Deborah died in New Rochelle between 1711 and 1713. Pierre's second wife was Marguerite de Bonrepos, the daughter of schoolmaster Elié and Esther de Bonrepos. She was born around 1683. Pierre had four children, two boys and two girls, by his first wife, Deborah. He later had three children, two boys and one girl, with Marguerite de Bonrepos, who died after 1729 in New Rochelle. Pierre himself died intestate sometime after 1728 in New Rochelle, where he was probably buried.[17]

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The progenitor of the Guion family in America was Louis Guion, who was born in France around 1654 in either Mauze in Aunis or the city of La Rochelle.[18] He probably married sometime before 1685 because the Guion Genealogy indicates that his first offspring were born that year. His wife's first name was Tomaza.[19] Her family name may have been Forestière.[20] They had, three sons, Isaac, Louis, III or Jr., and Aman, whose names appeared on the 1698 census, and a daughter, Susannah, whose name did not appear on the 1698 Census, but who appears on the 1710 "List." Indeed Susannah and Isaac were born in 1685 in England where their parents resided briefly after leaving France. They may have been twins or just siblings who were born in quick succession as they are both identified as being twenty-five on the 1710 "List." Louis, Jr., was born at sea in 1686 while the Guions were travelling to America, and Aman supposedly was the first child to be born in New Rochelle in 1691. Louis apparently was in New York City in 1696, where he signed the oath of allegiance in May of that year. Along with other Huguenot settlers of New Rochelle, he received Letters of Denization on February 6, 1696. It is possible that these letters were issued to Louis and to his aged father, Louis, since his son, also named Louis, was only ten years old at the time.[21] On June 13, 1701 he purchased twenty acres of land south of Boston Post Road from Jacob Leisler, Jr., which he used for a home lot. Later that year he purchased, along with Zachariah Angevin and André Naudin, Jr., another home lot and appurtenant land in the West Division. Louis Guion received one-half of this lot, while Naudin and Angevin divided the remainder between them. If the traditional accounts are correct in saying that the Guion house was the first community dwelling and that Aman was born there in 1691, then these land purchases must have been made in addition to his original lot. Possibly he did this to

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secure pieces of land for the future use of his three sons. Louis was elected Collector in 1706. He either died on October 8, 1725, the same day that he made his will, or sometime in 1732.[22]

Seacord notes that there was also a Jacques Guion who resided briefly in New Rochelle in the early eighteenth century. So far no relationship between Jacques and Louis has been ascertained. After the death of Jacques his widow, Anne, sold his lease in 1714.[23] No references to either Anne Guion or any offspring that she might have had with Jacques appears after this transaction, therefore only the second and third generation descendants of Louis Guion will be considered for demographic analysis.

The twenty-two persons who comprised the second generation of Guions and Angevines were born between 1685 and 1729. At least four of them "'died young." This would place the infant mortality rate at 18.1 percent, which is only slightly higher than the rate for New Paltz at that time. Eleven females were born into the Guion and Angevine families during those years. Information on age at marriage was available for only four of these females, all of whom were Angevines. They married between the ages of eighteen and thirty-two-years-old. Because the number of cases is so low, it is not worthwhile to compute an average age at marriage for the second generation. Instead it is more revealing to point out that the other two females married at ages twenty-one and twenty-two, which suggests that the early twenties was a more typical age for first marriage. At least two, and possibly more of these second generation females died in infancy and early childhood and some of the others may not have married. Only one certain age at death was reported in the Angevine genealogy: Esther Angevine Mallet, who married at the age of eighteen, had five children and died at the age of seventy-four

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in Fairfield, Connecticut. Apparently Esther was among the hardier souls (or bodies) of her contemporaries, since there are no records beyond the forties for several other women of her generation.

Eleven males were born into the second generation of these families. It was possible to calculate the age at marriage for eight of them. These men married between twenty-five and thirty-two-years-old, with the average age being 28.3 years. Information on ages at death for the second generation males was scant. Eli Angevine died in Scarsdale at age eighty, and Louis, Jr. and Aman Guion died at ages forty-five and sixty-nine respectively, while their older brother, Isaac, who was born in England in 1685, lived beyond the American Revolution to the very ripe old age of ninety-eight. At least two died in infancy or early childhood, the rest lived into their forties or later but there are no records that pinpoint death dates more precisely.

Information on numbers of children was available for only fourteen persons, five women and nine men, of the second generation. Together they produced a total of fifty-five offspring. The actual numbers of children varied from one (three cases) to eleven (one case). The average number of children was precisely 4.0. Only one of these children was reported as "dying young," but since there were no further records beyond birth for many more children of this generation, it is possible that the number of infant and childhood deaths was actually higher.

There were at least fifty-five Angevine and Guion children, born between 1720 and 1774, who comprised the third generation. It is possible that there were more children born into this generation but their names were not reported in the genealogies. Thirty of those children who were reported were females. Although it seems that most of

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these women married, we only know the marriage ages for eight. Their ages at marriage varied from twenty to thirty-eight. Rather surprisingly, only three of these women married at age twenty or twenty-one, while the others were over thirty when they married. Perhaps some of the others, whose marriage dates were not available, had married in their early or mid-twenties but this cannot be said with certainty due to the lack of documentation. Four of the women who were above thirty when they first married were sisters--Charity, Mary, Patience, and Margaret Angevine. All were born in the decade preceding the American Revolution, so it is possible that wartime disruptions and the economic difficulties that persisted in the aftermath of that conflict delayed their marriage plans. The remaining woman, Jane Angevine, was married in 1764 at age thirty-four, had two children, and lived to the age of ninety-one. At what age did these women typically die? Precise death dates were available for only six of these women and a few others are merely speculation. In short, ages at death were unavailable for most of the third generation women. The verifiable ages varied from forty-eight-years-old to ninety-seven or older. The latter age refers to Marie Angevine who lived to be either ninety-seven or 105. It is uncertain whether or not she ever married and had children.[24] Actually there were at least two other Angevine women who lived into their nineties--the aforementioned Jane, who was a descendant of Zachariah, and Susanna, who was a descendant of Pierre. Susanna was married twice, had five children, and died at ninety-three. Based on the ages at death of these six women, the average would be 75.4 years, but because the numbers are so small this figure must be used with caution. What it does reveal is that at least some women of this generation were living very long lives: however, they were probably the exception rather than the rule. We are more likely to

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know of these women of advanced age because they outlived their husbands or other male relatives, and therefore were more likely to contract legal documents, such as wills, on their own behalf in contrast with most other women, who died more or less anonymously.

Ages at marriage were available for twelve of the twenty-five third generation males. They married for the first time between the ages of twenty and forty-three, with the average being 27.3. Most of these men were married in their twenties, particularly between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-eight. One man was thirty and two others were forty-two and forty-three when they first married. These somewhat later marriages increased the average age. Ages at death were available for eighteen third generation men. Their ages varied from about twenty-four-years-old to ninety-four. The former case was Daniel Angevine who apparently was lost at sea. The latter case was Anthony Angevine who was married to Esther Burr in Fairfield, Connecticut when he was around thirty-years-old. He produced ten offspring, all by the same wife who, quite remarkably, lived to be ninety-years-old herself. While some of the Angevines, both males and females, were remarkably long-lived, there were also a few Guion males who lived long lives, for example, Abraham, who lived to be eighty, and David and Elias, both of whom were eighty-three when they died. Despite these wide disparities, nine of the eighteen men whose ages at death were available, lived into their sixties and seventies. This fact is reinforced by the average age at death, excluding those who died in infancy or early childhood, which was 67.1 years.[25]

Numbers and names of children were available for twenty-nine members of the third generation. Once again, the twenty men for whom information was given

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outnumbered the nine women in this sample. A total of 151 children were born to these men and women. Actual numbers of offspring ranged from one to eleven. This time, however, there was only one case of a one-child family, and the mode was four or five children. The average number of children for this generation was 5.2, which represents an increase of at least one child over the previous generation's average of 4.0. At least six (4 percent) of the children born to the third generation "died young." As was the case with previous generation, the infant mortality rate was probably higher, but impossible to calculate with accuracy because of missing or incomplete records.

Since precise demographic information for the Guion and Angevine families was limited, I hesitate to draw any sweeping conclusions from the foregoing observations. Nevertheless, if used in conjunction with data reported in the aforementioned censuses, some general observations about family demographics may be made. As was mentioned previously, there was an appreciable age difference between husbands and wives, who were members of the first generation in America, according to the 1698 census. This was in marked contrast to the settlers of New Paltz whose age difference was roughly five years. There are several plausible explanations for this difference. In the years immediately preceding the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Huguenot couples could not legally marry. If they married and had children they risked the possibility that their children would be confiscated, baptized in the Roman Catholic Church, and raised by Catholic parents. In view of these conditions, many men must have delayed marriage until they reached a Protestant safe haven. When a man finally did marry in his early thirties, he typically preferred a woman eight or more years younger than himself.[26] The obvious benefit of a younger wife is that she would be more likely to produce several

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children that would survive to adulthood, than would a woman closer to his own age. The founders of New Paltz, on the other hand, had left Europe well in advance of the revocation: hence they did not experience the same dangers and sacrifices that were incurred by the founders of New Rochelle. While the former group was able to bring material assets with them, this would have presented more of a challenge for the New Rochelle group. Because of this, it must have been much more difficult for the settlers of New Rochelle to start over again in the New World. Moreover, according to the testimony of several pastors, New Rochelle was not a particularly prosperous community, as was indicated in the previous chapter.

The typical age at which females married--early twenties--appears to have remained fairly constant for all three generations in New Rochelle throughout the colonial period. On the other hand, the average age at marriage dropped for second and third generation males to 28.3 and 27.3 years old, respectively. This would make sense because the period of persecution and transplantation was over and successive generations of males undoubtedly found it easier to begin family life. These figures coincide more closely with the average ages at marriage for the second, third, and fourth generations of male New Paltz patentee descendants.[27]

The Angevine and Guion families of New Rochelle produced an average of 4.0 and 5.2 children in the second and third generations, respectively. These figures represent a marked contrast to the New Paltz patentee third generation descendants, who were the contemporaries of the second generation in New Rochelle, and the fourth generation, who were roughly contemporaneous to New Rochelle's third generation. While the New Paltz sample averages ranged from nearly six to over seven children, the New Rochelle

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average lagged behind by almost two children for each couple.[28] Evidently, New Rochelle native Renée Marie Gougeon was not a role model for other women in the town. In 1713 when she was fourteen-years-old, Renée married Reverend Louis Rou of the New York Church. Her remarkably young age at marriage was not the only way in which her life differed from other women; for over the next twenty-seven years she gave birth to fifteen children. Both of these facts shocked, embarrassed, and even angered Rou's congregation. Because of her young age, Reverend Daniel Bondet of the New Rochelle Church had refused to marry them, although a Dutch Reformed minister agreed to perform the ceremony.[29] I am not sure how to explain the difference in the birth rate between New Paltz and New Rochelle women, since they married at about the same ages and gave birth approximately every two or three years. Since it was difficult to compute a reliable estimate of average age at death, shorter lifespans for the people of New Rochelle may be the key. Certainly the 1698 and 1712 censuses listed only a handful of men and women, 6 to 7 percent of the population, who were over sixty. The likelihood of early death rates for adults, combined with childhood mortality rates of at least 18 percent, kept family size relatively small, around 4.5 persons, in the early years of the eighteenth century. Although family size grew to 5.6 persons in 1771, this was not a tremendous increase in size. Nevertheless, it suggests that people were probably living longer and that there may have been a decrease in the childhood mortality rate, both of which imply some improvement in living conditions by the second half of the eighteenth century.

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"I RECOMMEND MY SOUL TO GOD AND MY BODY TO EARTH"

The Last Will and Testament is an illuminating source of information for the lives of individuals and families during the colonial period. Certainly the wills that were composed by Huguenots in New Rochelle are no exception. At least fifty-six such wills have been transcribed, and published in several different volumes.[30] Of the fifty-six wills that will be discussed in this section, one was mutual, thirteen (23.2 percent) were composed by women alone, and the remaining forty-two were composed by men alone. In order to be included in this analysis, the testator had to meet certain criteria. He or she had to be of Huguenot background and have a French surname. Moreover, the person had to be living in New Rochelle when the will was composed or living somewhere in Westchester County after having resided in New Rochelle some time previously. The final qualification was that the will had to have been prepared before the end of 1776. There were several other Westchester County wills that may have been composed by persons of Huguenot ancestry but since it was unclear whether or not they had ever lived in New Rochelle, they were not included in my analysis.

Before proceeding to an examination and analysis of the New Rochelle wills, it is useful to have some idea of what French inheritance customs were like. Since most of the New Rochelle inhabitants hailed from the French Atlantic coastal provinces of Aunis, Poitou, and Saintonge, it would seem logical that the customs of this region would predominate. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie has described testamentary practices among common people in these western provinces as egalitarian. He points out that this egalitarianism among commoners was extended to both male and female offspring, and thereby prevented a father from advantaging any of his heirs. Even if a particular heir was

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advantaged during the father's lifetime, this privilege ended with the father's demise and the estate had to be divided equally. "Even "madmen, spendthrifts, or loose women" had the legal right to an equal share of the inheritance. This custom of equally dividing the inheritance among all heirs has been identified by David Narrett as a Dutch practice.[31] However, in view of Le Roy Ladurie's research, similar practices could also be found among commoners in certain regions of France. The nobility of this region, in marked contrast, practiced primogeniture rather than fragment the estate.[32]

The earliest will to be composed by New Rochelle Huguenots was the mutual will of Jacques du Bois and his wife Blanche Sauzeon. The document was not written in Westchester County but rather in Marenne, France on February 6, 1675. The couple brought this will with them when they came to North America and it was proven in New York on September 18, 1688. Since mutual wills were not typical of early modern French inheritance practices, even in the western provinces, this is truly a remarkable document. The will acknowledged that both husband and wife were in good health, which was another rather unique characteristic, since most testators acknowledged that they were "weak in body." (See below for futher discussion of this issue.) Upon the death of either husband or wife the estate was to go to the surviving spouse. Apparently Jacques predeceased Blanche since there is an inventory of her goods as a widow, dated April 2, 1690. At that time, Blanche owned 120 acres of land at New Rochelle, currency amounting to thirty pounds, a large amount of dry goods, one Bible and several other items that were destined for her eldest daughter at marriage.[33] No additional mutual wills were written by New Rochelle Huguenots after their arrival in America. This would be in

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keeping with Narrett's observation that very few mutual wills were composed anywhere in New York after the 1680's.[34]

The will of Jean Machet, dated April 17, 1694, is the earliest extant will written by someone living in New Rochelle at the time it was prepared. The original document was in French, but it was translated into English before being deposited in the Westchester County Clerk's Office.[35] Machet begins by identifying himself as a ship carpenter born and bred in the town of Tremblad in France. He then proceeds to give a brief history of himself and his family:

> dwelling in Bourdeaux, and being fugitive by the persection, with my Family Jeanne Thomas my wife and Peter, John, Jeanne and Maryanne Mashett my Children sons and Daughters, And having all Abandoned & forsaken all my goods, for my religion sake, which I profess in the true purity of a Christian Commonly called Protestant.[36]

Obviously the experience of persecution and flight still remained in the forefront of Machet's mind. Perhaps he is using this last will and testament for a dual purpose: to keep alive the collective memory of Huguenot suffering and sacrifice as well as to ensure the orderly disposition of his worldly goods after his demise. Certainly he was not the only refugee in New Rochelle who wished to bear witness for future generations. A petition from the inhabitants of New Rochelle to Governor Benjamin Fletcher, that dates from the 1690's, reminded the Governor that they had "been forced by the late persecutions in France to forsake their country and estates, And flye to ye Protestant Princes." Likewise, Daniel Bondet frequently began his communications with British officials by identifying himself as a "French refugee minister." This practice of recounting sufferings for the sake of religion was not restricted to the New Rochelle refugees. Indeed, some Huguenots wrote rather lengthy testimonials detailing the persecutions and sacrifices they had

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endured for their faith.[37] For this generation at least, refugee status was worn as a badge of courage: after all, "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven" (Matthew 5: 10, KJV). Quite possibly testimonies of this nature are part of what Jon Butler has called the "piety of suffering," which could be found in Huguenot devotional literature of the 1690's.[38]

Next Machet gratefully acknowledges the "Dominion of the High and Mighty Monarch Our King William" and asks that "God preserve his Sceptre & Crowne" so that "we might live in Gods feare under his Reigne." He then proceeds to point out that he is "sick of body with a feaver" but "sound of mind and memory" and that he wishes to provide for the "Tranquillity" of his family. After commending his soul to God and his corpse to the ground to be buried after the "custom and manner of my religion and discipline" Machet gets down to the business-at-hand of bequeathing his worldly goods. First he makes it clear that his wife, Jeanne, is to be "Mother Tutoress and Curatrix of my children Sons and Daughters all her Life Time." He then specifies precisely what this means:

> said wife might be dame and mistress of all generally my goods, chattels, goods moveable and goods gotton that wee have gotten togeather dureing all the time wee did live togeather, And perticularly the goods gotten Since our Issue from France, for wee Save nothinge but our bodies only, And all that wee have, wee have gotten it togeather, with our hands, labour, and sweat of our Faces.[39]

While Jean acknowledges himself as the owner of these material goods, he acknowledges that his wife played a vital role in their acquisition. Moreover, he seems to regard her as an equal partner in this struggle. Further, after he is gone he trusts her judgment concerning care and education of their children and leaves it to her discretion to dispose of the material possessions in any way that she deems fit. Considering the conditions

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under which they had fled, the Machets must have expended a great deal of sweat, since the inventory prepared after his death in December 1694 was considerable. It included 200 acres of land and two homes, one stone and one frame, an unfinished ship, interest in a sloop at sea along with its cargo, carpenter's tools, slaves, cows, houses, clothing, timber, and household goods.[40]

Eleven days after Machet composed his will, Elias Cothonneau composed one of his own on April 28, 1694. Like Machet, Cothonneau acknowledges that he had been "detaened by Sickness" but still possessed an "Understanding Mind." Apparently Elias had no wife or children since he designated his brother, William Cothonneau as his only and singular heir and executor of all his goods movable and unmovable that remain after payment of debts. Upon the death of brother William, these goods would go to his nephew William, provided that he was obedient to his father and gave him no displeasure. If William (the son) misbehaved, William (the father) was free to disinherit him and to do whatever he wished with Elias's estate. Obviously then, as now, the promise of material goods, or the threat to withdraw them, could be used to elicit desirable behavior from potential heirs. Other beneficiaries of the will were the poor of the Church of New Rochelle who received twenty shillings.[41]

The will of Jean Martin, ploughman, which dates from 1700, partakes of some of the characteristics of the two preceding wills. Like Jean Machet, Martin testifies to the struggles encountered by him and his wife, who "arrived in New Rochelle destitute, with nothing but our hands to earn our bread." He appoints his wife, Anne Martin, as guardian and trustee of their children. In addition, she is to be in "entire possession of land, cattle and moveables," and the children must obey and assist her.[42] In this way Martin's will

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echoes that of Jean Machet by designating his wife, who labored along with him, as the sole possessor of the estate. Similar to Cothonneau warning his nephew, Martin commands his own children to obey and assist their mother after his demise.

Several other early wills of New Rochelle provided for the favorable treatment of surviving widows and the cooperation of offspring. Pierre Ladou, for example, designated ten *pistoles* for his eldest son Daniel, provided he assist his mother in bringing up his younger siblings. The remainder of Pierre's possessions went to his "dear wife Marthe to dispose as she chooses."[43] Isaac Mercier left his wife Susanna "all houses, lands and all that she shall find in the world belonging to me," while eldest son Isaac received ten pounds.[44] Daniel Streing, who was living in Rye at the time of his death, left his wife Charlotte the use of goods for life. But Charlotte was not free to dispose of these possessions as she chose. After her death the estate was to be divided among their children, while "extraordinary" son Daniel received an additional five pounds.[45]

Several decades later in 1731, Andrew Armeau (probably Arnaud), who identified himself as a mariner, requested that all his real estate be sold for the benefit of his wife Mary.[46] Ambrose Sicard, on the other hand, designated his house, orchard, and lands to be used by his wife, Jane, for life. After her death it would go to sons Daniel and Paul. He mentions a son, also named Ambrose, and a daughter, Magdalen Williams but does not set aside any money, property, or goods for them.[47] The will of James Percut (Parcot) was more typical of the New Rochelle Huguenots. His wife Elizabeth would retain the land until her death; after that it would be divided equally between their two children, Peter and Jane.[48] Widows who remarried often found themselves deprived of their inheritance, particularly after about 1720. An example of such a stipulation is evident in the will of

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Jacques Flandreau, who allowed his wife Elizabeth to retain full possession of all his goods as long as she remained a widow. If she remarried, the land would revert to their sons and the daughters would each get fifteen pounds and a milk cow upon marriage.[49] Paul du Bois likewise attached strings to his wife's inheritance. After all his debts and financial charges were paid, his "Dear beloved wife" Judith was "whole and sole mistress" of all his estate, except for ten shillings to be paid to eldest son Paul. If she remarried, the estate was to be divided into six equal shares for their three sons and three daughters.[50] In the following decade Frederick De Veau gave his wife Mary the use of the estate, but if she remarried she would only have thirty pounds.[51]

A few of those women who survived their husbands left wills of their own. Jane Sicard and Charlotte Streing were unable to compose their own wills since their husbands had already designated the children as the next in line to inherit. Jeanne Machet and Marthe Ladou, however, were free to dispose of the goods in whatever way they chose. Jeanne Machet, who described herself as the aged widow of Jean Machet, shipbuilder, left the house, orchard and "great lot" in New Rochelle to her eldest daughter, who was also widowed. She mentions a son Peter and daughter Marian but makes no bequests to them.[52] The Widow Ladou, perhaps anticipating arguments over the inheritance, begins by asking that her children "live in peace and good understanding among themselves." Eldest son Daniel is to receive forty-three acres of standing woods, probably meaning uncleared and undeveloped land, in New Rochelle. She designated the twenty-nine acres with horses, orchards and buildings on which she was living for her nine remaining children. Since these properties were insufficient to take care of all of them, she recommended that they sell it and divide the proceeds equally. If one of them

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wished to buy these goods, he or she was required to pay equal portions to the other siblings.[53] Magdalena Pelletreau, alias Vincent, the widow of Jean Pelletreau, probably did not have any offspring. Therefore she left three pounds to the poor of the French congregation at New Rochelle. She also set aside some money for the poor of the French church in New York. Her nephew, or rather her husband's nephew, Elias Pelletreau, was to receive fifty pounds. His son John received the "plantation" with houses at New Rochelle and his daughter Magdalena received twenty pounds. Magdalena also made bequests to her own blood relations. John Vincent, her brother, Esther David, her sister, and Esther David, her niece, all received legacies.[54] Several other women, Jeanne Neufville, Mary Lièvre, Catharine Barbarie, Mary Neufville, Susannah Mercier, Magdalen Stouppe, and Mary Elizabeth Gillot, all of whom were widows, composed wills between 1741 and 1775. Apparently none of these women had any living children at the time they composed their wills. As such they had to designate an orderly means for the disposal of their worldly goods. Most left their possessions to nieces and nephews, or in the case of Susannah Mercier, to grandchildren.[55] The remaining women, once again all widows, made small bequests to each of their children or to their children's children. Presumably these women were dividing-up whatever was left of their widow's share after their husbands had died intestate. Elizabeth Strang, for example, left small monetary legacies to her son Daniel and daughters Lavinia, Elizabeth, and Hannah.[56] Susanna Nodine's (Naudin) bequests were very practical ones: her gun was to go to grandson Lewis, and her oyster rake was for son Peter.[57] Several women had more glamorous testamentary bequests. Mary Lièvre specified that "the best of my diamond rings" go to

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Catherine Coutant, while Catharine Barbarie left a gold watch to her step-daughter Elizabeth Allaire.[58]

Apparently most women did not outlive their husbands, since most wills written by men discuss the disposition of property to their children and make no mention of wives. Most of the wills that mentioned surviving wives gave them full use of the estate either for life or as long as they remained widows, after which the estate reverted to the children. Very few wills exist in which husbands give their wives complete ownership and control of the estate, as was the case with the wills of Jean Machet, Pierre Ladou, and Isaac Mercier, all of which were composed before the 1720's. Moreover, the testaments of both Machet and Ladou acknowledged the suffering and hard work of their wives as co-partners in the struggle for survival. Around 1720, and in some cases even earlier, the widow became more like a tenant rather than a property owner in her own right, and was unable to compose her own testamentary bequest because the husband had already determined who was to inherit the estate after her demise. Most husbands who made wills, however, did not divide properties among the wife and children. Typically children had to wait until the mother either died or remarried, unless she chose to distribute some of the estate before her death. In most cases this would not have been possible, since the farms in New Rochelle were too small to be divided among heirs and still remain capable of supporting families, and therefore would have to be sold.[59]

How did men whose wives had predeceased them divide the estate among their heirs? Most men tried to divide their estates more-or-less equally among all offspring. In the event that the child had died in advance of the parent, the offspring of that child received his or her share of the inheritance instead. The bulk of the estate of Esiah

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Valleau, which was to be divided into three parts, provides a classic example of this. One third was designated for his eldest son's son, one-third for his son Peter Valleau, and one-third for his daughter's children. Finally, five pounds was to be set aside for the poor of the French Church of New Rochelle.[60] The pastor of the nonconforming church, John Joseph Moulinars, left his entire estate to his children John and Susanne Hellene. The latter, who was referred to as a "loving daughter" was appointed executor along with his "trusty friend" William Le Conte.[61] Sometimes fathers divided most of the estate equally among their children, but singled out one or two for special bequests. One such case was the will of schoolmaster Elié de Bonrepos who designated five shillings for his eldest son Elié as his birthright, and specified that his daughter Esther was to receive "the sum of 25 pieces of money current in this Province besides her equal share with the rest in consideration of the good and amiable services she has rendered to me." In addition, Esther was to remain "in possession of the house and to see that all things are done in accordance with this will."[62]

One of the striking characteristics of these New Rochelle wills is the rather large number of testators who make bequests to family members who are not their children, either because they never had any children or because their offspring had predeceased them. While this was rarely the case for New Paltz testators, twelve (21.8 percent) of the fifty-six wills that were examined for this study fell into this category. Magdalen Stouffe (*sic*), the widow of Reverend Pierre Stouppe mentioned two nephews and a grandnephew living in South Carolina.[63] Andrew DeVoe (De Veau), yeoman, specified a legacy of five pounds for his nephew Daniel DeVoe and his heirs and assigns, ten pounds for Mary Moos, and five pounds for Elizabeth Willis. All the rest of his estate was to be sold by his

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executors shortly after his demise and divided equally among his brothers Abel and Frederick, and the children of his sister Magdalena Schurman, with equal parts for boys and girls. Nephew Daniel DeVoe and his heirs and assigns is mentioned here as well.[64] The large percentage of testators who had no children to leave their estates underscores the fact of relatively small family size in New Rochelle as compared to that of New Paltz. But it also demonstrates that New Rochelle testators who did not leave behind any immediate heirs wanted to ensure an orderly transmission of their goods to some family member. Those who had a surviving spouse or children could let the current inheritance laws decide for them, provided they had no strong objections to these laws. Those without children had to find legal means to dispose of their worldly goods after death and to increase the likelihood that they would be remembered, hopefully with some fondness, after death.

The English inheritance custom of primogeniture was not embraced wholesale by Huguenot testators in New Rochelle and the surrounding environs. Granted, this observation does not take into account the remaining majority who died intestate and thus permitted current legal customs to decide the disposition of their estates. Although several testators set aside a few extra pounds for the eldest son, most did not. Whenever an individual child was singled out for special consideration, it was usually because that child, almost always a daughter, had demonstrated remarkable love and care for the sick or elderly parent. In most cases, however, all children shared equally in the inheritance. In view of this we could say that the Huguenots of New Rochelle had adopted Dutch inheritance practices which treated sons and daughters equally. But it is more likely that this was a carry-over from the western provinces of France where offspring of both sexes,

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at least among the non-nobility, were treated equally as far as inheritance rights were concerned. Moreover, by the time the New Rochelle Huguenots had arrived in New York, Dutch practices were on the decline except in areas that were predominantly Dutch.[65] In their adopted homeland Huguenot testators sometimes exhibited a streak of independence by devising variations on this theme to include an occasional perfunctory nod towards primogeniture, to gratefully acknowledge the solicitude of a particular child, or to try to shape an heir's demeanor by placing qualifications on his or her inheritance.

TAXATION AND PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

Fewer sources are available for reconstructing a socio-economic profile of New Rochelle at several points in time during the eighteenth century than for New Paltz. The most comprehensive tax list for New Rochelle, dated 1767, is unpublished and appears in James Pitcher's "Ledger." On this list, Pitcher provides the name of every household head and the amount of tax that he or she was required to pay.[66] Since there is a 1765 New Paltz tax list, the New Rochelle figures for 1767 make for some revealing comparisons with the former. While the numbers of taxpayers are almost the same--102 in New Rochelle and 109 in New Paltz--any further similarities quickly disintegrate.[67] The highest assessment for a New Rochelle inhabitant was that of James Pugsley, who was assessed at just over seven pounds and four shillings. In striking contrast, the property of the wealthiest inhabitant of New Paltz, Abraham Hasbrouck, was assessed at more than seventy-one pounds. Hasbrouck was not alone in his relative affluence since seven other persons in New Paltz had assessments of fifty pounds or more.[68] When we consider that the original New Paltz patent consisted of 39,683 acres which was further enlarged by

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5,000 acres in 1684 and by the purchase of several thousand more acres in the eighteenth century, this tremendous disparity in tax assessment is not surprising, since New Rochelle was comprised of merely 6,000 acres (excluding the 100 acres belonging to the church). If this land were divided equally among the 102 assessed persons, the average lot would be less than fifty-nine acres. In contrast, the average holding for New Paltz landowners would be over 500 acres. Therefore, it is not surprising that the typical New Paltz tax assessment was nearly ten times that of a New Rochelle assessment in the 1760's. Of course these averages are overly simplistic and do not reflect actual property ownership, which varied tremendously in both communities. Nevertheless, this calculation helps to provide a blanket explanation for the tremendous disparity in tax assessments.[69]

It is helpful to divide tax-payers into five different groups in order to get a sense of the distribution of wealth in New Rochelle. The majority, fifty-seven persons or 55.9 percent, were assessed for less than one pound. The next largest group, eighteen persons or 17.6 percent, fell between one and two pounds. They were followed by seven persons, 16.7 percent, who were assessed for two to three pounds. Six persons (5.9%) were assessed between three and four pounds, and only four (3.9%) were assessed for more than four pounds. Four taxpayers were females--Mary Bonnet, Agnes Downin, Jane Cantine, and Susanna Goodwin. Three of these women fell below the one pound level,. while Mary Bonnet was among the more affluent inhabitants of New Rochelle with an assessement of over three pounds. Although persons with French surnames tended to fall into the wealthier brackets, the pattern was not so obvious or marked that broad generalizations can be drawn. The highest-assessed person, James Pugsley, does not

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appear to have been French, neither does Benjamin Bown(?) whose value was five pounds, ten shillings. Moreover, a number of persons with French surnames, including several Guions, Secords, and Flandreaus appear in the bottom group.

In the final analysis, this tax list underscores the oft-repeated argument that the inhabitants of this town were poor as successive ministers of the conforming church had pointed out.[69] Some persons may have been living comfortably, but the long-term consequences of the conditions of their flight from France and financial desperation affected more than one generation. While the New Paltz patentees were able to buy large amounts of land, the founders of New Rochelle struggled to purchase small lots. Because of the greater abundance of land in New Paltz, patentee descendants were able to inherit land from their parents and remain in the environs of the town. In contrast, descendants of the more numerous founders of New Rochelle often found that they had to move elsewhere in Westchester County and to surrounding counties in order to support families. This served to loosen the bonds of family and community in New Rochelle.

SLAVERY IN NEW ROCHELLE

The Huguenots of New Rochelle exhibited an early penchant for slaveholding. In 1698, just ten years after the town was first settled, slaves comprised 18.5 percent of the population in New Rochelle. In contrast, the slave population in New Paltz was only 6.9 percent of the total population in 1703, approximately twenty-five years after the town was founded.[71] This figure of 18.5 percent is also higher than the average for the entire colony of New York, which was about 12 percent, in 1700.[72] Slavery in colonial Westchester County, like Ulster County, has not been as widely examined in the

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scholarly literature as slavery in the antebellum south. Nevertheless, it would seem plausible that the characteristics of living and working conditions for slaves in New Paltz, that were described previously, could also be applied to New Rochelle. Both were relatively small settlements, founded within about a decade of one another by persons who shared the same religious heritage and whose primary means of support was farming. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to calculate the percentage of slaves in New Paltz on the eve of the American Revolution for purposes of comparison with New Rochelle because nothing of the nature of "Pitcher's List" exists for the former. The 1755 Census of Slaveowners in New Paltz only identifies numbers of slaves over fourteen-years-old and the names of their owners and it does not reveal the total white population, or numbers of slaves under fourteen. The 1782 Census does not include any slaves at all, although we know that slavery continued to exist in the village for several more decades. Based on my calculations from information contained in the 1790 Census, slaves comprised just over 13 percent of the population in New Paltz, while they were 16.4 percent of the population in New Rochelle in that year.[73] A possible explanation for the larger percentages of slaves in New Rochelle may be rooted in numbers of offspring. Because families were smaller in New Rochelle than in New Paltz, the former may have been compelled to rely more heavily on slave labor. Graham Russell Hodges has argued that Dutch and Huguenot farmers in Bergen County, New Jersey were particularly recalcitrant with regard to slave emancipation because of low birth rates and tiny farms. "With little land to be partitioned, each succeeding generation was forced to move westward to newer settlements. . . . These departures made the remaining farmers even more reliant on slave labor."[74] What Hodges has described for Bergen County seems

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more applicable to the small families and small farms of New Rochelle than the large families and multiple landholdings in and around New Paltz that served to cement successive generations to that vicinity.[75] Ironically, because the New Rochelle Huguenots were poorer and more desperate in their circumstances than the founders of New Paltz, who were able to purchase large tracts of land in Ulster County, they ended up exploiting the labor of another group of people that had been forcibly uprooted from their homelands.

The percentage of slaves in New Rochelle remained fairly constant, 18.1 percent, for the 1712 census, then increased by nearly four percentage points to 21.8 percent in 1771, while the actual number of slaves increased to 156.[76] Once again, this figure is noticeably higher than the overall percentage of 12 percent for the entire colony of New York in 1770.[77] Of the 100 different households in New Rochelle in 1771, fifty-one of them included slaves. Actual numbers of slaves per owner varied from one to ten, with the average being just slightly more than three slaves per household. The mode, however, was one slave per household (fourteen cases), followed by three (eleven cases), and two (nine cases). Obviously, large slaveowners were the exception rather than the rule in New Rochelle, as was the case in New Paltz. Most of these slaves probably worked around the farm and in the house alongside the master or mistress. Their numbers were almost equally divided between the seventy-six males and eighty females of all ages. The majority were between the ages of sixteen and sixty. In addition to farming and household chores, it is possible that some of these slaves assisted their masters who were tradesmen in other ways. For example, on the 1763 "List of Freeholders," the Flandreau

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men as well as Elias Guion identified their primary occupation as "Blacksmith," while John Badeau was identified as a "Cordwainer" and William Landrine as a "Major."[78]

For reasons that are not totally clear or self-evident, pre-revolutionary wills from New Rochelle were not as likely to mention slaves as part of the estate as were the wills from New Paltz. This does not mean that the New Rochelle Huguenots were less likely to own slaves, since the above chart indicates that roughly half of the households in the town (51 percent) owned at least one slave in the years immediately preceding the American Revolution. Moreover, several extant estate inventories mention slaves even though they were not mentioned in the last will and testament.[79] Indeed, if we accept Hodges' explanation, New Rochelle Huguenots, like their counterparts in Bergen County, New Jersey, were more likely to own slaves than in communities like New Paltz, because family size was smaller and there were fewer children to assist with chores. Perhaps slave property was not always mentioned since this would have given the executors greater latitude in dividing property equally among the heirs after the testator's death. Nevertheless, although testators usually bequeathed equal portions to each child, actualizing these equal shares must have presented more difficulties for executors than in cases where the testator specifically identified what each heir was to receive. Since most slaveowning households possessed only one slave, dividing this slave among three persons would present an obvious difficulty, unless the slave were sold along with other property and then the total profits from the estate sale could be evenly divided. In this way the testator remained unscathed by the difficult and potentially contentious task of property divisions.

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With regard to those wills and inventories that did speak of slave property, what observations can be made? Whenever they were mentioned, slaves were listed along with cattle or other farm animals, as was the case in New Paltz. Like these farm animals they are primarily "beasts of burden," but occasionally some specifications or stipulations arise which suggest that the status of enslaved persons was somewhat different from the status of farm animals. The will of Zachariah Angevine, which was proved on January 17, 1740 mentions three slaves. One of these slaves, a male, was designated for Zachariah's son John. Another male slave was for daughter Ann Mynot. The third slave, whose name was Medly, was described as a "negro wench": Medly was to receive an inheritance of one pound. In the absence of additional references I hesitate to offer an explanation of this bequest, but I would surmise that it was rooted in something other than the goodness of Zachariah's heart.[80] On the other hand, the will of Mary Elizabeth Gulot (Gillot) of Mamaroneck, formerly of New Rochelle, provides some interesting insights into the "rights" of slaves in New York in 1775. She specifies that her "slaves are to have one whole month to look for masters such as they like" and that they are to be "sold at private sale and not at vandue (*sic*)."[81] Apparently this was not a unique request. Ira Berlin has pointed out that, "as a regular practice, New York slaveowners conceded the right of slaves to select their owners, so that they might live near kin or change an unsatisfactory situation."[82] He further observed that slaves in eighteenth-century New York informally "enjoyed" privileges from an earlier era. These included the right to hold property of their own and to take their complaints to court as well as the right to choose a master. Berlin argued that these factors mitigated the harshest features of bondage in New York and strenghtened the position of slaves in their dealings with masters.

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Moreover, "small holdings, close living conditions, and the absence of gang labor allowed members of the charter generations to incorporate themselves into the mainstream of northern life and enjoy many of the rights of free people."[83] Nevertheless, while it may be true that northern slaves were not treated as brutally as in the South or the West Indies and that customary practices permitted them a few rights or protections, the fact still remains that under the law they were pieces of property and were not free to come and go at will or to legally marry persons of their own choosing. After the master's death, monetary values were placed upon slaves based on their age and, presumably, overall physical condition. For example, in 1784 a "negro wench named Rose" was valued at thirty pounds, while a "negro wench about five-years-old" was worth five pounds and a one-year-old negro boy was valued at four pounds.[84]

Dennis J. Maika has argued that legislation following the 1712 slave insurrection in New York led to a strict curtailment of earlier privileges and freedoms. The "Act for Preventing, Suppressing and Punishing the Conspiracy and Insurrection of Negroes and Other Slaves" prohibited trading with slaves, fraternization, and destruction of property owned by whites. Any violations of this act were supposed to incur stiff penalties:

> All cities, towns, and manors were required to have a 'Common Whipper' for their slaves, to be employed for a variety of offenses ranging from the possession or use of a gun to meeting with other slaves. Also, slave owners were discouraged from manumission; owners were required to give scurity of 200 pounds plus an additional twenty pounds per year for each slave they chose to set free.[85]

This stricter surveillance and regulation of slave life coincided with an increase in the number and percent of slaves in the colony of New York. In New York City alone, blacks comprised 18 percent of the population in 1731.[86] Maika further observed that the eighteenth century also produced more restrictions on the religious life of slaves. The

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Dutch Reformed Church, for one, began to discourage church marriages and baptisms for enslaved Africans. If they were allowed to attend services, they were typically relegated to the rear of the church. Some slaves at Philipsburg Manor in Westchester County may have been baptized in the Dutch Reformed Church there, but it is unlikely that they were married by a minister or admitted to communion.[87] Thus it appears that slaves in eighteenth-century New Rochelle, as well as elsewhere in New York, were living in a curious netherworld, caught between the "privileges" of the past and the increased stringency of the post-1712 laws. Because of these ambiguities we encounter wills, such as that of Elizabeth Gillot, which are rooted in the wisdom of the earlier period, allowing slaves to choose their masters. At the same time, we find receipts, dated from the late 1760's and early 1770's, which indicate that some slaveowners, like Abraham Guion, routinely "rented out" the labor of their slaves to persons like James Pitcher who did not own any slaves.[88] This practice reinforces Maika's observation that the slave's "idle time" belonged to the master rather than the slave in the eighteenth century, and thereby delimited the slave's ability to earn extra compensation for himself.[89]

How does the treatment of New Rochelle slaves by the conforming and nonforming churches compare with the treatment of slaves elsewhere in New York by the Dutch Reformed Church? Church records and letters to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts are among the other valuable sources of information regarding the status of slaves in New Rochelle. Indeed, enslaved persons appear to have been significantly more visible in the religious life of New Rochelle than in New Paltz, which was more heavily influenced by the Dutch Reformed tradition. Undoubtedly this was due to the influence of the S.P.G. and its missionary-pastors

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Bondet, Stouppe, and Houdin, who were actively engaged in bringing Christianity to slaves. Ira Berlin has pointed out that such efforts throughout the northern colonies were often at odds with the will of masters who feared that baptism might lead to freedom.[90] Regarding the situation in New York City, Jon Butler has observed that only a few Huguenots there sent their slaves to former Huguenot Elias Neau's S.P.G. financed school to catechize their slaves. However, Butler proposes that the reason for this hesitancy was rooted in the fact that many New York Huguenots hated Neau for his conformity to Anglicanism and therefore did not wish to support his missionizing endeavors by sending their slaves to his school.[91] Documents for the conforming church in New Rochelle, in contrast, give little indication that French Protestants there were opposed to the Christianization of their slaves, since baptisms and church attendance by slaves were evident under all three conforming ministers. As early as 1717 and 1718 Reverend Daniel Bondet informed the Secretary of the S.P.G. that several blacks had been baptized and admitted to Communion and that they "attend the divine service in a convenient place assigned for them."[92] By placing African worshippers in a separate area, the French Anglicans were like the Dutch Reformed at the Philipsburg and Tappan Dutch Reformed Churches.[93] Apparently this was standard practice in churches throughout the colonies since Jon Butler has pointed out that Africans either sat with their owners or in segregated balconies and back benches in Anglican, Baptist, and Presbyterian congregations.[94]

In nearly all of his letters to the Secretary of the S.P.G., Pierre Stouppe reports the number of slaves who have been baptized, attend service, and have been admitted to communion. For example, in his August 20, 1726 communication he wrote:

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> According to the Honorable Societys orders for instructing Negroes in the Christian Religion, & the baptizing of the same, signified unto me in your last, I have with the consent and permission of their respective Masters brought ten of them to the receiving of holy Baptism, six of which were small Children, some born of Parents formerly baptized and instructed by Mr. Bondet my predecesor, and the other of parents instructed partly by their own Masters and Mistresses, partly by my Self. The rest were adult persons, who have got by heart the Lords prayer, the Creed, the ten Commandments & the small Catechism of Mr. Drelincourts, & are besides able to give a good verbal Account of the Fundamentals of Christian faith, & very exact in assisting on Sundays the Divine Service.[95]

This excerpt informs us that Stouppe had been urged by the S.P.G. to work at Christianizing slaves in the community and that his predecessor, Daniel Bondet had done so previously. We also learn that baptism and instruction required permission from the Master, and that sometimes Masters and Mistresses provided religious instruction for their slaves. In addition to being baptized, slave children as well as adults, faithfully attended services. They were also able to recite and explain the basic tenets of faith. In his July 1728 letter Stouppe repeated similar information, this time pointing out that there were about seventy-eight slaves in New Rochelle and that some of them had been admitted to the Lord's Supper.[96] Stouppe's subsequent letters to the Secretary almost always contained a report of numbers of baptisms broken down by race. For example, in July 1734 he wrote that he had "baptized 11 white and 5 Negroe Children" in the past year. Again, in June 1745 he reported that he had "baptized Sixteen Children within this Year, 11 white & 5 black, besides one grown Negroe-Woman." On June 8, 1750 Stouppe indicated that "15 Infants, eleven white and four black" had been baptized.[97] Figures similar to these were reported for nearly every year. His successor, Michel Houdin was able to write on April 17, 1764 that he had baptized "25 white and 10 negro Children" over the course of the winter.[98] Although Ira Berlin has argued that Elias Neau's estimate

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that "one black person in ten had accepted Christ appears overly generous" this would not seem to be an overly generous assessment for New Rochelle blacks.[99] Moreover, if the numbers that were baptized remained faithful adherents, the figure for New Rochelle blacks would probably be much higher than ten percent.

Because the sources are fewer for the nonconforming church it is more difficult to uncover that congregation's perspective on the Christianization of slaves. Nevertheless, there is evidence that slave baptisms were performed in this church as well, but perhaps not to the same degree as in the conforming church. Since the records are missing for the pastorate of Jean Joseph Moulinars, ca. 1726-1741, nothing can be said about the instruction and baptism of slaves when there was a full-time permanent minister for this congregation. However, as was noted in the previous chapter, there were some references to slave baptisms dated April 13, 1760, during one of Reverend Jean Carle's visits. Apparently a separate religious service for slaves was held on that day since Carle reported that the baptisms were performed after he had preached a preparatory sermon for "La Comunion."[100] This is in contrast to the conforming church which apparently permitted slaves to attend services in a special place assigned for them during Bondet's pastorate.[101] Whether or not this practice continued under Stouppe and Houdin is unclear. But it is certain that they regularly attended divine services.

Did this "separate but almost equal" treatment of the black soul translate into more benevolent slaveholding policies? Due to the lack of first hand accounts, such as Sojourner Truth's *Narrative*, it is impossible to argue whether slaves in New Rochelle were treated better or worse than elsewhere in New York. Certainly, as Ira Berlin has pointed out, northern slaves in general had more "rights" than their southern or West

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Indian counterparts, which probably ameliorated some of the most blatant abuses. Nevertheless, as was discussed previously, there is evidence that the status of blacks was declining in the eighteenth century. Moreover, New Rochelle slaveowners were relatively slow to emancipate their human property. Although the 1790 census indicated a drop in the percentage of slaves in the town as compared with the 1771 percentage, 16.4 percent versus 21.8 percent respectively, this figure is still more than ten percentage points higher than for New York State as a whole in 1790.[102] Undoubtedly economic necessity was a more vital determinant in shaping emancipation patterns than either religious impulses or the Revolutionary rhetoric of equality.

NEW ROCHELLE ON THE EVE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

On the eve of the American Revolution New Rochelle was a town with a growing number of inhabitants, both slave and free. As was discussed previously, the average family size as well as the average household size in 1771 had increased over those of sixty years earlier. Although the community was by no means affluent, there were some persons who must have been financially comfortable. Neither of the churches had a permanent full-time minister in the late 1760's and 1770's, but the conforming church fared somewhat better in this regard than the nonconforming church because of the occasional visits of nearby English-speaking Anglican ministers. Up to this time, even the church that conformed to Anglicanism had managed to preserve use of the French language in records and services, as well as many characteristically Calvinist doctrines. Although the French language had ceased to be used for public documents by the late 1730's, it continued to be used for religious purposes and quite possibly in private life, in

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the day-to-day conversations of Huguenot descendants at least until the 1760's. Bertrand van Ruymbeke, who has studied the Huguenots of South Carolina has insisted that "a crucial distinction must be made between the public and private spheres, since a form of bilingualism persisted through most of the eighteenth century." Like their counterparts in New Rochelle, the South Carolina Huguenots conducted official transactions in English, but used French among themselves and with their relatives elsewhere.[103] Although most wills, as official legal documents, were written in English by this time, testamentary practices demonstrated that the influence of English inheritance practices, including primogeniture, was still negligible. Moreover, the Huguenots of New Rochelle who composed wills typically continued the testamentary practices of the coastal provinces of France under which all offspring inherited equally. The experience of the New Rochelle Huguenots closely parallels that of their counterparts in South Carolina in this regard as well, since van Ruymbeke has argued that careful perusal of probate and family records of the South Carolina Huguenots "reveals the existence of a practical compromise between adoption and adaptation."[104] In short, the Huguenots of New Rochelle managed to forestall the disintegration of their religious and ethnic identity until the 1760's and perhaps even later. Undoubtedly this was rooted in the fact that New Rochelle was a nearly homogeneous, rural community that was less affected by the forces of assimilation than the Huguenot communities in more heterogeneous New York City or Staten Island, where French Protestants were a minority rather than the majority.

Did these conditions have any influence on the political alignments of New Rochelle Huguenots during the tumultuous years of the American War for Independence? Apparently not, since the inhabitants of the town were fiercely divided between Loyalists

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and Patriots. Shonnard and Spooner have observed that the most prosperous inhabitants of Westchester County, including the town of New Rochelle, tended to be Loyalists or Tories, while the less prosperous and people of the middling sort were divided in their allegiance.[105] This explanation is overly facile, however, and begins to break down when the 1767 tax assessments are analyzed in the context of political allegiances. Abraham Guion, who was one of the wealthiest persons in New Rochelle, with an assessment of more than five pounds and sixteen shillings, attended a 1775 meeting called by Colonel Lewis Morris which was vehemently opposed by conservative leaders in the county.[106] The slightly less prosperous Isaac Guion, on the other hand, had Loyalist sympathies. The wealthy Pintard brothers, Samuel and Louis, who arrived in New Rochelle in 1774, positioned themselves on opposing sides in the Revolution. Louis was a member of the Revolutionary Committee of 100 in 1775 and was later chosen as a representative to the New York Provincial Congress and appointed by Washington as Commissary for American prisoners-of-war in English prisons. Samuel, in contrast, had fought for the British in the French and Indian War and continued to do so during the Revolution, serving as a guide for British troops in Westchester. Ironically, while he was absent from his property, it was sacked by the British. After British forces abandoned Westchester, Samuel Pintard went to New York City, then to Hempstead, Long Island. He finally returned to New Rochelle in 1802 and died there in 1805.[107] Frederic De Veau was a die-hard Loyalist from the upper brackets of New Rochelle inhabitants: his assessed value in 1767 was over three pounds and his 300 acres of land were given to patriot Thomas Paine after De Veau was deported to Nova Scotia in May 1783.[108] William Schurman, who was married to Jane Bonnet and whose ancestors had intermarried with

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Huguenots and were among the earliest settlers of New Rochelle, was assessed for more than two pounds and eight shillings in 1767. He, too, was a Loyalist. If any generalization can be made regarding the connection between wealth and political loyalties during the Revolution it would be that middling and more affluent persons in New Rochelle were divided in their allegiance. Sometimes these divisions tore apart family members of similar socio-econonomic backgrounds, as was the case with the Pintards and Guions, and possibly others, suggesting that (an)other factor(s) may have shaped their decisions. The names of the "poorer sort" of people, i.e. those who had been assessed for under one pound, do not appear among the ranks of prominent Loyalists or Patriots, possibly because their lack of material affluence consigned them to lives of political anonymity. Therefore, it is difficult to determine where their allegiances lay, if indeed they had any, at the beginning of the American Revolution.

Even church affiliation does not offer a clear connection between Anglican conformity and Loyalism, nonconformity and Patriotism, or vice versa. The names of persons who would become Loyalists as well as those who would become Patriots can be found in the records of both churches during the 1760's. Further complicating this kind of analysis is the fact that some families, like the Badeaus and Coutants, some of whom became Loyalists, moved back and forth, depending on which church had a pastor in the 1760's. Analysis is further hampered by the lack of records for either church after the mid-1760's that would indicate religious preferences on the eve of the Revolution. In this way, New Rochelle supports Butler's recent observations that "denominational differences played modest or even minor roles in the Revolution" and that "virtually every colonial denomination found adherents on both sides of the contest. . ."[109] The

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issue of family ties that seemed to be such a compelling factor for the New Paltz Huguenots does not come into play here in any distinctive or identifiable way. Perhaps individual self-interest may have been the major motivating factor in New Rochelle. Certainly an exploration of the political alignments of New Rochelle inhabitants during the Revolution, as related to variables such as socio-economic background and religious preference, would be an interesting research topic, but it is not the primary purpose here.

Regardless of whether most New Rochelle inhabitants were Patriots or Loyalists, New Rochelle suffered many setbacks during the Revolution, perhaps because the British knew there were strong pockets of Loyalism in Westchester County. On October 18, 1776, the British army crossed to Pelham Point from Throg's Neck and after marching northward, encamped on the high ground between Hutchinson's River (East Chester Creek) and New Rochelle village. On the twenty-first they encamped on New Rochelle Heights, north of the village. Frequent skirmishes took place during their marches, particularly as the British headed towards White Plains. After the battle at White Plains was over, the British army retired to Dobbs Ferry and "the whole region between Long Island Sound and the Hudson River was overrun and laid waste by partisan warfare."[110] Coutant's "Reminiscenses" contain many stories detailing the plunder of New Rochelle farms by Howe's army, including stolen livestock, fences torn-down for fuel, granaries and barns emptied, and inhabitants beaten, robbed, and otherwise harrassed.[111] The demographics of New Rochelle suggest that the town may not have had an easy time during and even after the Revolution since the number of inhabitants in 1790 had decreased to 689 from the 714 counted by James Pitcher in 1771.[112] This is by no means a dramatic decline, but when this information is combined with the absence of church

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records between from about 1765 until 1795 and a gap in the town records between 1776 and 1783, it suggests that the Revolutionary period presented major disruptions in the life of this community.

Nearly ninety years and three generations had passed between the founding of New Rochelle and the beginning of the American Revolution. During that period Huguenot descendants in New Rochelle had neither totally abandoned their religious and linguistic heritage nor had their culture been fully Anglicized. Instead, like the South Carolina Huguenots examined by Bertrand van Ruymbeke, they had engaged in a process of "parallel and interactive creolization" that was "religious, linguistic, and economic."[113] Hence the Huguenots of New Rochelle, who had successfully shaped their own churches, education, and inheritance patterns, and left continuing reminders of French surnames and place names throughout the town of New Rochelle, did not vanish as quickly or as completely as has been argued by most scholars who have examined the Huguenot experience in North America.[114]

NOTES

1. Constable Peter Le Roux, the preparer, did not place his name or age on the list, although he identified himself as "of nuro cheall." Neither did he list the name and age of Alexandre Allaire, although Allaire's wife is identified as "is wiff" rather than as a "weadoe." "New Rochelle Census, 1698," *New York Genealogical and Biographical* Record 59, 2 (April 1928): 106-107.

2. "The List of the Towne of New Rochelle," December 9, 1710, in Corwin, *ERNY*, 1: 946. The name Katherine may be an error since her age coincides with Racheall's age. Morgan H. Seacord has noted that Neufville's wife, Rachel, survived him by many years. Seacord, *Biographical Sketches of the Huguenot Settlers of New*

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Rochelle, 1687-1776. (New Rochelle: Huguenot and Historical Association of New Rochelle, 1941), 42.

3. The forty-year-old is Marie Besly, the only woman in New Rochelle who was ten years older than her husband. Her children are listed as ten and seven-years-old.

4. The New Rochelle average is skewed because of the small number of cohorts and a few older first-time mothers, like Marie Besly.

5. Seacord, *Biographical Sketches*, 34-35.

6. The 1710 List and 1712 Census both appear in Corwin, *ERNY*, 1: 946-47, and 949.

7. "1712 Census," Corwin, *ERNY*, 1: 949.

8. Slavery in colonial New Rochelle will be discussed in more detail below.

9. See chapter 4, under the subheading "A Time to be Born, A Time to Die."

10. Refer to Table 6 for the percent increase in slaves. This increase coincided with the peak of slave importations into British North America between 1730 and 1770.

11. Her will, dated August 8, 1768, identifies her as living in New Rochelle. It was proved on May 25, 1771 and she lists no heirs other than two nephews in South Carolina. Magdalen Stouffe (*sic*), "Last Will and Testament," in William S. Pelletreau, ed., *Early Wills of Westchester County* (New York: Harper, 1898), 239.

12. Both family names appear in James Pitcher, "Numbers of Inhabitants in the Parish of New Rochelle, 1771," in "Ledger, 1766-1782," Ms. coll., New-York Historical Society. They also appear on the 1790 Census for New Rochelle which may be found in *Heads of Families of the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: New York* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1966), 201.

13. "A List of 801 Freeholders in Westchester County," compiled Feb. 28, 1763, Van Cortlandt Papers, Ms. coll., New-York Historical Society.

14. Seacord was unsure of their relationship, *Biographical Sketches*, 9-10, but family genealogist Clyde Angevine is convinced that they were siblings. See *Angevine Genealogy: Descendants of Zachariah and Pierre Angevine, 1690-1976.* (Endwell, New York: author, 1977), 14.

15. Clyde Angevine has pointed out that one of their children, Elizabeth, was omitted from the 1710 List of the Towne of New Rochelle," *Angevine Genealogy*, 12.

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16. Biographical data is from Seacord, *Biographical Sketches*, 9, and Angevine, *Genealogy*, 12.

17. Seacord, *Biographical Sketches*, 10; Angevine, *Genealogy*, 13-14.

18. Background data on Louis Guion is conflicting. Grenville C. MacKenzie claims he was born in La Rochelle in 1664, while Violet and J. Marshall Guion claim it was 1654. MacKenzie, *Families of the Colonial Town of Philipsburgh* (Tarrytown, New York: 1976), 297; Guion and Guion, *Descendants of Louis Guion, Huguenot of La Rochelle France* (Olean, New York: no pub., 1976), 1. The Guions are undoubtedly correct in reporting his birth year as 1654 since the 1698 census listed his age as 43. Seacord gives no birthdate, but says that he was from Mauze where other of the same name were living. *Biographical Sketches*, 28.

19. She is also identified as Thomasa, *et. al.*

20. Guion, *Descendants*, 1.

21. Seacord has raised this speculation regarding the Letters of Denization, *Biographical Sketches*, 28. When I consulted the 1698 census I was unable to find an aged Louis Guion, although he could have died in the interim.

22. Seacord claims that he died on the earlier date, *Biographical Sketches*, 28, while the Guions hold that it was the later date, *Descendants*, 1. Biographical data for Louis Guion was taken from these two sources.

23. Seacord, *Biographical Sketches*, 28.

24. Angevine, *Genealogy*, 26.

25. Computations were based upon information supplied in the following sources: Clyde V. Angevine, comp., *Angevine Genealogy*, 12-39; J. Marshall Guion IV, Comp., and Violet H. Guion, ed., *Descendants of Louis Guion*, 1-3, 82-83, 390-94. The entry for Guyon-Guion in MacKenzie, *Families of the Colonial Town of Philipsburgh*, 297-99, was also consulted.

26. The average age at which men became first-time fathers was 31.8 years, while the average for first-time mothers was 23.6. Assuming that the first child was born one or two years after marriage, women would have been about twenty-one or twenty-two, and men were between thirty and thirty-one at the time of marriage.

27. I did not calculate these averages for the fourth generation of New Rochelle descendants since they would have reached adulthood long after the American Revolution.

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28. See Table 1 for Comparative Population Distribution by Age in New Paltz.

29. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 192.

30. The most accessible collection of wills for Westchester County is William S. Pelletreau, *Early Wills of Westchester County* (New York: Harper, 1898). Two complete wills from 1694 may be found in National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, *Old Wills of New Rochelle* (New Rochelle: D.A.R., 1951). Seven New Rochelle wills from the early eighteenth century are included in Jeanne A. Forbes, transcriber and translator. *Records of the Town of New Rochelle, 1699-1828* (New Rochelle: Paragraph Press, 1916). The most complete collection of printed wills for New York City and its environs, including Westchester County, is The New-York Historical Society, *Abstracts of Wills on File in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York.* Collections of the New-York Historical Society 26 (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1892 ff). Volumes 1 through 8 cover the period throught 1776. Volume 11 contains unrecorded wills. The wills that appear in Forbes and the D.A.R. volume are complete documents, unlike the Pelletreau and N-YHS volumes, which contain abstracts. Nevertheless, these abstracts contain much of the salient information regarding the testator's wishes. Microfilm originals of the wills in the New-York Historical Society volume are at the Queens Public Library, Jamaica Branch, Long Island Division.

31. David Narrett, *Inheritance and Family Life in Colonial New York City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 4-8.

32. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, "Family structures and inheritance customs in sixteenth-century France," in *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800*, ed. Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, and E.P. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 52-61.

33. New-York Historical Society, *Abstracts of Wills*, 2: 394, 401. Although I have not been able to establish a definite connection, it would seem possible that her daughter could have been the Blanche du Bois who was married to Reverend David de Bonrepos. Certainly de Bonrepos and his brother were present in the town in the early 1690's. We know that Blanche de Bonrepos was a dressmaker since this was the trade that she was supposed to teach young Sara Freer of New Paltz, as was discussed in a previous chapter. Perhaps the large amount of dry goods suggests that Blanche Sauzeon du Bois was also a dressmaker and that the trade may have been passed on from mother to daughter.

34. Narrett, "Men's Wills and Women's Property Rights in Colonial New York," in *Women in the Age of the American Revolution*, ed. Ronald Hoffman and Peter Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989), 103.

35. D. A. R., *Old Wills of New Rochelle*, 2

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36. Translation is from *Ibid*, 1-2.

37. "Petition to Gov. Benjamin Fletcher," Corwin, *ERNY*, 1: 926; "Petition of Rev. Mr. Bondet," Corwin, *ERNY*, 1: 929; Regarding the accounts of Huguenots elsewhere, see Carolyn Lougee Chappell, "'The Pains I Took to Save My/His Family": Escape Accounts by a Huguenot Mother and Daughter after the Revocation of the Ecict of Nantes." *French Historical Studies* 22, 1 (Winter 1999): 1-64. Marco Sioli has also examined the need to keep alive the group memory of the Huguenot diaspora in "Huguenot Traditions in the Mountains of Kentucky: Daniel Trabue's Memories." *Journal of American History* 84, 4 (March 1998): 1313-33.

38. Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American* People (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), 177. Published examples of this type of literature include *Le Trésor des consolations divines et humaines, ou traité dans le quel le Chrétien peur apprendie à vaincre et à surmonter les afflictions et les misères de cette vie* (New York: William Bradford, 1696). The anonymous author of this tiny book encouraged readers to focus on human suffering, misery, affliction, and tragedy. Doing so would turn the heart toward prayer, produce a true love of God, and teach compassion and patience. Writings by and about the formerly enslaved and imprisoned Elias Neau were also part of this genre of devotional books. See Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 162-165.

39. D.A.R., *Old Wills*, 2.

40. *Ibid.*, 3-4.

41. *Ibid.*, 4-5.

42. "Will of Jean Martin," 1700, in Forbes, ed., *Records*, 30-31.

43. "Will of Pierre Ladou," 1714, *Ibid.*, 122-24.

44. "Will of Isaac Mercier," March 10, 1711, in Pelletreau, *Early Wills*, 91-92.

45. "Will of Daniel Streing," Feb. 11, 1706, *Ibid.*, 20.

46. "Will of Andrew Armeau," July 12, 1731, *Ibid.*, 70.

47. "Will of Ambrose Sicard, Sr.," Aug. 27, 1733, *Ibid.*, 71.

48. "Will of James Percut," April 25, 1758, *Ibid.*, 173.

49. "Will of Jacques Flandreau," May 18, 1720. NYHS, *Abstracts of Wills*, 11, 1902, 38.

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50. "Will of Paul du Bois," 1741, in Forbes, *Records*, 239-40.

51. "Will of Frederick De Veau," Aug. 8, 1751, in Pelletreau, *Early Wills*, 124.

52. "Will of Jeanne Machet," Feb. 6, 1705, *Ibid.*, 23-24.

53. "Will of the Widow Ladou," 1714, in Forbes, *Records*, 125-26.

54. "Will of Magdalena Pelletreau," June 2, 1702, in Pelletreau, 16.

55. Wills appear in Pelletreau, 103, 125, 213, 218, 238, 239, 281, respectively.

56. "Will of Elizabeth Strang," May 6, 1764, *Ibid.*, 213.

57. "Will of Susanna Nodine," Jan. 19, 1762, *Ibid.*, 223.

58. "Will of Mary Lièvre," May 11, 1753, *Ibid.*, 125; "Will of Catharine Barbarie," Oct. 3, 1760, *Ibid.*, 213.

59. Marylynn Salmon has pointed out that women's inheritance rights varied from colony-to-colony. In general, the laws of New York, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina were more likely to favor greater independence for women than the laws of either Pennsylvania or the New England states. In the latter cases, the Quaker and Puritan majorities created laws that bound families together by forcing offspring to care for widowed mothers. Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 13, 185-190.

60. "Will of Esiah Valleau," Dec. 22, 1712, Pelletreau, *Early Wills*, 32.

61. "Will of John Joseph Moulinar[s]," Oct. 1, 1741, *Ibid.*, 84.

62. "Will of Elié de Bonrepos," Apr. 3, 1719, *Ibid.*, 36.

63. "Will of Magdalen Stouffe," Aug. 8, 1768, *Ibid.*, 239.

64. "Will of Andrew DeVoe," Dec. 14, 1776, Misc, Ms. DeVoe Family, Ms. coll., N-YHS. An abstract of this will appears in Pelletreau, 349.

65. For Dutch inheritance practices see the works by David Narrett that were cited previously. For French practices, see the work by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, cited in note 32 above.

66. James Pitcher, "Rates of New Rochelle, 1767," in "Ledger," Ms. coll., N-YHS.

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67. Actually 104 names were listed for New Rochelle, but two of them appear alongside the church property of 100 acres.

68. "List of Freeholders in New Paltz," 1765, in Ralph Lefevre, *History of New Paltz and its Old Families, From 1678 to 1820*, 2nd ed. (Albany: 1909; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Pub., 1973), 1: 94-96.

69. According to the "List of Freeholders" dated 1763, there were fifty-seven landowners in New Rochelle at that time. See "A List of 801 Freeholders in Westchester County," Van Cortlandt Papers, Ms. coll., N-YHS. Apparently some of these landowners rented part of their property to other persons who were assessed on the basis of their cattle and other farm animals or other types of property. Based on this smaller figure, the average lot size per landowner would be just over 105 acres, but this is misleading since over 100 households were dependent on the total acreage.

70. Regarding the ongoing impoverished circumstances of New Rochelle inhabitants please refer to the following documents: Rev. David de Bonrepos to Lieutenant Governor Leisler, October 20, 1690, in Edmund B. O'Callaghan,ed. *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany: Weed Parsons, and Co., 1850), 2: 304-5; Petition of New Rochelle inhabitants to Governor Fletcher, 1690's, in Corwin, *ERNY* 1: 926-27; Rev. Michael Houdin to Secretary of the S.P.G., Oct. 19, 1762, transcribed in Frank Dean Gifford, "The Church of England in Colonial Westchester: A Study of the Work of the S.P.G. Missionaries in the Parishes of West Chester, Rye, and New Rochelle" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1942), 2: 939-40.

71. Comparative figures for New Paltz and New Rochelle appear on Tables 1 and 6, respectively.

72. Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: the First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1998), 369.

73. The "1755 Census of Slaves" was published in O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3: 849; "1782 Census," O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3: 966. *The First Census of the United States.* Baltimore: Genealogical Pub., Co., 1966, 179-80. Calculation for New Rochelle is from Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 175. Census numbers for New Rochelle in 1790 appear in *The First Census*, 201.

74. Graham Russell Hodges, "Slavery and Freedom Without Compensation: African Americans in Bergen County, New Jersey, 1660-1860" in *Slavery, Freedom, and Culture among Early American Workers* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 29, 32.

75. An undated map of New Rochelle, probably drawn before 1710 indicates that nearly two-thirds of the farms were between thirty and ninety acres. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 149.

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76. Refer to Table 9 for specific data.

77. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 369.

78. "A List of 801 Freeholders in Westchester County," February 28, 1763, Van Cortlandt Papers, Ms. coll., N-YHS.

79. The will and estate inventory of Jean Machet illustrate this point. DAR, *Old Wills of New Rochelle*, 1-4.

80. "Will of Zachariah Angevine," Sept. 26, 1739, N-YHS, *Abstracts of Wills*, 3, 283.

81. "Will of Mary Elizabeth Gulot," December 20, 1775, Pelletreau, 281.

82. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 53-54.

83. Berlin cites two works on blacks in colonial New England: Robert C. Twombley and Robert H,. Moore, "Black Puritan: the Negro in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," *WMQ* 24, 1967, 224-42; Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England* (New York, 1948); Berlin, 53-54.

84. Lewis Angevine, Jr., "Inventory of Estate," Dec. 24, 1784, Ms. coll., N-YHS.

85. Dennis J. Maika, "Slavery, Race, and Culture in Early New York," *DHM* 73, 2 (Summer 2000): 29.

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Ibid.*, 30.

88. See James Pitcher, "Ledger, 1766-1782," Ms. coll., N-YHS. Records of Pitcher's payment for services are scattered throughout the Ledger.

89. Maika, 29.

90. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 60-61.

91. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 168-69.

92. These letters are transcribed in Gifford, 2: 881, 883-84.

93. Regarding the Philipsburg and Tappan Dutch Reformed Churches, see Maika, "Slavery, Race, and Culture," 30.

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94. Jon Butler, *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 223.

95. Transcribed in Gifford, 2: 892-93.

96. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, "Records," (Yorkshire, England: Microform Academic Publishers, 1964), Series A, 21: 349-57.

97. Transcribed in Gifford, 2: 899, 918, 927.

98. *Ibid.*, 945.

99. Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 61. For an assessment of Neau's methods and impact on New York City slaves see Graham Russell Hodges, *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 55-63, 84, 97, 99.

100. Huguenot French Church, New Rochelle, "Records, 1756-64," Ms. coll., N-YHS.

101. Letter from Bondet to the S.P.G. Secretary, Oct. 21, 1718, transcribed in Gifford, 2: 883-84.

102. See Table 6 for 1771 figures and *First Census of the United States*, 201, for 1790.

103. Bertrand van Ruymbeke, "From Ethnicity to Assimilation: the Huguenots and the American Immigration History Paradigm" (paper presented at Strangers to Citizens Conference, London, England, April 5-7, 2000). I am grateful to Dr. van Ruymbeke for sharing a copy of his paper with me.

104. *Ibid.*

105. Frederic Shonnard and W. W. Spooner, *History of Westchester County From its Earliest Settlement to the Year 1900* (New York: New York History Co., 1900), 315.

106. *Ibid.*, 298.

107. Harry M. Dunkak, "Samuel Pintard, New Rochelle Loyalist" *Westchester Historian* 54, 4 (Fall 1978): 73-78; Seacord, *Biographical Sketches*, 44.

108. For assessed value see Pitcher, "Rates of New Rochelle." For deportation information see Shonnard, 1: 531.

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109. Butler, *Becoming America*, 244.

110. Charles E. Lindsley, "New Rochelle," in J. Thomas Scharf, ed. *History of Westchester County* (1886; reprint, Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1992), 1: 688.

111. Lindsley recounts some scenes from Coutant's "Reminiscences" in *Ibid.* It is possible that Coutant was playing up the sufferings of his ancestors at the hands of the British since some of them were Loyalists and he may have wished to distance himself from the losing side.

112. *First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790*, 201. Figure of 689 is mine based on a tally of the numbers listed. James Pitcher, "Numbers of Inhabitants of New Rochelle in 1771," in "Ledger," Ms. coll., N-YHS.

113. van Ruymbeke, "From Ethnicity to Assimilation."

114. This was one of the major arguments in Jon Butler's monograph, *The Huguenots in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983). Indeed, his conclusion was subtitled "Everywhere They Fled, Everywhere They Vanished," 199-215. Much of Butler's study, however, concentrated on Huguenots who settled in heterogeneous urban areas like Boston, New York, and Charleston, rather than relatively homogeneous rural settlements like New Paltz and New Rochelle. Butler repeats this argument in his most recent book, *Becoming America*, 22, 44.

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CONCLUSION

Although New Paltz and New Rochelle were both founded by French Protestant refugees in the late seventeenth century, these rural New York communities exhibited certain important differences from the outset and then developed along divergent pathways in the eighteenth century. The most important factors in this divergent development were the places of origin of the founders, time of departure from France, paths of migration, and time of arrival in North America. The founders of New Paltz had been born in the border provinces of France, areas that had sometimes found themselves under the control of England or Burgundy during the Middle Ages. French Protestants from these areas, often referred to as Walloons, tended to attach themselves to a province or locality rather than a nation-state. Nevertheless, they shared certain characteristics in common with French Protestants elsewhere, based on their use of the French language as well as their Calvinistic religious beliefs and practices. Despite these shared commonalities, the Huguenots of New Paltz never made lasting connections with Huguenots elsewhere in the colony of New York or anywhere in North America, for that matter. Perhaps this was because of certain cultural differences based upon their place of origin. For example, as Le Roy Ladurie has pointed out, inheritance practices varied throughout France: in the northern provinces fathers were free to "advantage" an heir while in the Atlantic provinces all offspring tended to be treated more-or-less equally.[1] Before coming to New York they had spent at least several years in the German

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Palatinate, which might have enhanced some of their preexisting cultural differences with Huguenots elsewhere. While there, they may have been influenced by German Calvinism, which would help to explain their eventual adoption of the Heidelberg Catechism. Most, if not all, of the New Paltz patentees were tied to one another either through marriage or friendship before their arrival in North America, and they typically arrived in New York as part of these extended family units. These connections would play an important role in the founding and creation of New Paltz which began as a communal endeavor and, indeed, maintained something of that communal nature well into the eighteenth century with unique organizations such as the Twelve Men.

They also differed from the New Rochelle Huguenots in that they left France well in advance of the revocation and therefore were able to bring their material assets with them, which helped to ensure an easier and more comfortable transition to their new homeland. Moreover, the fact that they had not endured the same intensity of persecution and loss as their co-religionists in New Rochelle would have a significant long-term impact on the development of the community. Because the New Paltz patentees possessed sufficient material assets, they were able to purchase a relatively large tract of land. By doing so, they could keep their children and even grandchildren in the environs of New Paltz simply by subdividing the initial twelve tracts of land. Even after divisions were made, the lots were substantial enough to support large families. As was argued previously, this ability to bind children to their forefathers had a significant impact upon testamentary practices, slaveholding patterns, and possibly even ties of allegiance during the American Revolution.

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Since their initial numbers were small, the founders of New Paltz had nearly exhausted their pool of marriageable persons of French Protestant descent after the second generation. This meant that they had to look outside their limited ranks for suitable marriage partners in the predominantly Dutch countryside. Likewise, their language and religion were affected by the surrounding Dutch majority. Most members of the patentee families knew both Dutch and French and official documents, including church records, were increasingly written in Dutch. Because they were unable to procure French Reformed ministers on their own after 1702 and, perhaps, because they were unwilling to make connections with French Protestants elsewhere in New York, who had come from other parts of France and whose refugee experiences differed markedly from theirs, the Huguenots of New Paltz sometimes turned to the Dutch Reformed Church for ministerial candidates. But even in this they exhibited a remarkable degree of independence since the ministers they selected were usually from the more controversial quarters of the Dutch Reformed Church whose protégés would help to create the independent Dutch Reformed Church in America. In this way, the French Protestants of New Paltz were able to retain many of their Calvinistic beliefs and practices throughout the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, this occasional dependence on the Dutch Reformed Church and its ministers carried with it the eventual loss of the French language for religious purposes. The New Paltz Huguenots abandoned use of the French language for both religious and secular official documents at an earlier date than did the Huguenots of New Rochelle. However, we need to keep in mind that the founders of New Paltz had left France by the 1650's and 1660's, more than twenty years before the founders of New Rochelle fled from their homeland. Moreover, most had spent a decade or more living

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among the Dutch in Kingston and Hurley prior to the purchase of New Paltz. Out of necessity they may have become bilingual during that time. Certainly patentee Jean Hasbrouck had Bibles and devotional books in both French and Dutch.[2] It is likely that he was not alone in this bilingual ability. By the 1720's and 1730's, an increasing number of New Paltz documents, including the sporadic church records, were being written in Dutch. It is possible, however, that use of the French language, along with Dutch, may have continued in private life among couples of mixed ethnicity even later into the eighteenth century, but this is difficult to substantiate. Certainly the account books of the Hasbrouck store were still being kept in French until the late 1770's when they were superseded by Dutch.[3] What is indisputable is that the English language made no significant inroads into this area until well after the American Revolution. Neither did the Church of England have any influence here during the eighteenth century.

The founders of New Rochelle, in contrast, had been tempered by a more traumatic uprooting. They had struggled to remain in their homeland as long as possible, outwardly exhibiting their loyalty to Louis XIV in all areas save religion. The unleashing of the dragoons, followed by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, made even private perseverance in the Reformed faith impossible, resulting in the Huguenot diaspora. Although they were welcomed by the English government, where most of the future founders of New Rochelle had fled, the revocation-era refugees found themselves competing with other refugees as well as native-born Englishmen in an already glutted economy. Hence the decision was made by some, particularly younger persons, to remove once again to the British North American colonies, which purportedly offered both economic opportunities and religious freedom. Once the future settlers of New

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Rochelle had made their way to New York, they were offered the opportunity to purchase land in a uniquely French Huguenot town named after the stronghold of La Rochelle. Despite their limited assets, a number of refugee families bought into the settlement of New Rochelle. Although no documents exist that illuminate the state of mind of those persons who purchased land in New Rochelle, it seems plausible that they must have seen it as an opportunity to build a wholly French Protestant community in the wilderness of North America. Otherwise they could have merged with the pre-existing community of Huguenots in New York City and continued to practice the skilled trades they had brought with them. Once in New Rochelle, the economic realities of building and creating an entire community from the ground up hit home. They wanted a church, a school, a minister, and a schoolmaster. Indeed, they achieved these goals remarkably soon. The long-term financial demands of these institutions, however, were more than the struggling refugees could afford on a regular basis. Herein lies the key to Anglican conformity. More than gratitude towards England for offering a place of refuge, more than a desire to be upwardly mobile, the major driving force behind conformity to the Church of England for the New Rochelle Huguenots was economic necessity. Certainly, the shortage of qualified French Reformed pastors in the colonies should not be ignored, but the underlying reality was lack of money to pay a pastor. In this way, the relative penury of the inhabitants of New Rochelle, which was rooted in the desperateness of their flight from France, indelibly influenced religious choices that would be made by the community.

Although the majority of New Rochelle heads of household had voted to conform to Anglicanism, this did not mean that the resulting congregation became a carbon copy

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of Anglican churches elsewhere. Rather, the conformists of New Rochelle practiced their own distinctive brand of French Anglicanism, which was undeniably Calvinistic in its theology at a time when the Anglican mainstream was more likely to be Arminian. Moreover, during the pastorate of Pierre Stouppe, signing of the cross did not accompany the sacrament of baptism. They even managed to preserve use of the French language for religious purposes as well as in private life until about 1760. Meanwhile, the nonconformists of New Rochelle struggled to maintain their status as an independent French Reformed congregation. They succeeded in doing so with the ministerial, and possibly financial, assistance of the French Church in New York. When the New York Church found itself without a pastor in the late 1760's and 1770's, the nonconforming church in New Rochelle was likewise cast adrift. Until that time, the nonconformists had preserved the use of the French language in church records and services, and presumably adhered to Calvinistic doctrines.

The initial economic desperation of the New Rochelle settlers also had an impact upon family relations and possibly size, as was discussed in the previous chapter. With less land and other assets to divide among heirs, all of whom usually received an equal share of the inheritance as opposed to the dictates of English primogeniture, estates were typically inventoried and sold off, dividing the proceeds among the heirs. In this way, the male, and in some cases female, head of the family had less ability to tie offspring to family and community, and New Rochelle never developed to the same degree the intricate networks of intermarriage that bound New Paltz families to one another. It was noted previously that the birth rate was lower in New Rochelle than in New Paltz, even though women in both communities typically married in their early twenties. Since an

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average age at death could not be determined for New Rochelle, and the infant mortality rates appeared to be about the same, 16 percent for New Paltz and 18 percent for New Rochelle,[4] the explanation for the lower birth rate could very well be shorter lifespans for adults than in New Paltz. As was suggested in the preceding chapter, the lower birthrate in New Rochelle may have influenced slaveholding patterns in this community.

So far I have highlighted the differences between these two settlements. What commonalities, beyond the surface similarities of being rural settlements that were founded by and for French-speaking Protestants in the late seventeenth century, did they share? One common thread was the desire to preserve their religious practices, one way or another. For the Huguenots of New Paltz, this meant some dependence on the Dutch Reformed Church. Nevertheless, as was discussed in a previous chapter, the Reformed Church of New Paltz never became a carbon copy of traditional Dutch Reformed churches, but gravitated instead to its more independent-minded scions. Certainly the nonconforming church in New Rochelle maintained its independence, however tenuously, as a French Reformed congregation. Even the conforming church in New Rochelle, particularly during the pastorate of Pierre Stouppe, exhibited a decidedly Calvinistic bent in its teachings and doctrines. In view of these findings, the long-held arguments that the Huguenots were a model of rapid assimilation in the American colonies and that they quickly and eagerly embraced the Church of England need to be qualified. While these arguments may still hold true for those Huguenots who settled in heterogeneous areas such as New York City, this was not the case for the nearly-homogeneous rural settlements of New Paltz and New Rochelle. In both cases, French Protestants forged completely new communities in the American wilderness; in

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the case of New Paltz they even devised their own distinctive political organization known as the Twelve Men. Initially both New Paltz and New Rochelle were decidedly French. Gradually Dutch incursions began to infiltrate the former, while some English incursions influenced the latter. But neither community was fully assimilated into either Dutch or English culture. Indeed, by the end of the colonial period, the Huguenots of New Paltz and of New Rochelle had each created something that was neither wholly French, nor Dutch, nor English, but something that was new and unique--much like America itself was becoming.

NOTES

1. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, "Family structures and inheritance customs in sixteenth-century France," in *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800.* ed. Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, and E.P. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 52-61, 65-70.

2. The will of Jean Hasbrouck mentions Bibles and devotional books in both Dutch and French. See Gustave Anjou, *Ulster County, New York Probate* Records (New York: Gustave Anjou, 1906), 1:90. The Hasbrouck Family Bible and devotional books are in the Special collections, Huguenot Historical Society Library and Archives, New Paltz.

3. Hasbrouck Family, "Account Book, 1749-1813," Levi Hasbrouck Family Papers: Locust Lawn Collection, 1672-1968, Special Collections, Huguenot Historical Society Library and Archives, New Paltz.

4. Refer to the material under subheading "A Time to be Born and a Time to Die" in chapters 4 and 6. Admittedly, these percents are based upon limited data.

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APPENDIX A: TABLES

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TABLE 1. COMPARATIVE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY AGE, SEX, AND RACE IN NEW PALTZ: 1703, 1782, AND 1790

	1703		1782	1790	
White Population	#	(%)	#	#	(%)
Males over 60	2		36	—	
Males 15-60	40		295[a]	521[c]	(22.5)
Males under 15	32		330[b]	519[b]	(22.4)
Total Males	**74**	(56.9)	**661**	**1,040**	(45.0)
Females over 15	22		316[c]	—	
Females under 15	25		286[b]	—	
Total Females	**47**	(36.2)	**602**	**958[d]**	(41.4)
Other Free Persons	—		—	**12**	(0.005)
Slave Population					
Males over 15	5		**No Figures Provided**	—	
Males under 15	1		" "	—	
Females over 15	2		" "	—	
Females under 15	1		" "	—	
Total Slaves	**9**	(6.9)		**302**	(13.1)
TOTAL POPULATION	**130**	(100)	**1,263[e]**	**2,312**	(100)

[a] Ages 16-60 [b] Under 16 [c] Over 16 [d] All ages

[e] Does not include slaves because their numbers were not reported in the census. Does not include the 88 refugees, 38 males and 50 females, that were temporarily residing in New Paltz.

Figures for 1703 and 1782 are based on figures from the Ulster County Census. Both censuses were published in O'Callaghan *DHNY*, 3: 966, 996. Figures for 1790 are derived from *The First Census of the U.S.* Baltimore: Genealogical Pub., Co., 1966, 179-80.

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TABLE 2. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES FOR NEW PALTZ PATENTEE FAMILIES

AVERAGE AGE FOR FIRST MARRIAGE

	Second Generation	Third Generation		Fourth Generation	
Males:	27.8	28.2 (H)	26.1 (D)	28.2 (H)	27.6 (D)
Females:	21.9	24.2 (H)	25.2 (D)	23.3 (H)	22.4 (D)

AVERAGE AGE AT DEATH

	Second Generation	Third Generation		Fourth Generation	
Males:	62.5	62.5 (H)	65.7 (D)	62.8 (H)	63.7 (D)
Females:	49.0	63.7 (H)	55.3 (D)	62.3 (H)	60.1 (D)

Note: Averages are based upon those who died after reaching eighteen.

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN

First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation		Fourth Generation	
7.7	7.9	5.9 (H)	7.2 (D)	6.7 (H)	6.5 (D)

First Generation: Average number of children born to the nine patentees who comprised this generation.

Second Generation: Figures pertain to the children of nine patentees and to three members of this generation who were patentees themselves. All were born between the mid-1640's and early 1690's. Years are imprecise because some times of birth are listed as approximate or are based on the year of baptism.

Third Generation: Grandchildren of nine patentees and children of three patentees. Born between the late 1690's and 1740's.

Fourth Generation: Great-grandchildren of nine patentees and grandchildren of three. Born between 1734 and 1798.

H = Hasbrouck D= Deyo

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TABLE 3. SLAVEHOLDING IN NEW PALTZ IN 1755

Slaveholder Name	# Male Slaves (over age 14)	# Female Slaves (over age 14)	TOTAL
Daniel Hasbrouck	2	2	4
Petronella Lefever	1	1	2
Samuel Bevier	2	1	3
Simon Du Bois	3	3	6
Josiah Eltinge	3	1	4
Peter Deyo, Jr.	1	0	1
Abraham Hardenbergh	4	3	7
Benjamin Hasbrouck	3	2	5
Hendricus Du Bois	2	1	3
Louis Du Bois	3	2	5
Solomon Du Bois	5	2	7
Abraham Bevier	1	1	2
Jacobus Bevier	1	0	1
Benjamin Du Bois	2	1	3
Hugo Freer	0	1	1
Christian Deyo	2	1	3
Mary Lefever	1	1	2
Geesje Een	1	0	1
Sarah Hasbrouck	2	3	5
Isaac Freer	0	1	1

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Slaveholder Name	**# Male Slaves** (over age 14)	**# Female Slaves** (over age 14)	**TOTAL**
Annetje van de Merken	0	1	1
Abraham Deyo	2	1	3
Jacob Hasbrouck	2	2	4
Nathaniel Lefever	1	1	2
Noah Eltinge	1	0	1
Abraham Lefever	1	0	1
Andrew Lefever	1	0	1
Philip Bevier	1	0	1
TOTALS	**48**	**32**	**80**

Figures are taken from "1755 Census of Slaves," in O'Callaghan, *DHNY*, 3: 849

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TABLE 4. INVENTORY OF REVEREND PIERRE STOUPPE'S SERMONS

Preached in New Rochelle unless otherwise indicated.
Sections refer to the Grand Catechism unless noted otherwise.

Date		Topic
Jan. 24, 1720	(Charlestown)	I John 3:10 (Repentance and brotherly love)
May 2, 1725		I John 3:10 (almost identical to above)
May 30, 1725		Section 4, Petit Catechism (Good Works)
June 6, 1725		Section 5, Petit Catechism (Good Works)
June 13, 1725		Section 6, Petit Catechism (Justification)
June 27, 1725		Section 7, Petit Catechism (Prayer)
July 4, 1725		Section 7, Petit Catechism (Second Commandment)
May 1, 1726	Jan. 23, 1737	Exodus 19: 8, 24:3 (Overview of Commandments)
May 15, 1726		Exodus 20:1-3 (First Commandment)
May 29, 1726	May 1, 1737	Exodus 20: 4-6 (Second commandment)
July 24, 1726	Aug. 20, 1732, and July 17, 1737	Section 26, Exodus 20: 8-11 (Sabbath observance)
Aug.15, 1726		Section 27, Exodus 20: 8-11 (Sunday as Sabbath)
June 24, 1727	Oct. 22, 1732, and Aug. 28, 1737	Section 28, Exodus 20:12 (Honor thy parents)
July 2, 1727	Nov. 12, 1732	Exodus 20:13 (Thou shalt not kill)
July 23, 1727	Dec. 3, 1732	Exodus 20:14 (Thou shalt not commit adultery)
Aug. 30, 1727	Jan. 24(?), 1733, and Nov. 6, 1737	Exodus 20:15 (Thou shalt not steal)
Sept. 7, 1727	Feb. 1733, and Jan. 15, 1737	Exodus 20:16 (Thou shalt not bear false witness)
Oct. 8, 1727	March 11, 1733, and Feb. 5, 1738	Exodus 20:17 (Thou shalt not covet)
June 22, 1729	Oct. 12, 1735	Section 1 (The Sovereign God)
July 13, 1729	Nov. 2, 1736(?)	Section 2, Heb. 11:6 (Confidence in God)
Aug. 24, 1729	Jan. 18, 1736	Section 4 (on Creation)
Aug. 31, 1729	Oct. 23, 1736	Section 3 (The Trinity)
Sept. 14, 1729	Feb. 8, 1736	Section 4 (Of Providence)
May 17, 1730	Feb. 29, 1736	Section 5, John 17:3 (Eternal life)
June 7, 1730	March 28, 1736	Section 6 (Sacrifice of Jesus covers our sins)
July 19, 1730	May 9, 1736	Section 7 (Titles for the Savior of the world)
Aug. 9, 1730		Section 8 (Jesus, the man of sorrows)
Sept. 20, 1730		Section 10 (The alleged descent into hell)
Oct. 11, 1730		Section 11 (Death and Resurrection of Jesus)
May 30, 1731		Section 13, Rom. 14:10 (Second coming of Jesus)
June 20, 1731	June 20, 1736	Section 14 (Gifts of the Spirit)
July 11, 1731	July 18, 1736	Section 15 (The visible and invisible church)
Aug. 22, 1731	Aug. 1736	Section 16, Gal. 2:16 (Marks of the true church)

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Nov. 24, 1731	Sept. 19, 1736	Section 19 (What is faith?)
Jan. 16, 1732	Oct. 17, 1736	Section 19, Gal. 11:16 (Justification by faith)
Feb. 6, 1732		Section 19 (Imperfection of works)
Feb. 27, 1732	Sept. 28, 1736	Section 20 (Works do not merit eternal life)
June 11, 1732	Feb. 27, 1737	Exodus 20: 4-6 (Second commandment)
Apr. 9(?), 1733	Feb. 26, 1738	Section 32 (Charity)
May 27, 1733	April 16, 1738	Section 33 ("Thy word is a lamp...")
June 17, 1733	June 4, 1738	Section 34 (Object and necessity of prayer)
July 8, 1733	June 25, 1738	Section 35 (The nature of true prayer)
July 29, 1733	Aug. 5, 1738	Section 36 (Jesus Christ the Mediator)
August 19, 1733		Section 27 (Efficacy of Prayer)
Sept. 9, 1733	Aug. 27, 1738	Section 38 (God the Father)
Oct. 21, 1733	Sept. 17, 1738	Section 39 (The name of God)
Nov. 11, 1733		Section 40 (Good works, obedience to God's will)
Dec. 2, 1733	Nov. 12, 1738	Section 41 (Characteristics of the Lord's Prayer)
Jan 20, 1734	Jan. 21, 1739	Section 42 (Love covers a multitude of sins)
Feb. 10, 1734	March 4, 1739	Section 43 (Regarding Prayer)
Mar. 3, 1734	May 6, 1739	Section 44 (The Lord's Prayer as Example)
Mar. 24, 1734	July 15, 1739	Section 45 (Rejects Apocrypha)
Apr. 21, 1734	Aug. 5, 1739	Section 46 (Sacraments do not contain grace)
May 12, 1734	Aug. 26, 1739	Section 47 (Baptism replaces circumcision)
June 16, 1734	Sept. 16, 1739	Section 48 (The sacraments, especially baptism)
July 14, 1734		Section 49 (The institution and efficacy of baptism)
Aug. 15, 1734	Jan. 20, 1740	Section 50 (Baptism for children of the repentant)
Aug. 25, 1734	Nov. 4, 1739	Section 50 (Against indiscriminate baptism)
Oct. 20, 1734	Feb. 10, 1740	Section 51 ("This do in memory of me")
Oct.(?)10, 1734	Mar. 2, 1740	Section 52 (Against sacrifice of the mass)
Dec. 1, 1734	April 20, 1740	Section 52 " "
Jan. 19, 1735	July 20, 1740	Section 52 " "
Feb. 16, 1735	Aug. 10, 1740	Section 52 " "
Mar. 9, 1735	Aug. 31, 1740	Section 52 " "
Apr. 20, 1735	Oct. 16, 1740	Section 53 (Against transubstantiation)
May 11, 1735	Jan. 18, 1741	Section 53 " "
June 8, 1735	Feb. 8, 1741	Section 53 " "
July 20, 1735	March 1, 1741	Section 53 " "
Aug. 10, 1735		Section 53 " "
Nov.(?) 21, 1735		Section 55 (Who can administer the sacraments?)
Feb. 6, 1737		Section 22, Exodus 20:1-3 (First Commandment)
April 10, 1737		John 16:22 (incomplete, only one page)
Aug. 7, 1737		Section 27, Exodus 20: 8-11 (The Sabbath)
Sept. 18, 1737		Section 29, Exodus 20:13 (Thou shalt not kill)
Oct. 16, 1737		Exodus 20:14 (Thou shalt not commit adultery)
Sept. 24, 1738		Matthew 22: 37, 38 (You must love God)
Date Missing		Section 8, Petit Catechism (The Sacraments)
No Date		Section 45 (39 pages, probably not a sermon)

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TABLE 5. COMPARISON OF AVERAGE FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD SIZES IN NEW ROCHELLE: 1698, 1710/12, 1771

	1698	1710/12	1771
Family Size	4.5	4.5*	5.6
Household Size	5.8	5.4*	7.1

Figures are based on my own analysis and calculations based on the "Census for New Rochelle, 1698," *NYGBR* 59, 2 (April 1928): 106-107; "List of the Towne of New Rochelle,1710," and "Census for New Rochelle, 1712," Corwin *ERNY*, 1: 946-47, 949; James Pitcher, "Numbers of Inhabitants in the Parish of New Rochelle, 1771," in his "Ledger," Ms. coll., N-YHS.

*Family size is based on information supplied in the 1710 "List of the Towne of New Rochelle," while household size is based on information in the 1712 Census.

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TABLE 6. COMPARATIVE POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY AGE, SEX, AND RACE IN NEW ROCHELLE: 1698, 1712, 1771

	1698		1712		1771	
White Population	#	(%)	#	(%)	#	(%)
Males over 60	8	(3.4)	11	(3.6)	17	(2.4)
Males 16-60	45	(19.3)	52	(17.1)	126	(17.6)
Males under 16	38	(16.3)	67	(22.0)	125	(17.5)
Total Males	**91**	(39.1)	**130**	(42.8)	**268**	(37.5)
Females over 60	6	(2.6)	10	(3.3)	(included below)	
Females 16-60	42	(18.0)	51	(16.8)	161	(22.5)
Females under 16	51	(21.8)	58	(19.1)	129	(18.1)
Total Females	**99**	(42.5)	**119**	(39.1)	**290**	(40.6)
Slave Population						
Male Slaves over 16	16	(6.9)	20	(6.6)	57	(8.0)
Male Slaves under 16	9	(3.9)	10	(3.3)	19	(2.7)
Female Slaves over 16	10	(4.3)	11	(3.6)	47	(6.6)
Female Slaves under 16	8	(3.4)	14	(4.6)	33	(4.6)
Total Slaves	**43**	(18.5)	**55**	(18.1)	**156**	(21.8)
TOTAL POPULATION	**233**	(100.1)	**304**	(100)	**714**	(99.9)*

*Does not equal 100 because of rounding to nearest tenth of a percent.

Figures for 1698 and 1712 are based on the censuses for those years. The 1698 figures were calculated by me based on information contained in the census for that year. The 1712 figures were copied directly from the census. Figures for 1771 compiled by me based upon information supplied by James Pitcher in "Numbers of Inhabitants in the Parish of New Rochelle, 1771," in his "Ledger, 1766-1782," Ms. coll., N-YHS. Percentages are mine.

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TABLE 7. FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS IN NEW ROCHELLE IN 1771

Name	White Males	White Females	Slaves	Total
Mary Bonnet	2 (<16)	1	1	4
Mary Bryer	0	2	0	2
Agnes Downes	1(>60)	3	0	4
Susan Goodwin	2(<16)	2	2	6
Catherine Secord	1(<16)	2	0	3
[Magdalen] Stouppe	0	1	0	1
[no name] Valade	0	3	4	7

Names and numbers are based on information recorded in James Pitcher, "Numbers of Inhabitants in the Parish of New Rochelle in 1771," in "Ledger, 1766-1782," Ms. coll., N-YHS.

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TABLE 8. ACTUAL FAMILY SIZE IN NEW ROCHELLE IN 1771

Number of Persons in Family	Number and Percent of Families*
1	1
2	5
3	20
4	16
5	12
6	12
7	13
8	9
9	2
10	3
11	3
12	4

*Number and percent are identical because there were 100 households

Figures are based on data recorded in James Pitcher, "Numbers of Inhabitants in the Parish of New Rochelle," 1771, in his "Ledger," Ms. coll., N-YHS.

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TABLE 9. SLAVEHOLDING IN NEW ROCHELLE IN 1771

Slaveowners	Male Slaves			Female Slaves		Total Slaves
	Under 16	16-60	Over 60	Under 16	Over 16	
Andrew Abramse	0	2	0	0	1	3
Stephen Arnaud	0	1	0	0	0	1
Elias Badeau	0	0	0	1	0	1
John Badeau	1	0	0	0	1	2
Peter Badeau	0	1	0	0	1	2
James Besley	1	0	0	1	0	2
Oliver Besley	2	4	0	1	3	10
Jacobus Bleecker	0	3	0	0	1	4
Daniel Bonnet	0	0	0	1	1	2
John Bonnet	0	0	0	0	1	1
Mary Bonnet	0	0	0	0	1	1
Peter Bonnet	0	2	0	2	1	5
Han Bright	0	0	1	0	0	1
Philip Burting (Bertain)	0	0	0	1	0	1
James Camby	0	1	0	0	0	1
Moses Clarke	0	1	0	1	1	3
George Cornel	1	1	0	0	0	2
John Cornel	0	1	0	0	0	1
Isaac Coutant	0	1	0	2	1	4
Abel Devoe	0	1	0	1	1	3

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Slaveowners	Male Slaves			Female Slaves		Total Slaves
	Under 16	16-60	Over 60	Under 16	Over 16	
Abel Devoe, Sr.	1	1	1	0	1	4
Joseph Drake	0	1	0	0	1	2
James Dubley (De Blez)	1	3	1	2	3	10
Benjamin Flandreau	0	1	0	0	0	1
Peter Flandreau	2	1	1	1	1	6
Susanna Goodwin	0	1	0	1	0	2
Abraham Guion	1	3	0	0	1	5
David Guion	0	1	0	0	2	3
Elias Guion	0	0	0	0	3	3
Isaac Guion, Sr.	1	1	0	1	1	4
Isaac Guion, Jr.	0	1	0	0	2	3
William Landrine	1	1	0	0	1	3
David Lispenard	0	2	0	1	1	4
Jeremiah Mabie	1	0	0	0	2	3
John Parcot	0	1	0	0	1	2
John Pell	0	1	0	0	1	2
James Pugsley	2	3	0	2	2	9
Josiah Rodman, Jr.	0	2	0	0	1	3
Josiah Rodman, Sr.	0	0	1	0	0	1
John Schillis	0	1	0	0	0	1
Josiah Schillis	1	0	0	2	1	4

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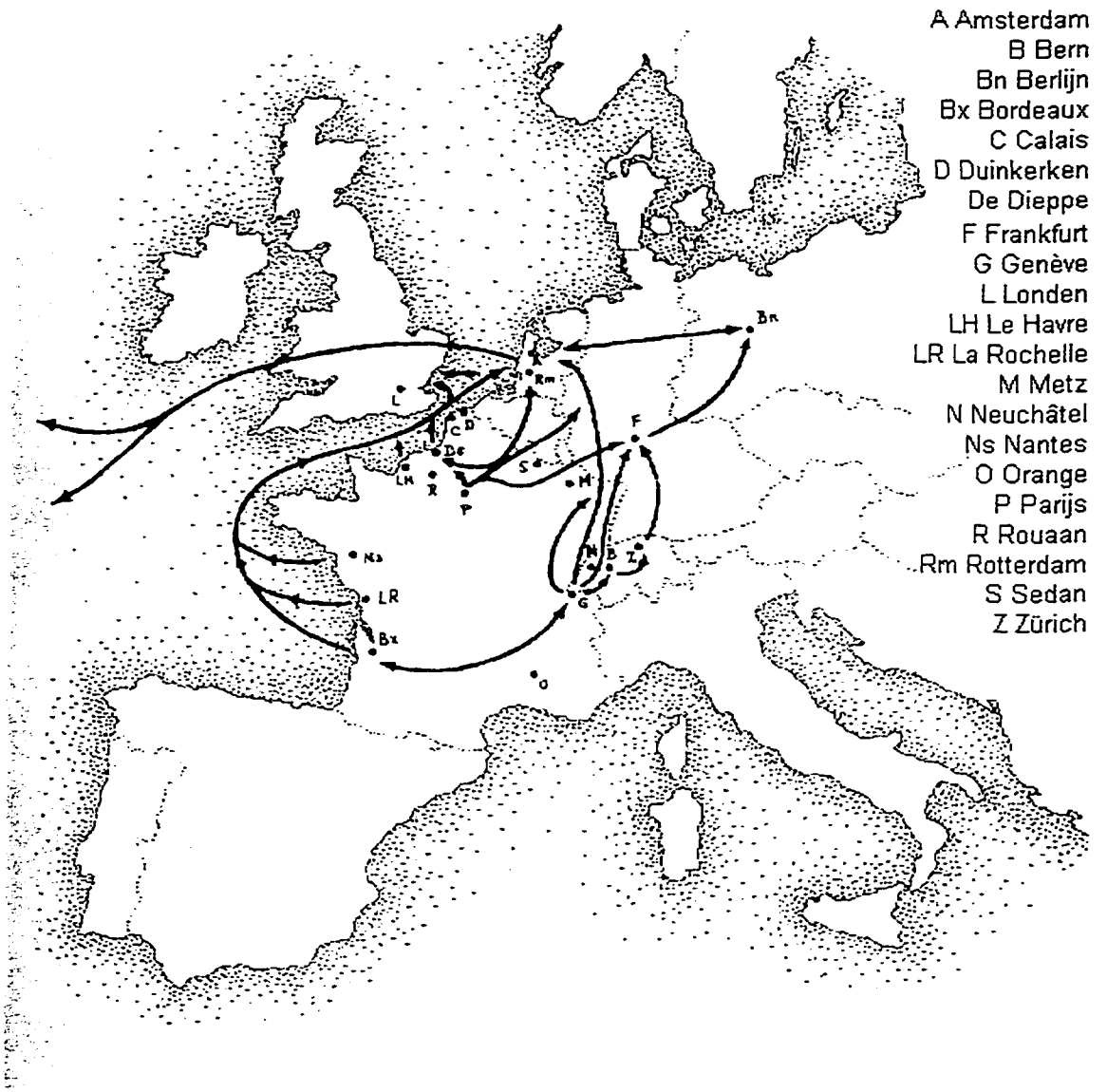
Slaveowners	Male Slaves			Female Slaves		Total Slaves
	Under 16	16-60	Over 60	Under 16	Over 16	
Francis Schurman	0	1	0	0	0	1
Jeremiah Schurman	1	1	0	2	1	5
John Schurman	0	0	0	3	1	4
Joseph Schurman, Jr.	0	1	0	1	1	3
William Schurman	0	1	0	3	1	5
Benjamin Secord	1	1	0	0	1	3
Paul Secord	0	0	0	1	0	1
Benjamin Stevenson	1	0	0	1	2	4
Valade (Widow)	0	2	0	1	1	4
Josiah Willis	1	0	0	0	0	1
TOTALS 51	**19**	**52**	**5**	**33**	**47**	**156**

Names and figures were taken from James Pitcher, "Numbers of Inhabitants in the Parish of New Rochelle, 1771," in "Ledger, 1766-1782," Ms. coll., N-YHS. Names in parentheses are my suggestions for the actual identities of the persons listed. In a few cases I used the more commonly accepted spelling of a family name for consistency's sake, e.g. Parcot rather then Percut as it appeared in the Ledger.

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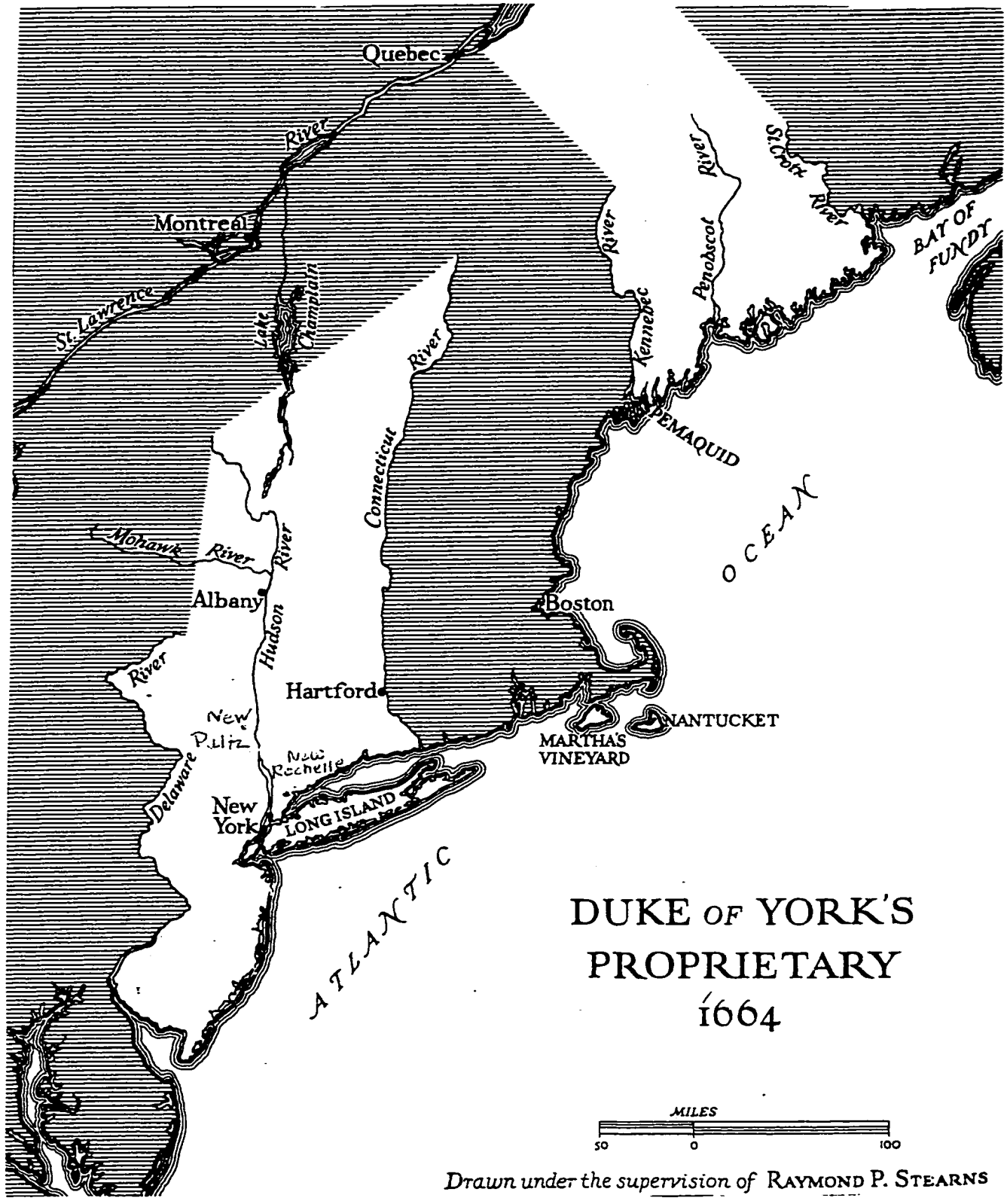
APPENDIX B: MAPS

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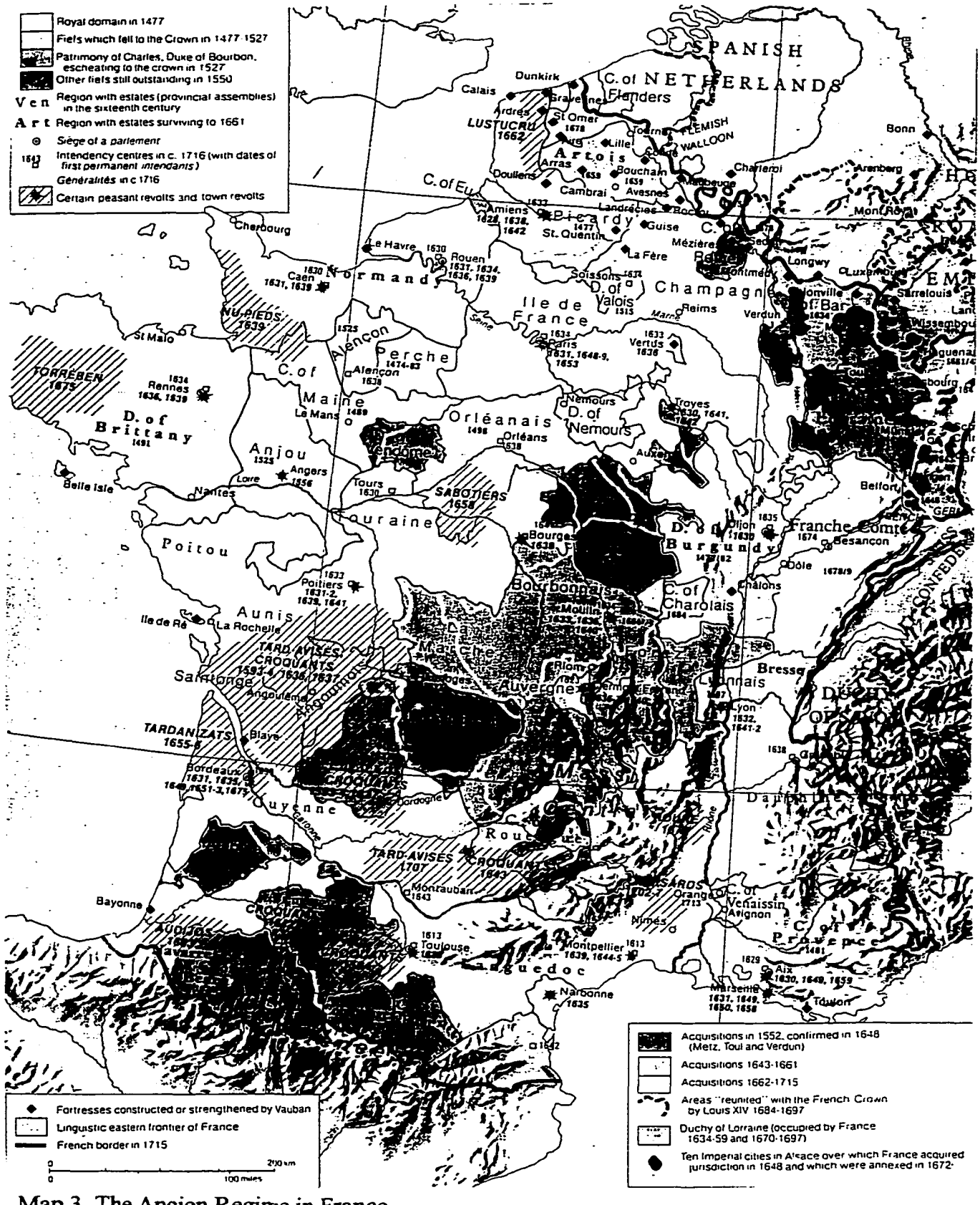
Map 1. Huguenot Escape Routes, ca. 1685
From: http://www.migratie.nl/data/31.jpg

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Map 2. From: Kenneth T. Jackson and James T. Adams, ed. *Atlas of American History*, rev. ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978.

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Map 3. The Ancien Regime in France
From: *Atlas of World History*. New York: Rand McNally, 1993.

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APPENDIX C: ILLUSTRATIONS

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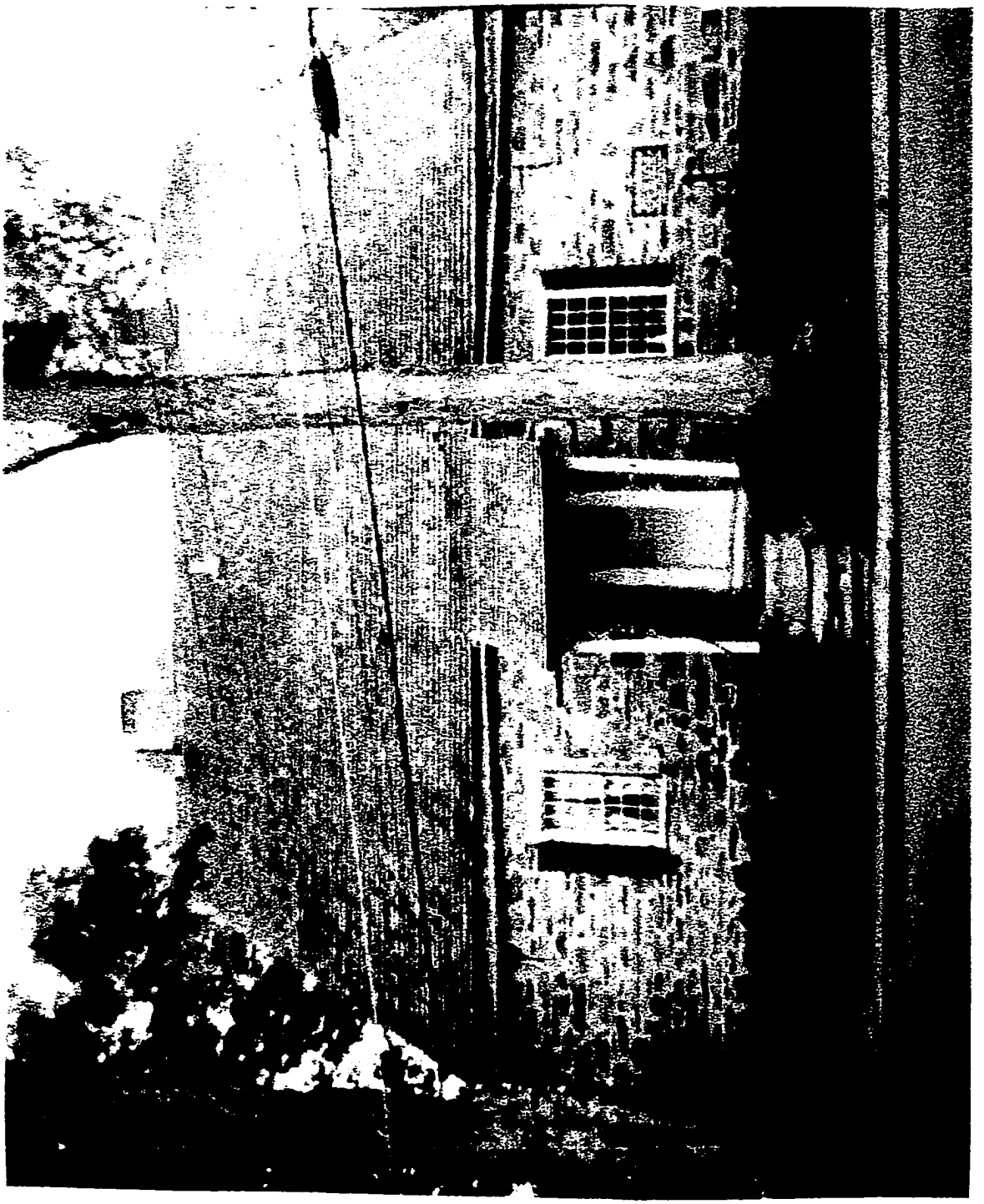


Figure 1. Jean Hasbrouck House, New Paltz, ca. 1694.

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Figure 2. Jambless fireplace. Original, from late seventeenth century. Jean Hasbrouck house, New Paltz.

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Figure 3. Brick chimney in loft of Jean Hasbrouck house. Original from early eighteenth century.

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Figure 4. One of several rooms in the loft of the Jean Hasbrouck house. May have been used for overnight guests or for slaves.

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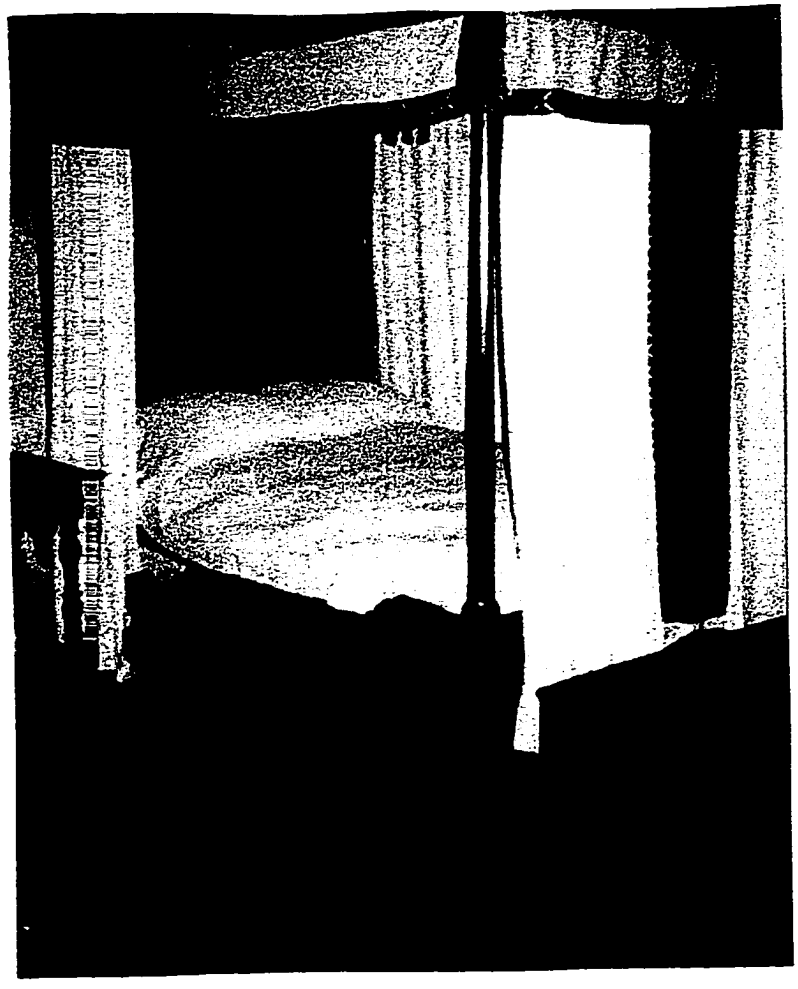


Figure 5. First floor bedroom in Abraham Hasbrouck house, New Paltz. Blueberry stain on the walls is original from the eighteenth century. Furnishings are mid-eighteenth-century style and from the Hudson Valley area, but are not necessarily from New Paltz. Draperies are reproductions of eighteenth-century style.

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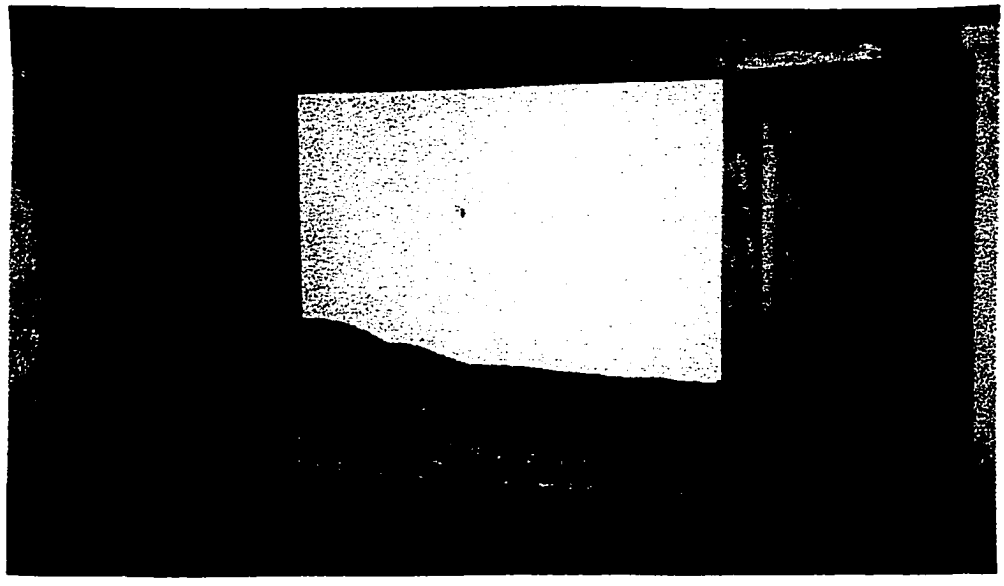


Figure 6. Wall bed in Abraham Hasbrouck house, eighteenth century. Originally may have been in Jean Hasbrouck house.

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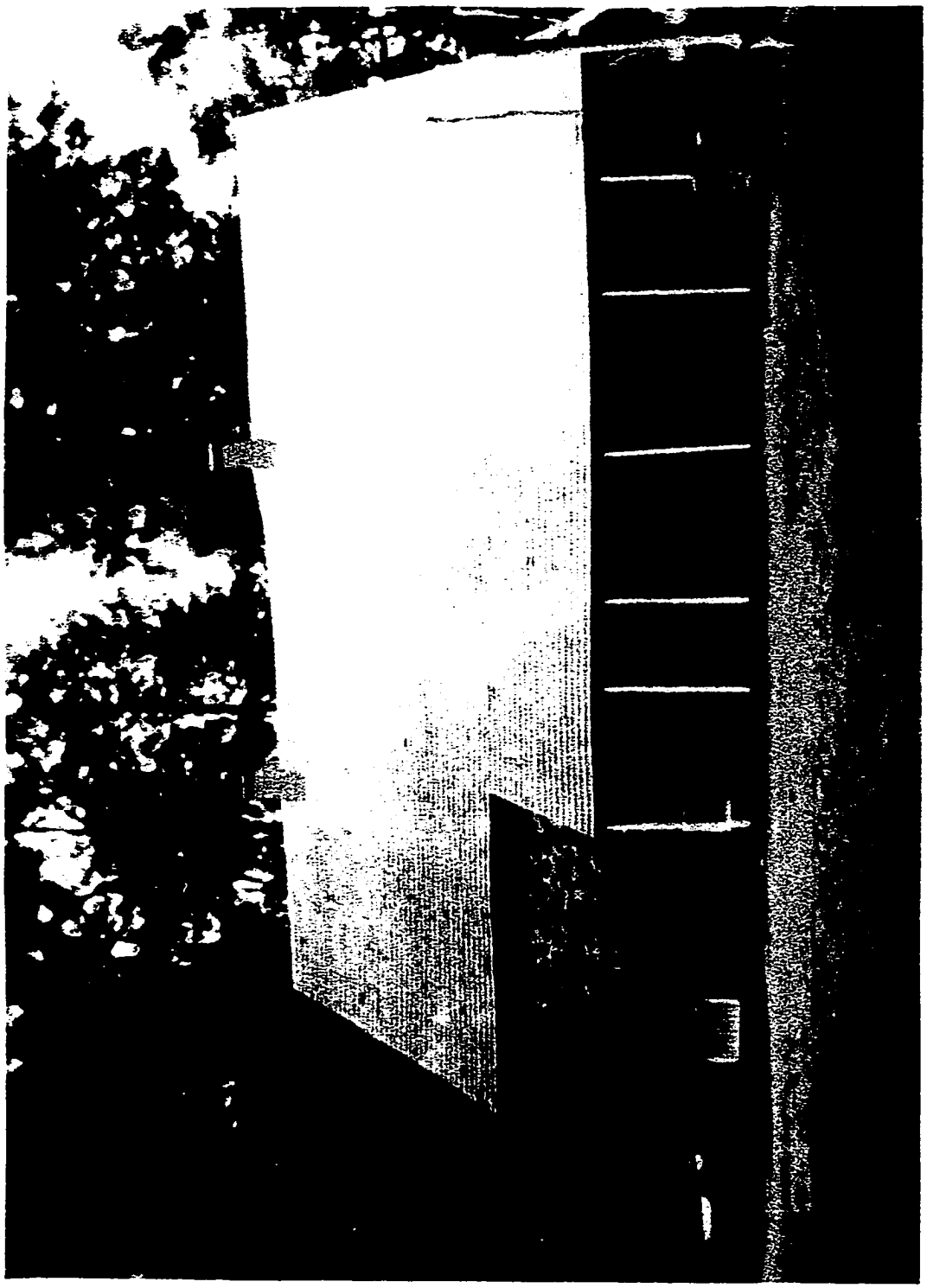


Figure 7. Bevier-Eltinge house, New Paltz, ca. 1698.

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Figure 8. English or working fireplace in Bevier-Eltinge house. Sometime in the eighteenth century walls and hood were added to the late seventeenth-century jambless fireplace to make it more efficient. Note the bread oven in the upper left corner.

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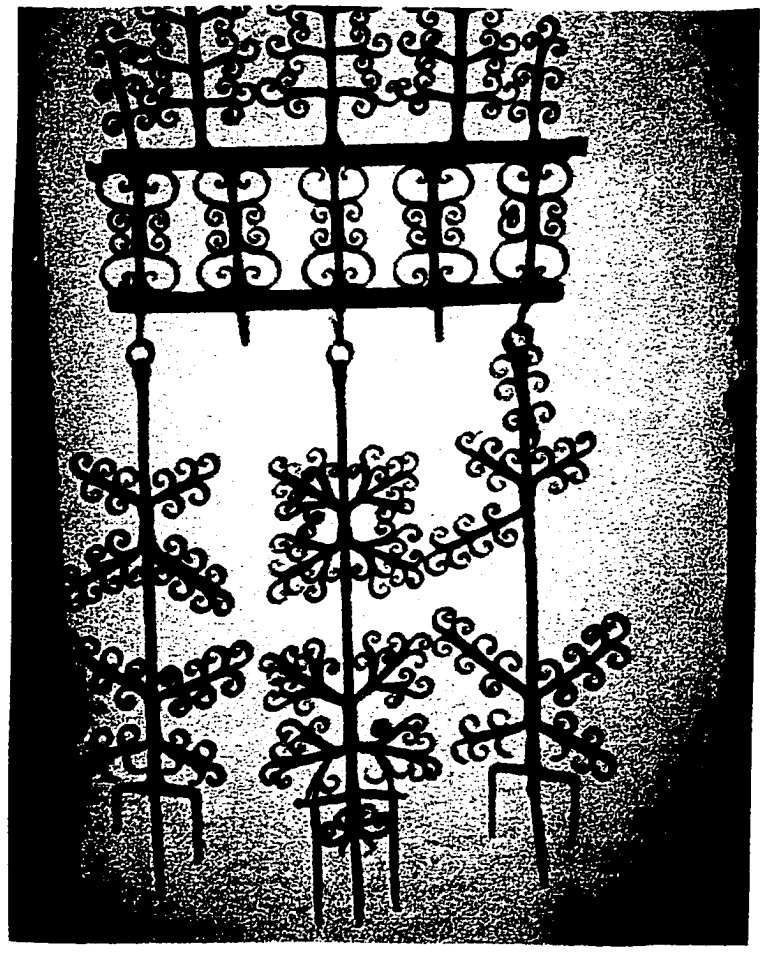


Figure 9. Flemish skewers. These instuments were commonly used during the eighteenth century throughout the mid-Hudson valley for cooking and possibly as decorative devices. The skewers shown were from the area, but not necessarily from New Paltz.

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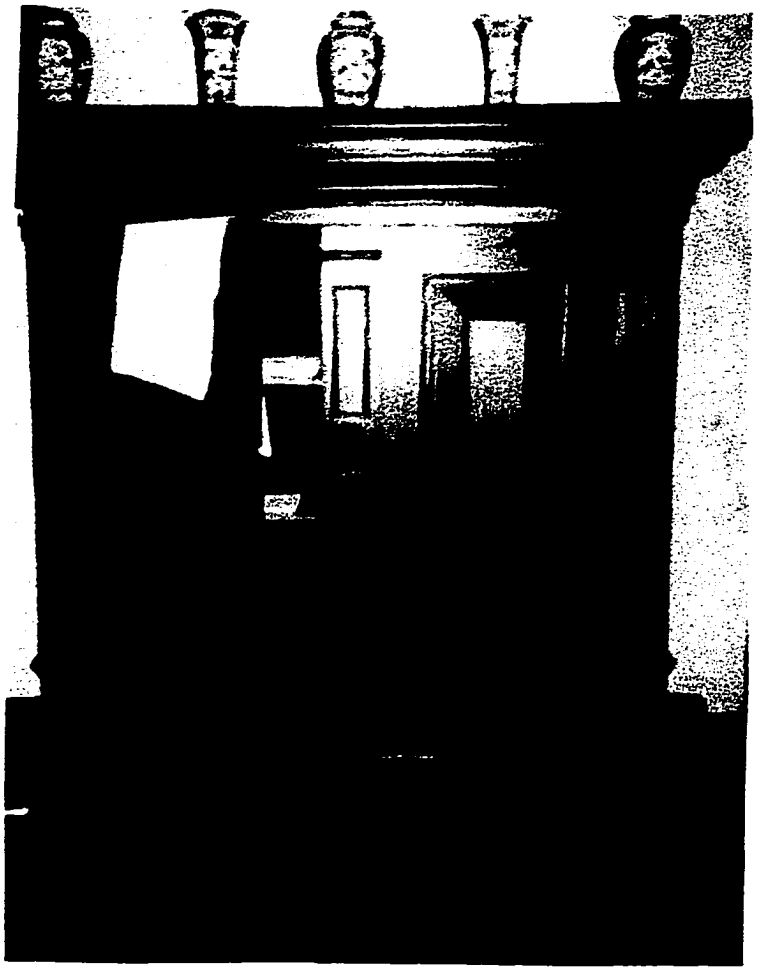


Figure 10. *Kas*, eighteenth century, Hudson Valley. The *kas* was used by Hudson Valley families to store linens. The blue and white china displayed on top is typical of the type of china used by middle class families in the area during the eighteenth century.

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Figure 11. Exterior, French church, New Paltz, 1972 reconstruction of 1717 original. Gravestones are original ones from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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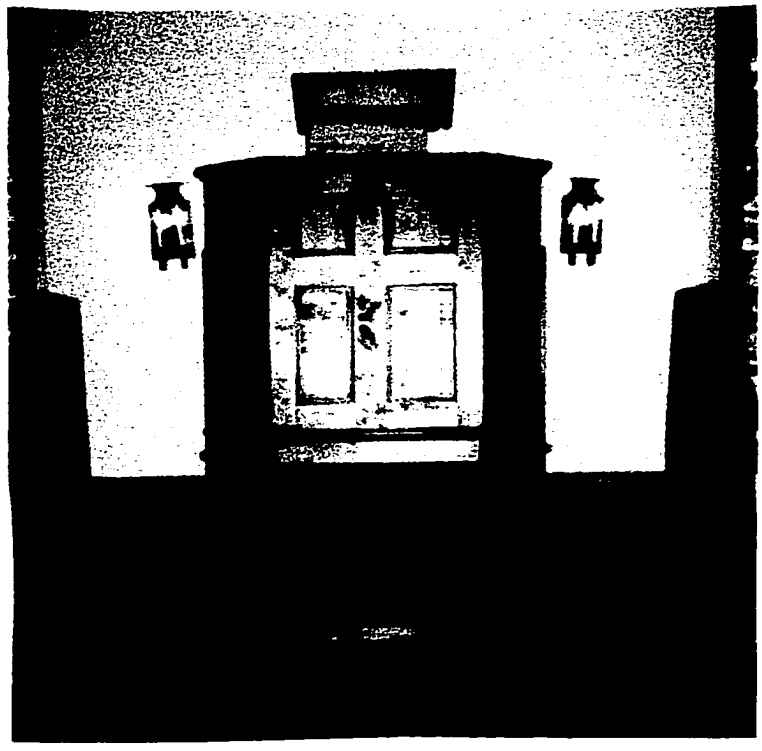


Figure 12. Pulpit in reconstructed French Church, New Paltz. The center aisle lies directly in front the pulpit. The pews do not face the pulpit, but rather face each other on both sides of the center aisle.

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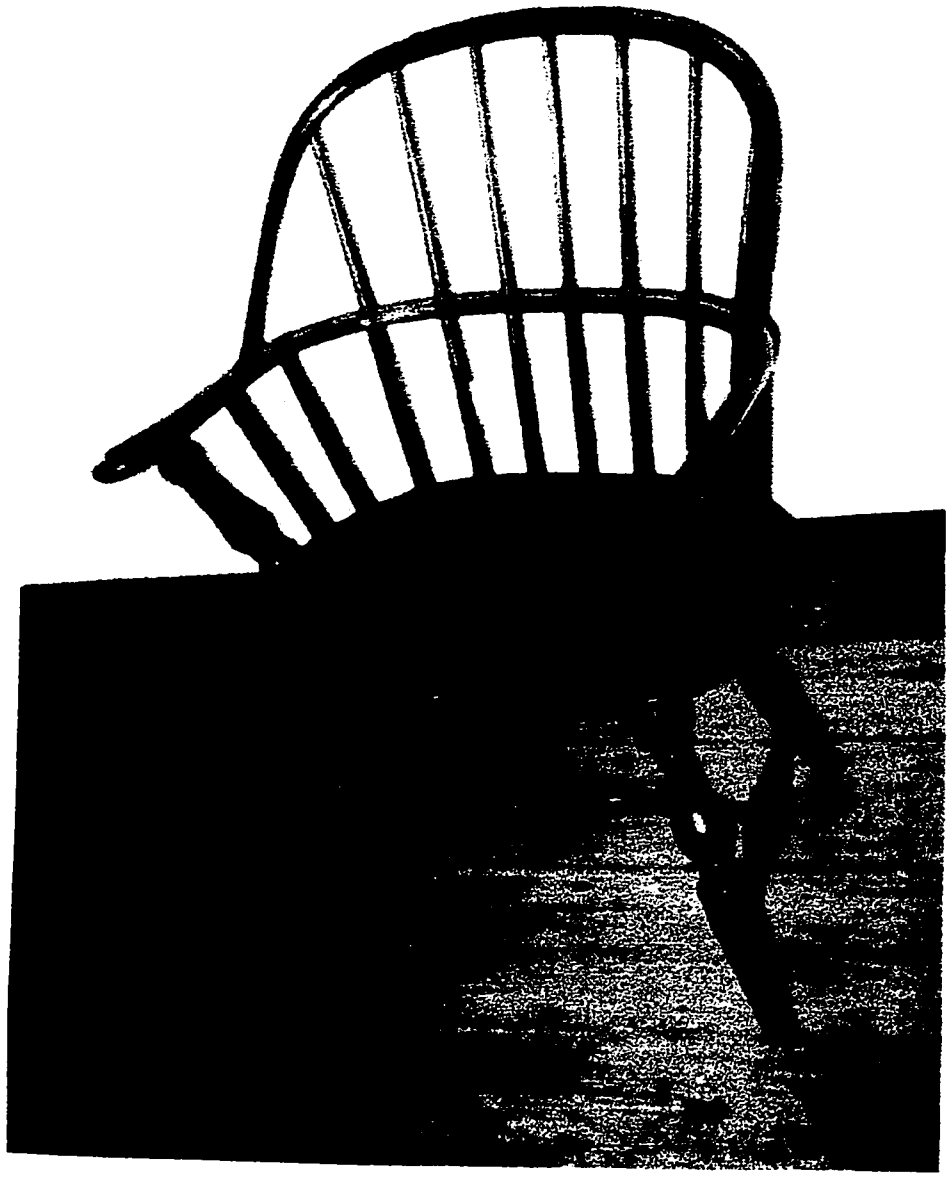


Figure 13. Chair produced by David Coutant in New Rochelle, ca. 1780's.

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BSHPF *Bulletin de la Soçiété de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*

DHM *de Halve Maen*

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NYH	*New York History*
PHSGBI	*Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
PHSL	*Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*
SCJ	*Sixteenth-Century Journal*
WMQ	*William and Mary Quarterly*

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