

BENEVOLENT PATRIOT: THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF HENRY RUTGERS—PART ONE: 1636–1776BY DAVID J. FOWLER
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From the steeple of the New Dutch Church on Nassau Street in New York, mid-18th-century viewers saw “a most beautiful prospect, both of the city beneath and the surrounding country.” Looking eastward, they would have seen a number of hills. One, about 80 feet in height, was at Corlear’s Hook, a distinctive feature of lower Manhattan Island that jutted into the East River. West of that point along the riverfront and extending inland was the choice, 100-acre parcel known as “the Rutgers Farm.” Situated in the Bowery Division of the city’s Out Ward, it was a sprawling tract that for decades maintained a rural character of hills, fields, gardens, woods, and marshes. In 1776, the young American officer and budding artist John Trumbull commented on the “beautiful high ground” that surrounded the Rutgers property.¹

In New York City, one was never very far from the water. Commerce—with Europe, the West Indies, and other colonies—drove the town’s economy. It was a gateway port that was also an entrepôt for the transshipment of goods into the adjoining hinterland. Merchants and sea captains garnered some profits illegally via “the Dutch trade” (i.e., smuggling) or, in contravention of customs regulations, via illicit trade with the enemy during wartime. Since the Rutgers Farm fronted on the East River, where the major port facilities were located, it was strategically situated to capitalize on maritime pursuits. The waterfront was the commercial lifeline of the city and the place where much social interaction took place. It bustled with the activity of seagoing and coasting vessels of all sizes, small harbor craft shuttling back and forth, fishermen and oystermen following their callings, and cartmen plying their trade in the streets. Many of the maritime district’s residents were employed in ancillary occupations such as ship chandler, cooper,

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View of the Rutgers Farm from Mount Pitt (Jones' Hill), originally engraved circa 1763

carpenter, joiner, sailmaker, and ropemaker. Shipyards were located immediately to the west of the Rutgers Farm.²

The riverfront was also a noisy, dirty, and unhealthy place. In 1745, a writer complained about the “most offensive abominable smell,” especially during summer, around the East River’s slips and wharfs, where refuse and ordure were dumped. Because of disruption, noise, and “Noisom Smells,” the town fathers had relegated most of the city’s manufacturing enterprises—tanneries, slaughterhouses, ropewalks—to the outskirts of the city. The “anonymous underworld” of the waterfront could be dangerous too: it attracted an itinerant population of sailors and laborers, and was also “a magnet for runaways, criminals, and lost souls, as well as for the footloose rogues and misfits who peopled the underbelly of eighteenth-century society.”³

In the northwestern corner of the Rutgers Farm, near the Jews’ Burying Ground, stood the original Rutgers farmhouse. The house was located across from a “tavrín” along the Bowery Road, which was the post road and the only road leading out of town at that

time. There, on October 7, 1745, the seventh child of Hendrick and Catharina Rutgers was born. He was baptized Hendrick on October 20 by Dominie Johannes Ritzema in the New Dutch Church. Ritzema, who had come to New York from the Netherlands only a year before, would have a long and sometimes rocky tenure in the Collegiate Dutch Church in New York. The New Church was built in 1729 on Nassau Street to accommodate the increasing Dutch congregation; it was a stone building 100 feet long by 70 feet wide with a vaulted ceiling without pillars. In 1757, the church was described as "a high, heavy edifice" with "a very extensive area" that "will perhaps contain a thousand or twelve hundred auditors." With typical Calvinist austerity, the church had "neither altar, vestry, choir, sconces, nor paintings." By the time of the younger Hendrick's birth, the church's steeple also had the only public clock in town. An indication of the Rutgers family's social prominence was their burial vaults in the churchyard.⁴

New World Origins: Beverwijck and New Amsterdam

The newborn Hendrick Rutgers' ancestors had been in the New World for more than 100 years. The progenitor of the American branch of the family, Rutger Jacobsz (Jacobse), had emigrated from the Netherlands in the fall of 1636 from the village of Schoenderwoerd in the province of South Holland. He arrived in April 1637 on the vessel *Rensselaerswijck* at the frontier fur-trading post of Fort Orange (later Albany). Jacobsz migrated during the height of the Dutch Republic's "Golden Age," which was characterized by "extensive economic growth and a rich cultural life." Rutger's motivation for immigrating is unknown. He was probably seeking better opportunities than at home, but in general, because of various restrictions imposed by the West India Company, New Netherland attracted comparatively few settlers. Many who did immigrate sought quick profits with the intention of returning home: they were "men in motion ... footloose, ambitious, and adventurous."⁵

Rutger Jacobsz initially worked under contract as a farmhand; eventually, he became a foreman on the patroonship of *Rensselaerswijck*. In 1646 he married in New Amsterdam Trijntje Janse from Bredsted (Bredstedt) in the duchy of Schleswig. After his term of service, "Rut" received a patent in 1652 for land on a kill north of the fort in the settlement known as Beverwijck (Beaver District). He was granted permission to build a waterwheel for a

small mill behind his house. For several years he and a partner also ran a brewery which, as in the old country, was usually an avenue to prosperity, because "besides bread, the other mainstay of life was beer." Jacobsz owned half of an island in the North (Hudson) River. He was also a trader who owned a sloop that transported cargo and passengers to New Amsterdam where, as early as 1649, he had purchased a house and lot. As a long-time resident of the area, Jacobsz occasionally served as an interpreter (*taelsmannen*) for the "Maquaes" (Mohawks). Upwardly mobile, his personal possessions eventually included a diamond ring, gold jewelry, silver tableware, books, and several "sitting cushions."⁶

Jacobz also served, at various times, as a magistrate, an elder in the church consistory, and a business agent for the West India Company. By 1656, "Rutger Jacobsen Commisaris" was so prominent that he not only laid the cornerstone of "the blockhouse church" (predecessor of the First Reformed Church), but also donated a window painted and glazed with his coat of arms. Apparently devised by himself, the coat of arms included items used in the brewing craft. Although he "rose by his honest industry from small beginnings," the winds of fortune proved mercurial: by the early 1660s he was "heavily indebted" to various traders. To satisfy his creditors, he had to sell his lots in Beverwijck and New Amsterdam, and also mortgage his vessel. In 1664—the year of the English conquest when New Netherland became New York and Beverwijck became Albany—Rutger Jacobsz died "in the midst of his financial crisis."⁷

Trijntje Jacobsz shouldered the burden of paying off her husband's debts; in 1667 she surrendered the few remaining goods "except some necessaries of life." Probably through the kindness of her brother-in-law Volkert Jansz Douw, however, part of the estate was saved for Rut's son, Harman Rutgersz.⁸ In the latter decades of the 17th century Harman plied the family occupation of brewer and, despite the sad fate of his father in his last years, managed to prosper. After the English conquest of New Netherland, Harman apparently dropped the Dutch custom of patronymic surnames and adopted Rutgers as the family name. During King William's War (1689–1697), the frontiers of New York and New England were threatened by attacks by Indian allies of the French. A field of Harman's barley was burned; as a result, in the early 1690s, he and his family joined hundreds of other residents of Albany in relocating to New York City. They migrated despite the fact that the town was still bitterly divided

following the uprising of Jacob Leisler which, in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution in England, sought to preserve New York for Protestantism and defend it against papists.⁹

By September 1697, Harman and his wife Catharina de Hooges formally joined the Reformed Church in the city. In September 1696, and again in February 1701, "Harmen Rutgerson Brewer" appeared on the "Roll of Freeman" in the city. In September of the latter year, he was listed among "Inhabitants who are Freeholders or Freeman" who voted for aldermen in the South Ward. The freemanship conveyed upon Rutgers the privileges not only of voting in elections, but also of practicing a trade in the city, holding office, and serving as a militia officer. By September 1710, he was elected an assessor in the South Ward. In March 1709/10, Harmanus Rutgers "of New York, brewer, being very ancient and weak in body but of sound memory," made out his will, which was proved in April 1711. He left his estate to his wife and to his three children, Anthony, Harmanus, and Elsje, all of whom had been born in Albany.¹⁰

Building on the solid foundation established by their father, both sons rose to prominence in the affairs of the Anglo-Dutch city. Because of their affluence, Rutgers men naturally achieved the coveted status of freeholder or freeman. As such, they were intimately involved in "the localist tendencies of public life." In one instance in September 1701, however, the younger Harmanus tried to prematurely exercise the franchise, and was listed among "Inhabitants under age by their own Confession" who voted illegally. In 1706 Harmanus married Catharina Meyer who, it was noted, "in her Charity to the Indigent ... was extensive almost to Profusion." Harmanus also began, in 1728, a series of shrewd purchases of land strategically situated along the East River that would prove portentous for his progeny. The next year he served on the board of deacons that oversaw the school run by the Old Dutch Church on Garden Street, which his grandson Hendrick would one day attend. An indication of Harmanus's prominence is that he was chosen in 1735 as a grand juror in the trial of John Peter Zenger "for printing and publishing two newspapers, which were called libels against our Governor and his administration." Referred to as "Captain Rutgers," he was also either a militia officer or a sea captain, or both.¹¹

Harmanus, as well as his brother Anthony, continued the occupation of brewer. Thus, they carried on a tradition started by

their grandfather, Rutger Jacobsz. Brewing required experience handed down through generations. The craft was also, along with landholding, the basis of the Rutgers family's wealth. Establishments varied in size from home-brewing to those that evidenced a substantial capital outlay. By the 1750s, the brewing establishment of Harmanus Rutgers on Maiden Lane in the East Ward included a dwelling house, brew house, malt house, storehouse, and ancillary buildings. The brewing complex of another family member covered 10 city lots; its brewing kettle had a capacity of 40 barrels (approximately 1440 gallons). Tools of the trade were "brewing kettles, vats, bags, dray wagons, casks and barrels." Workers included skilled whites, "negroes skilled in the brewing trade," and unskilled laborers. By the mid-18th century, both branches of the Rutgers family were solidly ensconced as brewers. Breweries were also prominent landmarks in real estate advertisements: the brewery (or breweries) at Maiden Lane were known locally as "Brewer's Hill." Because of their long tradition over four generations as brewers, the Rutgers family has been deemed "the first of the 'brewing families' in America."¹²

The city's breweries found a ready market: their proximity to the waterfront meant that there was no lack of customers. Social life on all levels in the city frequently revolved around consuming "seas of liquor": according to one traveler, "to drink stoutly ... is the readiest way for a stranger to recommend himself." By 1776, there were 268 retailers of liquor in the city, both licensed and unlicensed, including 40 women. Alcohol consumption, which needed little encouragement, was no doubt stimulated by the fact that the city had a reputation for the poor quality of its drinking water. In general, alcoholic beverages were, after textiles, the most popular and economically important consumer item in colonial America.¹³

The breweries supplied beer and cider "for exportation or home Consumption" in the bottle or barrel. They also offered pale, amber, or brown ale, as well as spruce beer and "ship beer." By touting "the Produce of America," local breweries no doubt undersold beer imported from England or Ireland, which in 1756 sold for 17 shillings per dozen bottles. They solicited quart bottles, and were consumers of "barrels, butts, pipes and other casks." By providing employment for glass-blowers and coopers, the breweries had a ripple effect throughout the local economy: in 1747, a merchant observed that the city's coopers were "Cheifly Employed Making ... Beer barrels by which they Make Most Money." Brewers also retailed yeast.¹⁴

When he died in 1753, Harmanus Rutgers was deemed "a very eminent Brewer ... and a worthy honest Man." Elizabeth Benson Rutgers, the wife of Harmanus's namesake son who had predeceased his father, inherited the brewery. The "widow Rutgers's brew house" was a prominent feature of the cityscape, and was destined to play a part in legal history. Other Rutgers women inherited, and probably managed, brewing operations: after Anthony Rutgers (Harmanus's brother) died in 1746, his wife Cornelia carried on the business. Dutch inheritance practices were, in general, more favorable to women than among the English.¹⁵

In 1712, Harmanus Rutgers' second son, Hendrick, was born. At age 13, he was apprenticed for seven years to his kinsman, Thomas Thong, a merchant. In 1734, both Hendrick and his older brother Harman were listed as "Shopkeepers." In 1737 Hendrick was appointed an ensign in the city militia, and the next year was promoted to lieutenant. During the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–1743), he and several other men owned a privateer, which was a private vessel authorized to prey on enemy shipping. Hendrick wed Catharina De Peyster (1711–1779) in Esopus (Kingston) in January 1732; Dominie Petrus Vas, who had married Hendrick's widowed Aunt Elsje, officiated. Catharina was the youngest daughter of Captain Johannes De Peyster of New York and Anna Bancker of Albany; their marriage linked two distinguished families in the province. Her father was prominent in the affairs of New York: he served on numerous committees in the city, was several times elected alderman, also served in the assembly and, in 1698, in the aftermath of the Leislerian upheaval, was appointed mayor by Lord Bellomont. Johannes died only two months after his daughter's birth. As a socially prominent young woman, Catharina sat for a portrait. She was also literate, which set her apart from many Dutch-American women.¹⁶

Although Hendrick Rutgers did not inherit the family brewery when his father died, he did inherit the valuable property along the East River. Shortly after acquiring his portion of the Rutgers Farm in 1753, he constructed a larger house "with bricks brought from Holland," which were probably transported as ballast. This house formed the basis of the later Rutgers Mansion, which commanded panoramic views: "from nearly all the windows could be seen the East River, New York Bay, and Staten Island." In November 1755 the new house was damaged by "a very smart Concussion of the Earth," an earthquake that was also felt in Philadelphia and Boston. By at

least 1757, when it is depicted on a contemporary map, Hendrick had also built his own brew house in the Out Ward. In October 1764 he advertised "the highest price paid for good Winter Barley." Over time improvements were made to the property which, by the 1770s, consisted of 12 buildings on 80 acres, including the old farmhouse on Bowery Lane, the new mansion, a brew house, a malt house, a mill, related buildings, and a "flourishing" orchard. The Rutgers brewery was strategically situated near the bustling waterfront: several retailers of liquor were located in close proximity at the shipyards, on Bowery Lane, and at Corlear's Hook. And like his father before him, Hendrick Sr. exploited slave labor at his brewery.¹⁷

Although brewing was the basis of the fortunes of various branches of the Rutgers family, it was not the only source of wealth. In colonial America, land was the basis of wealth. Within two years after acquiring the East River farm, Hendrick Rutgers had the foresight to lay out the property in lots, which was a shrewd economic move that both facilitated division among the heirs and anticipated future development; the property was subsequently surveyed several more times. By 1764 when his parents gave 18-year-old Hendrick Jr. several lots, the farm had been subdivided into at least 600 numbered parcels. In 1772 the city's Common Council, which owned rights to "land under water," granted water lots to Hendrick Sr., which further increased the value of the property. By the time his heirs inherited the property, it had become one of the most potentially valuable tracts in the city. Other nearby landowners had similar development plans. The Rutgers family's neighbor James De Lancey, whose father Lieutenant Governor James De Lancey had purchased 300 acres across Division Street in 1741, had an ambitious strategy for the development of his property into a fashionable neighborhood. In 1762 the vestry of Trinity Church, in contrast, mapped their "Church Farm" into lots that were leased at affordable rates to artisans.¹⁸

The Rutgers Farm maintained its bucolic character for decades. Houses for sale near the farm were "pleasantly situated along the East River." Stray cattle were rounded up, and horses were "strayed or stolen." But sometimes, gruesome and tragic incidents happened: in August 1760 the body of a woman "very much disfigured, and the Flesh off in several Places" was discovered in a barn; a coroner's inquest determined that she was "a lewd Woman" who went into the barn and died there weeks before she was discovered. Her fate

se Presents shall come Hendrick Rutgers of the City of New York Brewer and Catharine his wife Send Greeting —
 Hendrick Rutgers and Catharine his wife that is to say the said Hendrick Rutgers being therunto moved by the natural Love and Affection
 into his Daughter Elizabeth wife to Gerard De Peyster of the said City Merchant and the said Catharine Rutgers therunto moved by like cause will
 that his Intention may be fully known and also for and In consideration of the sum of five Shilling Law full in one of New York to them the said
 the wife in hand paid by the said Elizabeth De Peyster at or before the executing and delivery of these presents the Receipt whereof they do
 given granted bargained sold enfeoffed and confirmed and by these presents do fully truly and Absolutely give grant bargain sell
 said Elizabeth De Peyster wife to the said Gerard De Peyster and her heirs and Assigns for ever All those four certain Lots pieces or parcels
 being on the Outward of the City of New York being part and parcel of that part of the Farm of the said Hendrick Rutgers which is said out
 and distinguished in a certain Map or Chart made of these Lots by Francis Van Schaalk and bearing Date the Sixteenth Day of July one
 and fifty five by Lots numbers five hundred and two five hundred and three four hundred and ninety two and five hundred and four being
 five hundred and two and five hundred and three lying contiguous and adjoining to each other bounded Southerly on front by Lombard Street Westly on the side
 done Northly on the rear by Lot N^o 400 and 401 and Eastly on the other side by the rear of Lot number five hundred and four five hundred and five five
 hundred and seven containing on Breadth on front and rear fifty feet and on length on each side one hundred and eight feet Lot number four hundred and
 eight on front by Lombard Street Westly by Lot number five hundred and ninety one Northly on the rear by Lot number four hundred and seventy
 or four hundred and ninety three belonging to Hendrick Rutgers containing on Breadth on front and rear twenty five feet and on length on each side
 one hundred and three and Northly by Lot number five hundred and four belonging to Catharine Below with to William Buelow of the City of New York
 on front and rear twenty five feet and on length on each side one hundred and eight feet together with all and singular the ways paths passages
 to the premises and advantages and appurtenances to the same belonging or in anywise appertaining and also all the Estate Right Title right
 interest Power and Claim and action at Law or Equity of them the said Hendrick Rutgers and Catharine his wife or either of them upon or to the said Lots
 five hundred and three four hundred and ninety two and five hundred and five or any part or parcel thereof with the appurtenances I have
 the last before mentioned and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtenances unto the said Elizabeth De Peyster wife to Gerard De Peyster
 only proper use benefit and behoof of her the said Elizabeth De Peyster her heirs and Assigns for ever In Witness whereof they the said Hendrick
 Rutgers hereto set their hands and Seals the Nineteenth Day of June — in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Seventy Two

Catharina Rutgers
 Hendrick Rutgers

Deed of
 gift from
 Hendrick Sr.
 and Catharina
 Rutgers to
 daughter
 Elizabeth De
 Peyster, June
 19, 1772

was a sad testimony to the status of marginal members of society. In 1762 "some ill minded person" shot a mare on the farm.¹⁹

Other Rutgers family members achieved success in other ways. One of the more successful was the sea captain, Anthony Rutgers. He not only made coasting voyages to destinations such as South Carolina, but also ventured to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Honduras, and ports in England. Captain Rutgers went into partnership with the merchant Jacob Le Roy, a Huguenot originally from Amsterdam who married one of Anthony's sisters and then, after her death, married another sister. After the partnership expired in January 1769, Rutgers carried on "the ropewalk Business ... as usual," and offered "choice Cordage of different Sizes" at his store in Maiden Lane. Successful gentlemen such as Anthony Rutgers could also supplement their incomes by breeding horses and winning purses at races held at Powles Hook in East Jersey.²⁰

During the Seven Years' War (known as the French and Indian War in North America), Anthony Rutgers was captain of a privateer. The *Boscawen*, a 16-gun vessel he sometimes commanded, captured prizes worth more than £18,000 during the war; he also captained the vessel *King George* for a kinsman. One capture in 1758 was a vessel of 270 tons with a valuable cargo of sugar, coffee, and indigo. Even taking into account that profits were shared among owners, captains, and crews, privateering ventures could be *very* lucrative. Another family member, Robert Rutgers, sought profits by illegal means: during the mid-1750s, he avoided customs duties by landing smuggled Dutch tea at inlets along Long Island Sound.²¹

Henry's World: New York City, 1740–1775

In the year of Hendrick Jr.'s birth, the British empire was again at war with its traditional foe, France. During King George's War (1744–1748), the city was abuzz with the activities of dozens of privateers. Fueled by rumors of French and Indian invasions, a palisade with blockhouses and four gates was constructed in 1745 across the lower part of Manhattan Island from the East River to the Hudson. The Anglican evangelical Reverend George Whitefield caused another kind of upheaval when he preached in the city that year: his sermons were so popular "that the People themselves were Astonished to see so vast an Audience." Whitefield has been described as "the most visible awakener of the Great Awakening in America," that large-scale religious revival that influenced denominations for a decade and reverberated far longer.²²

During the mid-18th century, New York City “combined elements of a polyglot and cosmopolitan seaport, a military base, and a raw frontier town.” The colonial port on the periphery of a global empire contained approximately 12,000 people. It was a relatively compact triangular space comprising perhaps 6,000 yards on each side and 4,000 yards across the northern apex. It was indeed a “face-to-face society” where most people knew one another. Business was conducted in coffeehouses, taverns, public markets, or in the streets. Visitors to the city at this time commented on the “very fine appearance” of its winding tree-lined streets, which “seemed quite like a garden.”²³

Many of the residences were “after the Dutch modell with their gavell [gable] ends fronting the street.” The roofs of many houses were covered with tiles, and also had balustrades where residents would sit on summer evenings. Despite the pervasive influence of its Dutch heritage, the increasing anglicization of society eroded Dutch language and culture. Contemporaries noted the declension in the use of the Dutch tongue. In 1744 a Scottish physician commented: “now their language and customs begin pretty much to wear out, and would very soon die were it not for a parcel of Dutch domines here, who, in the education of their children, endeavor to preserve the Dutch customs as much as possible.” A few years later a Swedish botanist noted:

[T]he inhabitants, both of the town and of the province belonging to it, are yet for the greatest part *Dutchmen*; who still, especially the old people, speak their mother tongue. They begin, however, by degrees, to change their manners and opinions; chiefly indeed in the town and in its neighborhood; for most of the young people now speak principally *English*, and go only to the *English* [i.e., Anglican] church; and would even take it amiss if they were called *Dutchmen* and not *Englishmen*.²⁴

Nothing is known of Hendrick Rutgers Jr.’s upbringing, but it probably differed little from other urban gentry of the time. What is more certain is that he grew up in a nuclear family that included, in addition to his parents, three older sisters (Catharine, Anna, and Elisabeth), a younger sister (Mary), and a younger brother (Harmanus). (Typical of the time, several siblings had died in infancy.) It was apparently a nurturing environment: Hendrick

considered his father "an Affectionate and indulgent Parent." There was also a much larger extended kinship network: the Rutgers family was part of the "bewildering web of marriages" characteristic of colonial gentry. In addition to his mother's De Peyster family, the Rutgerses were connected by matrimony to several other leading families of provincial New York, such as Bancker, Bedlow, Beekman, Benson, Clarkson, Gouverneur, Le Roy, and Philipse. One observer quipped that among the Dutch "Cousins in the fifteenth degree are looked upon as nearly related." Intermarriage among the elite thus resulted in "incredibly tangled webs of kinship."²⁵ Family ties, if not always family harmony, would remain central throughout Henry Rutgers' long life.

In the decade after Hendrick Jr.'s birth, the cohort of school-age white children in the city comprised about 35 percent of the total population. Around age seven, his parents most likely enrolled him in the school established by the consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church, where the basics—reading, writing, ciphering—were taught. Heavy emphasis was also placed on learning catechism, prayers, and psalms; schoolmasters often doubled as choirmasters. His first teacher was probably Daniel Brat, who was replaced in 1755 by John Nicholas Welp. The school was open to all children, boys and girls. Students attended from 8:30 or so in the morning until 4:00 in the afternoon, with a long break for dinner. School was in session year round, but several holidays were observed. In 1748 a schoolhouse was built on a lot in Garden Street, directly across from the Old Dutch Church. Hendrick Jr. must have been a good student, because his parents decided to send him to college, which was exceptional for the time. In preparation for college, he may have embarked upon self-study, but was likely also tutored in Greek and Latin, possibly by Domine Ritzema, who had baptized him and owned a substantial library by colonial standards.²⁶

Growing up, young Hendrick was no doubt instructed by his father in the management of the farm, as well as in the "art and mystery" of the brewer's craft. He apparently learned his lesson well: as an octogenarian, Henry Rutgers still felt that beer and porter were "nourishing fluids, which will not injure any man." By emulation and by training, he would have also learned to manage workmen, servants, and slaves, several of whom worked at the brewery, as farmhands, and as domestics. At some point, either formally or informally, he acquired a proficiency in surveying, as well as a practical knowledge of architecture and construction, which would serve him well in the future.²⁷

As a gateway port, New York City was a mosaic of ethnicities, cultures, and religions. Heterogeneity did not always breed tolerance, however. In 1712, an uprising among African slaves resulted in 21 of them being executed. Shortly before Hendrick's birth, the ugly side of urban society was again laid bare in the 1741 "Negro plot." Four years prior to the insurrection, there were 1,709 slaves in New York City and County out of a total population of 10,666. The alleged uprising was a strange mixture of slave discontent, white paranoia fueled by a robbery and mysterious fires set in the city, economic malaise, fears of poisoned water and of a Spanish invasion, anti-Catholic sentiment, and the failure of the judicial system.²⁸

The incidence of slave-owning in New York and New Jersey was, in general, higher among the Dutch than among other ethnic groups. Slaves were one of the most valuable forms of property, and the Dutch were hesitant to free them. In general, the Dutch Reformed Church was "not unusually enlightened" about slave owning: slaves were to be treated humanely by their masters, catechized and perhaps baptized, but not normally manumitted even if they converted to Christianity. Not surprisingly, few slaves became members of New York City's Dutch Reformed congregations. A treatise published in the Netherlands in 1742 argued that slavery was not contrary to Christian ethics but was instead a means "to civilize the Negroes." With few exceptions, Dutch religious leaders in the colonies tended to follow the lead of the *moederkerk* on this issue. Even some ministers owned slaves.²⁹ Thus, the Dutch Reformed Church was one more institution in colonial American society that tolerated, rationalized, and legitimized the system of slavery.

Three of Hendrick Jr.'s grandfather Harmanus's slaves—Quash, Galloway, and Jacob—were implicated in the 1741 plot. One slave was allegedly enticed to join the plot when he went to the Rutgers brewery for yeast. Another, Quash (an Akan tribal name), was targeted as a ringleader who was supposed to procure firearms. The court upbraided Quash for his "ingratitude" toward his master, Harmanus Rutgers: "you have ... had a very indulgent master, who has put great trust and confidence in you, it may be presumed, from your having better sense than the rest of his negroes; how vilely then have you abused his indulgence!" The court then sentenced Quash to be "chained to a stake, and burnt to death." The execution was carried out on the outskirts of town. Zenger's newspaper

reported that Quash and another condemned slave “died hardned, professing innocency to the last.” The gruesome spectacle made a lasting impression on four-year-old David Grim, who witnessed it: in 1813 he made from memory a detailed map of the city in the early 1740s that noted “Plot Negro burnt here.”³⁰

The slave Galloway was allegedly “very talkative and active about the Plot, and said he would lend a brave hand, and would take care of his Master, and soon make him Breeches.” He pleaded not guilty, but was found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. The slave Jacob, who pleaded guilty and was seen as less culpable, was transported out of the colony to the Dutch island of Curaçao, where the conditions of bondage were more onerous.³¹ The New York “Negro plot” of 1741, during which 30 blacks and four whites were executed, is analogous in many ways to the mass hysteria surrounding the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692.

Among the four whites executed were John Hughson and his wife Sarah. Hughson, a man of low social status, was a central figure in the alleged slave uprising who kept a tavern on the outskirts of town where slaves, sailors, and others of “the lower sort” congregated. He was accused of inciting the blacks and also of receiving stolen goods. Both he and his wife pleaded not guilty, but both were found guilty and hanged. As a gruesome warning to others, John Hughson’s body was gibbeted—left exposed to the elements, alongside an executed slave. According to one source, Hughson was gibbeted near the Collect Pond. But in 1813 when eyewitness David Grim made his remarkable retrospective map of the city in the early 1740s, he noted a location on the southwestern edge of the Rutgers property as where “[Plot] Hughson Gibbeted.” Furthermore, three Rutgers family legal documents in the 1760s, two of which involved Hendrick Rutgers Jr., mention the place name “Hughson’s Point” on the Rutgers property, which corresponds with the Grim map. Since the Hughson family lacked social prominence, it is very unlikely that prior to the plot a location in the Out Ward would be named in recognition of them.³² Perhaps Hughson’s body was originally gibbeted at the Collect Pond, and then moved to the East River shoreline of the Rutgers farm where it could be viewed by scores of passing vessels.

One wonders how Harmanus Rutgers, who was reputedly an “indulgent” master, reacted subsequently to the fact that three of his slaves were implicated in the “plot.” He, along with many other slave owners, also suffered a substantial loss of valuable chattel, for

which they were not reimbursed. He continued to use slaves at his brewery and in his household, but likely with stricter supervision. But "compassion" was still exercised toward some slaves: according to Harmanus's 1750 will, Isabel was given "the liberty of choosing her master," and the executors were enjoined to provide a "comfortable living" for superannuated Jane, "and not suffer her to be abused or want." Other unnamed slaves were doled out among the heirs.³³ Ironically, if it were not for their alleged involvement in the 1741 insurrection, Quash, Galloway, and Jacob would most likely have remained anonymous in the record.

In August 1753, when Hendrick Jr. was nearly eight years old, his grandfather Harmanus died. Harmanus's son Hendrick carried on the family and the cultural practice of slave ownership. As stipulated in his father's will, the executor gave Hendrick Sr. the option to purchase slaves who worked in the brew house for a payment of £35 each, a substantial sum. In May 1760, "Hendrick Rutgers, Brewer" advertised for the return of a "Mulatto Wench named Sarah (Alias Jenny)," who it was rumored had "gone off with a white Man, towards the Southward." The adolescent Hendrick Rutgers Jr. no doubt knew "Sarah alias Jenny," and later knew "Belinda and her sons" who in 1775 were mentioned in his father's will.³⁴ As in the case of his grandfather's slaves in 1741, the flight of his father's slave in 1760 probably rescued her from historical oblivion. Hendrick was old enough to have remembered and been influenced by his grandfather, and may have heard stories about the slave uprising.

By the fourth decade of the 18th century, the Dutch Reformed Church, which had formerly predominated in both the province and the city, faced several serious challenges. One was presented by the Great Awakening, a broad evangelical movement that appealed to people who yearned for a more personal and emotional spiritual experience than the formalistic orthodoxy characteristic of the Reformed Church. Conversely, some who were appalled by the excesses of the evangelicals tended to gravitate to the stability of the Anglican Church whose members, though not as numerous, exercised an influence beyond their numbers. There was a definite correlation between social prominence, upward mobility, and membership in the established church.³⁵ Overall, since the English conquest in 1664, the Dutch had to accommodate to a social, commercial, and legal system dominated by the victors.

One manifestation of the process of accommodation was the controversy within the Dutch Reformed Church over preaching in English. Around the time of Hendrick Rutgers Jr.'s birth, the issue, which had been simmering for decades, came to a head. With a growing and diverse population in the city, the Reformed Church was in a competitive marketplace among a dozen or more denominations and sects that were vying for members which, in crass terms, translated into contributions and bequests for the respective churches. The Reformed Church became a "nursery" for other denominations in the sense that children who were reared in it defected over the language issue. Reformed congregations tended to divide into an "English party" and a "Dutch party." In general, the elite and the younger members of congregations tended to favor preaching, prayers, and singing in English, while artisans, laborers, and their wives were adamant in preserving the more traditional practices.³⁶

In 1754 William Livingston, a scion of one of the most prominent families in the province who was raised in the Dutch Reformed Church, wrote:

In all the british colonies, as the knowledge of the English tongue must necessarily endure ... so every foreign language ... must, at length, be neglected and forgotten. Thus it is with the dutch tongue, which, tho once the common dialect of this province, is now scarcely understood, except by its more ancient inhabitants.

Even though he could read Dutch, Livingston ultimately transferred to the Presbyterian Church over the matter of understanding sermons and prayers in the Dutch language. William Smith Jr., the author of the first history of the province of New York published in 1757, wrote concerning the Dutch churches in New York City: "The Dutch congregation is here more numerous than any other, but as the language becomes disused, it is much diminished; and unless they change their worship into the English tongue, must soon suffer a total dissipation."³⁷ We do not know what language was favored in the Rutgers household, but family members were no doubt bilingual, or spoke a "Yankee-Dutch" patois.

Petitions from both pro- and anti-English-language factions were submitted to the Classis of Amsterdam in the Netherlands, which exercised governance over churches in the Middle colonies.

The classis recognized the importance of the issue to the survival of the colonial congregations: in 1762 it authorized the hiring of a minister to preach in English. The next year Archibald Laidlie was recommended for the position. Laidlie was a Scot who was educated at the University of Edinburgh. Apparently unable to find a calling in his homeland, in 1759 he accepted a call to the Scots church at Vlissingen (Flushing) in the Netherlands, where he also became conversant in Dutch. Much awaited by some, but still strongly opposed by others, the 37-year old Scot arrived in New York on March 29, 1764. In anticipation of the crowds he would draw, the consistory had renovated the New Dutch Church to include galleries and altered the original floor plan. Most likely Henry Rutgers was among the "prodigious crowded Auditory" that attended Reverend Laidlie's inaugural sermon on April 15. Based on later evidence, Rutgers undoubtedly favored preaching in English.³⁸

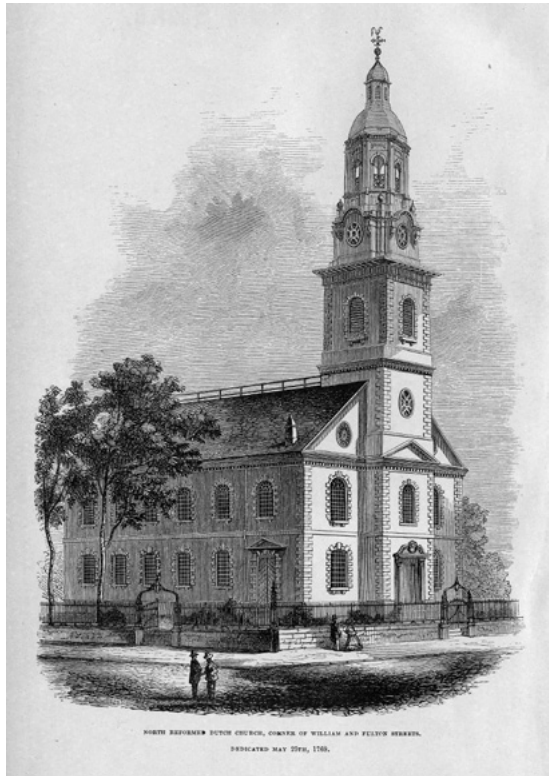
The leadership of the "English party" naturally devolved upon Reverend Laidlie, but he was astute enough to avoid taking sides in a lengthy dispute over church governance between the Coetus and Conferentie factions (discussed below) that preceded his arrival. He was adept at cultivating influential people in his congregation, perhaps to the point of being opportunistic. In 1766 he married a Rutgers cousin, whose dowry, together with his own generous salary of £300, enabled him to live genteelly; their household also included several blacks, at least one of whom was a slave. A cynical commentator later alleged that Laidlie's call to New York was "a scheme laid and carried into execution ... in hopes of not only converting the Dutch Churches into presbyterian conventicles, but in time, of getting possession of those revenues which ... amounted to a very considerable annual sum." Laidlie's success and popularity as a preacher excited the jealousy of the two other Dutch Reformed clergymen in New York, Johannes Ritzema and especially Lambertus De Ronde.³⁹

Laidlie sparked an awakening in the Reformed Church in New York. He was charismatic and particularly popular among young people, women, and "assimilated Dutch New Yorkers." His "evangelical style of preaching" even drew listeners from other denominations, thus reversing the trend that had hemorrhaged members from the Reformed Church. His position was strong enough that he could introduce unorthodox innovations in worship. He catechized and set up small devotional meetings for different groups. Since it was later alleged that Laidlie's "ministry

and conversation" were "chiefly instrumental" in Henry Rutgers' "early religious exercises," he may well have participated in one of these devotional groups.⁴⁰ Rutgers' renowned piety in later years was probably a combination of habits instilled at home and his schooling, reinforced by people such as Archibald Laidlie.

So successful was Reverend Laidlie that in 1767 the cornerstone of a new church, intended solely for services and preaching in English, was laid at the corner of William and Fulton streets. Built in the neoclassical style of the architect Christopher Wren, the North Dutch Church was opened in May 1769 by Laidlie "with a Suitable Discourse to a very crowded audience." In attendance at the dedication were Governor Henry Moore and, most likely, Henry Rutgers. That same year, another young clergyman—John H. Livingston—was hired to assist Laidlie to minister in English to the needs of the new congregation. A native-born graduate of Yale who, at the urging of Laidlie, had studied theology at the University of Utrecht, Livingston would become very influential in the affairs of the Reformed Church.⁴¹

By the mid-1750s a serious schism developed within the Dutch Reformed congregations, which intersected at certain points with the language controversy. For years prior to the rift, some ministers had agitated for more independence for the American churches from the Classis of Amsterdam, particularly over the issue of examining



North Dutch Church, from *Proceedings at the Centennial Anniversary of the Dedication of the North Dutch Church* (1869)

and ordaining ministers. The Coetus faction, as it became known, was generally more progressive and evangelical, while the more conservative and traditional Conferentie faction favored remaining subordinate to the Classis of Amsterdam. Dominie Johannes Ritzema, who was a leader of the latter faction, entered the polemical lists by authoring several pamphlets in support or defense of the cause. The rift between Coetus and Conferentie, which lasted nearly 18 years and produced much bitterness, was finally reconciled in 1772 when the "Articles of Union" were ratified by the two sides.⁴² The opinion of Hendrick Rutgers Sr. and his wife regarding the language controversy and the schism is not known—their names do not appear in various contemporary petitions and consistory records, which may indicate that they held themselves aloof.

"To Instruct and Perfect the Youth": College Days, 1763–1766

In 1763, British colonials were celebrating the recent victory over the French in the Seven Years' War, in which they had played an important part. Perhaps influenced by the general anglicizing trend in New York society, when Hendrick Rutgers Jr. entered King's College that year he had become "Henry" Rutgers. He may also have been asserting a certain degree of personal independence—one wonders about his parents' opinion of the change. Henry was exceptional for his time in that he attended college. Since it has been estimated that only one family in 10 could even afford to send their sons to college, his father was obviously a successful brewer. Hendrick Sr. could expect an outlay for tuition of £20 over four years at King's College, the most expensive of any colonial college; including related fees, the total cost could well be over £200. In 1763, the year Henry was admitted, the board of governors also established room rent at £4 per annum.⁴³

Henry Rutgers Jr. had been preceded as a student at King's College by three of his kinsmen: Anthony Rutgers, who did not graduate but instead "Went to Business in his 3rd year"; Abraham De Peyster, who "After 3 years went to nothing"; and another Abraham De Peyster, who was awarded a bachelor's degree the year Henry entered and was contemporaneous with him as a master's candidate. They most likely filled him in about what to expect from the college experience. In keeping with the elitist nature of the college at New York, among Henry's classmates were the nephew of the rector of Trinity Church, the grandson of the lieutenant

governor of the province of New York, and a son of a member of the governor's council. Like Henry, most of the student body came from nearby.⁴⁴ How the son of a successful brewer fit in with this exclusive club is open to conjecture. Although affluent and respectable, the Rutgers family did not have the pedigree of some of Henry's classmates.

The college that Henry's father chose seems, for several reasons, a strange fit. For one, it was born in controversy. Suggestions for a college for the colony of New York went back to the early part of the century. The real impetus, however, was the founding in 1746 of the College of New Jersey at Princeton. A child of the Great Awakening, one of the Presbyterian college's important functions was to graduate "New Side" clergymen. Anglicans, who exerted an economic and social influence beyond their numbers, consequently felt compelled to establish their own college to thwart the "fountain of nonsense" emanating from the rival college, and also as a Tory bulwark in the colonies for the royal prerogative and the established church. The same year that the college at Princeton was established, New York's governor, council, and assembly authorized a lottery for founding a similar institution in their colony. Increasingly, an anglicization and cosmopolitanization of provincial society was underway. In 1752, moreover, Trinity Church in New York City made an offer of land for the prospective college, and later added a condition that the college's president always be an Anglican.⁴⁵

These developments alarmed Presbyterians and other Dissenters, who supported a nondenominational college that would be chartered by the colony's legislature, not the Crown. William Livingston, William Smith Jr., and John Morin Scott—dubbed the "Triumvirate," or the "Reflectors"—led opposition to the idea of a denominational college. They envisioned a nonsectarian college for the multidenominational and ethnically heterogeneous colony. Also lurking in the background was the fear of "ecclesiastic tyranny" related to the possible appointment of an American bishop for the colonies. Through the vehicle of a series of essays in the *Independent Reflector*, the Triumvirate (all Yale graduates) argued their case forcefully and adroitly.⁴⁶

The Anglicans had their apologists as well, such as Reverend Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, a homegrown intellectual who was educated at Congregationalist Yale College, but defected and was instead ordained in the Church of England. Ultimately,

the Reflectors' efforts were to no avail. By means of a legislative alliance with an increasingly anglicized Dutch segment of society, and a deal that promised the latter a professorship of theology in the new college, lottery funds were finally freed up and the institution named in honor of the British monarch was founded. Appropriately, the board of governors appointed Samuel Johnson the first president.⁴⁷ But the implications of the battle over the founding of the college reverberated for decades to come.

In June 1754, Reverend Johnson placed an advertisement in the *New-York Gazette* announcing the opening of the new college. Addressed "To such Parents as have now (or expect to have) Children prepared to be educated in the College of New-York," he sought to assuage the fears of non-Anglicans that had been aroused during the founding controversy. It stated: "as to Religion, there is no Intention to impose on the Schollars, the peculiar Tenets of any particular Sect of Christians; but to inculcate upon their tender Minds, the great Principles of Christianity and Morality, in which true Christians of each denomination are generally agreed." He proposed that the required daily prayers in the college "be in the best Manner expressive of our common Christianity." The ad went on to lay out an ambitious curriculum:

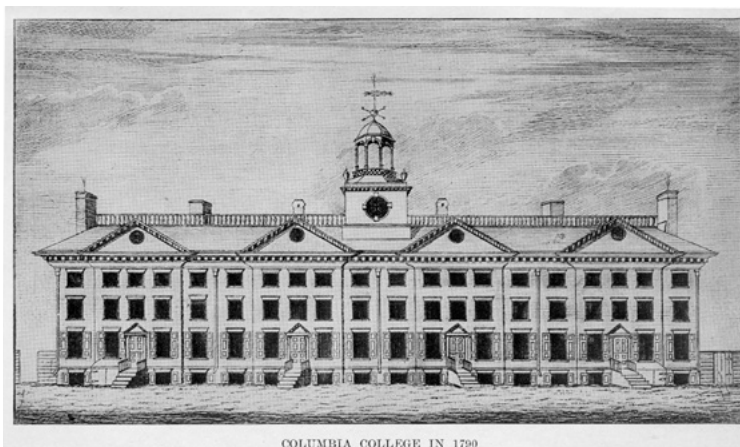
[T]o instruct and perfect the youth in the learned Languages, and in the Arts of *reasoning* exactly, of *writing* correctly, and *speaking* eloquently; and in the Arts of *numbering* and *measuring*; of *Surveying* and *Navigation* of *Geography* and *History*, of *Husbandry*, *Commerce* and *Government*, and in the Knowledge of *all Nature* in the *Heavens* above us, and the *Air*, *Water* and *Earth* around us, and the various kinds of *Meteors*, *Stones*, *Mines* and *Minerals*, *Plants* and *Animals*, and of *Every Thing useful* for the *Comfort*, the *Convenience* and *elegance* of *Life*, in the chief *Manufactures* relating to any of these Things⁴⁸

By the time he retired in 1762, Dr. Johnson had realized only some of these lofty goals.

Myles Cooper, only 25 when he formally succeeded Johnson as president in March 1763, envisioned King's as the first American university, modeled on his alma mater, Queen's College, Oxford. With the new president came a new set of college statutes. The statutes of 1763, which were enacted the year Henry Rutgers entered

King's College, required prospective candidates to give a "rational" account of both Latin and Greek grammar, to translate standard classical Latin texts into English, to translate the gospel from Greek into Latin, and be able to translate English into Latin and vice versa. If admitted, the student would copy and sign the foregoing statutes, "thereto promising all due obedience," which was then countersigned by the president.⁴⁹ The fact that Henry Jr. passed the admission interview, which was conducted by Reverend Cooper, strongly indicates that he had undergone some formal preparation.

Mimicking an Oxonian model, students were now required to lodge at College Hall, which had been completed in 1760. Enrollees were also to obtain "a proper academical habit, in which he shall always appear." During Henry's attendance, the college grounds were enclosed by an eight-foot-high fence "with Nails at the top," a "conductor" (i.e., lightning rod) was installed on the cupola of College Hall, and a part-time librarian was appointed. Women (except a cook) were banned from the college. The school year ran from June until commencement the following May. Vacations were one month following commencement, two weeks both at Michaelmas (September 29) and at Christmas, and two days at



COLUMBIA COLLEGE IN 1790

College Hall at King's College (later Columbia College). From *New-York Magazine*, May 1790.

Whitsunday (Pentecost). During Easter week, students were given a vacation from public exercises, but not from attendance at college.⁵⁰

The statutes stipulated that parents give a bond to the college corporation to pay all the student's dues, as well as make good

any damages incurred "to his or any other apartment in college." They required that scholars attend morning and evening prayers, and public worship on Sundays at services of their parents' choice. Students were also required to dine in the public hall, where they were allowed three-quarters of an hour for breakfast and an hour and a half for dinner. In 1761 a committee established the weekly fare and rates: Sunday, roast beef and pudding; Monday, leg of mutton and roast veal; Tuesday, corned beef and mutton chops; Wednesday, pease porridge and beef steak; Thursday, corned beef and mutton pie; Friday, leg of mutton and soup; and Saturday, "fish, fresh and salt, in their season." Breakfast consisted of coffee or tea, and bread and butter. Rates varied from 11 shillings per week for breakfast, dinner, and supper, to three shillings, eight pence per week for breakfast only, all "to be paid quarterly."⁵¹

On paper at least, student behavior was strictly regulated. If he "willfully and personally" affronted the president or tutors the student would be fined or expelled, or he might "be obliged to compose and repeat in the public hall a modest recantation of his faults, in order to deter his fellow-students from the like practices." Similarly, they were not to disrupt the president, tutors, or fellow students by "unseasonable noise," or entertaining company during study hours. Playing cards, dice, or any other game within the apartments of the college was prohibited. If students had connections with "unsuitable" persons "of bad fame," they would be privately admonished for the first offense and publicly for the second. "All excesses, indecencies, and misdemeanors of an inferior nature" were subject to proportional punishment. The president or tutors were empowered to visit the chambers of the students, and if admission was refused, the doors could be forced open. Those delinquent or tardy in performing exercises could be confined to their rooms. Students were required to be in their chambers by nine o'clock in winter and ten o'clock in summer. They were to "regularly and punctually attend upon" their tutors and "perform such exercises as have been ordered." Infractions of any of these rules subjected the student to fines or additional punitive "exercises," or, for chronic transgressors, expulsion. In all cases, "obstinacy and perverseness" was punished by expulsion. Students did, however, have the right to appeal "the due proportion of punishment." Despite these rigorous rules, there were frequent infractions, boisterousness, and insubordination.

President Cooper also introduced a new "Plan of Education" with "an extraordinary emphasis" on classical Greek and Latin literature and grammar, similar to that employed at Oxford. One wonders what Henry's reaction was to the new curriculum that de-emphasized one of his favorite subjects, mathematics. He would have studied that discipline with Robert Harpur, a Presbyterian and graduate of Glasgow University who was the object of student jibes, criticism, and even slander. And he would have studied natural philosophy with Samuel Clossy, and been taught the classics by President Cooper himself.

As part of his course of studies, Henry would have been examined at several points during his enrollment: according to the college laws, "students shall be examined publicly or privately at such times and in such manner as the president shall appoint." Visitations were also held quarterly by the governors of the college. After four years, candidates for the bachelor's degree would be publicly examined six weeks before commencement by the president, fellows, professors, and tutors, as well as any of the college governors and the master's candidates who chose to attend. If the candidate qualified, he was admitted to the degree at the upcoming commencement.

On Tuesday, May 20, 1766, King's College held its annual commencement for Henry Rutgers' class. Commencement ceremonies were noteworthy affairs that were given substantial press coverage. The *New-York Gazette* reported that the academic procession moved from College Hall to Trinity Church; upon entering they were "saluted with a grand Piece on the Organ." Among the dignitaries in attendance were the college governors, British North American commander General Thomas Gage, the royal council, 14 clergy of the city and surrounding areas, "and an exceeding numerous and splendid Audience." Also present was the college's founding president, Reverend Samuel Johnson, now 70, who had returned to the city for a visit.⁵² The pressure was definitely on for Henry and his classmates.

The occasion commenced with "Solemn Prayers" and a Latin oration by Reverend Myles Cooper. Interspersed with "exquisitely fine" music, the graduates presented, in either Latin or English, orations, dissertations, discourses, and a "Forensick Dispute." Graduate Rutgers delivered a Latin discourse, "De Praecellentia Numerorum" ("On the excellence of numbers"), "wherein were admirably displayed, to the Satisfaction of all present, both the

Scholar and the Orator." Henry's choice of subject belies an aptitude for analytical reasoning that would manifest itself in several aspects of his later life. Reverend Johnson, who had introduced the initial curriculum that emphasized mathematics, was no doubt pleased by Henry's choice; overall, Johnson felt that all the "young gentlemen" performed "exceedingly well." President Cooper then conferred degrees upon Rutgers and his classmates. The ceremony concluded with prayers, after which "the Governors of the College, with many of the Gentlemen of the City and Country, returned to College Hall, where they dined, and spent the Afternoon in an agreeable Manner."⁵³ And the year of Henry Rutgers' graduation from King's College—1766—was also significant because it was the year in which a new college—Queen's—was chartered in the neighboring province of New Jersey.

Three days after the graduation ceremony, Governor Moore "nominated, constituted, and appointed ... Henry Rutgers, Gentleman" a lieutenant in the "second Company of the Regiment of Militia foot" commanded by Colonel Isaac Man. His commission represents the earliest record of his decades-long involvement in a military capacity. Throughout colonial America, rank in the militia went hand-in-hand with social status. With the elimination of the French threat by the recent British victory in the Seven Years' War, the militia's role was largely social. So in addition to his family's solid affluence, the two milestones of his diploma and commission were natural rungs on the ladder of success. No one would have questioned Henry Rutgers' right to append "Esq." or "Gent." to his name.⁵⁴

"Very Little Short of Treason Itself": Protest and Rebellion, 1765–1776

After graduation Henry Rutgers began, at age 20, management of his father's estate and business affairs, "without any inspection or supervision." By the time of the Revolution, in addition to his lots on the Rutgers Farm, he also owned three properties in the East Ward, and may also have been a partner with "Hendk. Rutgers & Co." in four other properties.⁵⁵ Interestingly, his four years at the conservative, elitist, privileged college did not, as with most of his peers, turn Henry into a royalist. Perhaps behavior that he witnessed, or snubs or condescension that he was subjected to by his classmates served to confirm in him populist principles that had been instilled at home, during his preparation for college, and

during his religious devotions with Reverend Laidlie. For whatever reason, he did not waver from that course for the rest of his life.

The same page of the newspaper that reported the King's College commencement ceremony also reported the celebrations over the repeal of the Stamp Act. Ironically, the crowds were also celebrating the birthday of King George III. On May 21, the day after the commencement, Reverend Laidlie delivered at the New Dutch Church a "congratulatory Discourse on the joyful occasion" of the repeal of the obnoxious revenue law. During his brief tenure at the latter church, the Scots minister had not confined himself solely to the spiritual realm. A British officer noted in February 1766 that during the upheaval over the Stamp Act, Laidlie had preached a "very sed[i]t[iou]s sermon ... exciting people to Reb[e]ll[i]o[n]." ⁵⁶

Henry Rutgers' college years coincided with some of the most politically turbulent in the history of the American colonies, analogous perhaps to students who attended college during the Vietnam War years. He was part of a generation that experienced a seismic shift in allegiance from an overseas monarchy to a homegrown republic. The process of Henry Rutgers' radicalization is unclear. Archibald Laidlie may have served in the capacity not only of Henry's spiritual mentor but also his political mentor. After the war a loyalist historian characterized Laidlie as "a Scotch, Dutch parson, of Jesuitical, republican, and puritanical principles": "This man was in his heart a presbyterian, in his principles of government a republican, an absolute enemy to monarchical government, and a most rancorous hater of episcopacy." Not surprisingly, the author linked Laidlie to a "republican cabal" that included William Livingston, John Morin Scott, and William Smith Jr. They authored or coauthored polemical newspaper articles between 1768 and 1771 under several pseudonyms that were "replete with all kinds of abuse, scurrility, falsehood, fraud, hypocrisy, chicane, sedition, and indeed very little short of treason itself." In one of these articles in 1769, the cabalists even boldly predicted the outcome of the impending conflict:

This country will shortly become a great and flourishing empire, independent of Great Britain; enjoying its civil and religious liberty uncontaminated, and deserted of all control from Bishops, the curse of curses, and from the subjection of all earthly Kings.⁵⁷

This was, indeed, "treason itself."

While Henry Rutgers was in college, a crisis over an imperial issue had come to a head. Parliament passed the Stamp Act on March 22, 1765 (to become effective on November 1) as a seemingly rational attempt "towards defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America." The costs of the Seven Years' War, and its North American counterpart, the French and Indian War, had been unprecedented. But the revenue-raising act struck a nerve with colonial Americans: it was, they felt, an attack upon their "Liberty & Property."⁵⁸

Between October 7 and 24, 28 delegates from nine colonies met at City Hall in New York to discuss the law. The resolutions



1767 map of New York City. From *Valentine's Manual of the Corporation of the City of New-York for the Year 1854*.

of the Stamp Act Congress pointed out their allegiance to the Crown and subordination to Parliament but, they argued, they were entitled to "all the inherent rights and liberties" of natural-born Englishmen and, consequently, "no taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent, given personally or by their

representatives." They appealed to King and Parliament, therefore, to "procure the repeal of the Act for granting and applying certain stamp duties."⁵⁹ Despite the "dutiful" approach of the Congress, by the end of the month protesters in New York were ready to be much less deferential regarding the detested law.

The opposition was led by a coalition of lawyers, merchants, and "mechanics," that is, those who worked with their hands, such as shopkeepers, artisans, laborers, and sailors. In the forefront of agitators was "the Triumvirate" of King's College-controversy days, the attorneys William Livingston, William Smith Jr., and John Morin Scott. Resentment was also fueled by long-standing hostility toward Lieutenant Governor Cadwallader Colden, who was a heavy-handed administrator. Street politics were managed by leaders of the Sons of Liberty, or Liberty Boys, such as John Lamb (a liquor merchant), Isaac Sears (a sea captain and merchant), and Marinus Willett (a cabinetmaker). All were men on the make, "striving men" who were "assertively upwardly mobile." But the opposition was far from monolithic: there were both moderate and radical factions within the Sons of Liberty. There is no evidence of Henry Rutgers' active involvement with the Sons of Liberty, but most likely he was at least sympathetic to their anti-imperial goals.⁶⁰ In later life he would be associated with both John Lamb and Marinus Willett.

On October 23, one day before the Stamp Act Congress adjourned, the detested stamps arrived in New York, which incited riots. From October 31 to November 5, thousands of people took to the streets, breaking windows and parading with placards and effigies. The crowd resolved to hurt the "empire of goods" by nonimportation of British manufactures and encouragement of domestic manufactures—it was now patriotic to wear homespun. Fort George at the southern tip of Manhattan, where the stamps were being held, was besieged, officials were openly threatened and hung in effigy, the governor's coach was burned, and the house of the commanding officer of the garrison suffered severe damage. These actions intimidated the stamp distributors, all of whom resigned their posts. The "people out of doors" could indeed be frightening. As a compromise, Lieutenant Governor Colden delivered the stamps to the mayor and Corporation of the city for safekeeping in City Hall. Subsequently, the Sons of Liberty established both intracolony and intercolony networks to communicate and coordinate opposition.⁶¹

Another significant outcome of the crisis was that the people became more aware of their political clout and were not as amenable to manipulation by the elites. In New York City, more mechanics enjoyed the right of suffrage as either freeholders or freemen than in other cities in colonial America. In general, crowds in the city tended to be more violent and less controlled in their reactions than elsewhere. An aristocratic New York Whig noted, with some trepidation, that as a result of the Stamp Act disturbances "a great metamorphosis" occurred among "the lower orders of mankind": the sheep were beginning to become shepherds. But on the same day that the Stamp Act was repealed (March 18, 1766), Parliament also passed "An act for the better securing the dependency of his Majesty's dominions in America." The Declaratory Act ominously stressed that the American colonies were subordinate to Crown and Parliament, which had "full power and authority to make laws ... to bind the colonies and people of America ... in all cases whatsoever."⁶² The act was largely ignored by the colonists.

Henry Rutgers' first participation in civic life was in the 1768 New York assembly elections. The last elections had been held in 1761; according to law new elections had to be held every seven years. So in March 1768 Henry Rutgers joined 1,924 other eligible voters at the polls, including gentry like him, as well as merchants, artisans, sailors, cartmen, and laborers. As a member of an affluent family, Henry had no trouble qualifying to be eligible to vote as a freeholder, which required property worth £40. Indeed, his parents' gift of several lots of land in 1764 may have been made with that in mind. His father, his brother Harmanus, and several Rutgers cousins also qualified as freeholders in this election.⁶³

During the turbulent years between elections, which included the upheavals over the Stamp Act, the Livingston faction had dominated the legislature. In the interim, the rival faction led by James De Lancey, the Rutgers family's neighbor across Division Street, had been strategizing. The election campaign of February and March 1768 has been called "one of the most intense and acrimonious in the province's history." It pitted "popular Whigs," represented by the De Lancey faction, against "moderate Whigs," represented by the Livingstons. In contrast to events only three years previous, imperial affairs took a back seat to local concerns. Since the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, with its lucrative military contracts, the city had suffered economic recession. In 1768, the De

Lanceys championed the merchant-commercial interests versus the upstate landowner-lawyer interests represented by the Livingstons.⁶⁴

The moderate Whig ticket was led by the generally popular Philip Livingston; one of his running mates was the lawyer John Morin Scott, a Rutgers kinsman-by-marriage who was a member of "the Triumvirate." Scott was targeted in particular by the opposition both because of his profession and because he was perceived as being too cautious during the Stamp Act troubles. Through the influence of Isaac Sears, many of the Liberty Boys supported the popular Whigs under James De Lancey.

The election witnessed all the apparatus of 18th-century campaigning, including a pamphlet war, rival broadsides, voter intimidation, and "treating" of voters with food and drink in order to sway votes. The polls were open from March 7 to 11; voters chose four men to represent the City and County of New York in the assembly. Philip Livingston garnered the most votes, but the other three seats were won by James De Lancey and those allied with him; John Morin Scott ran a disappointing fifth. The Livingstonites did, however, retain a slim overall majority in the assembly. Henry Rutgers Jr. split his vote between the two factions, voting for both Livingston and De Lancey; he also voted for Scott. His vote was mirrored both by his brother Harmanus and by their kinsman, Captain Anthony Rutgers. Hendrick Rutgers Sr., however, was more consistent, voting only for Livingston and Scott.⁶⁵

On December 31, 1768 the new assembly voted to answer the Massachusetts Circular Letter of the previous February, which had informed other colonial legislatures of the measures that the General Court had taken in opposition to the Townshend Revenue Act of 1767, which had imposed duties on glass, lead, paper, tea, and other commodities imported into the colonies. In accordance with instructions from the British ministry, Governor Moore consequently dissolved the legislature and called for new elections. Thus, only 10 months after the last election, the political factions in the colony geared up for another campaign which, in the opinion of one historian, "may have been the most vicious in New York's colonial history."⁶⁶

The moderate Livingstonites chose to emphasize a sensitive issue in New York's heterogeneous society: religion. They resurrected the specter of the appointment of an Anglican bishop for the colonies, thereby pitting Dissenters, or "Independents," against the established church. The issue had lurked in the background

for years, and had overtones of the King's College controversy of the 1750s. Moreover, the Presbyterians had been thwarted several times in attempting to gain a charter for their denomination. The campaign reached a low point when a broadside accused candidate John Morin Scott of homosexuality: "Who puts Money into the Box (true Charity no Doubt!) and dances with, and kisses (filthy Beast!) those of his own Sex."⁶⁷

Again, the artisans and the Sons of Liberty divided, with Isaac Sears and John Lamb supporting the popular party, and Alexander McDougall supporting the moderates. Perhaps because of bigotry on both sides and because the voters were weary of electioneering, more than 400 fewer citizens voted than the year before; among that number was the senior Hendrick Rutgers. The tack taken by the moderate Whigs backfired: all of their candidates, including the formerly popular Philip Livingston, were defeated. In contrast to his split vote in 1768, Henry Rutgers Jr. voted the straight Livingston ticket. His brother Harmanus and Captain Anthony Rutgers, on the other hand, both split their votes between the two factions. So in the space of 10 months, Henry Rutgers went from voting for James De Lancey to not voting for him—perhaps the propaganda regarding an Anglican episcopacy influenced his vote. As a result of this election, the De Lancey faction controlled the legislature up to the outbreak of hostilities with Britain.⁶⁸

After the election, the colony's politics were "a tangled skein of expediency, intrigue, and maneuver." The uneasy alliance of the De Lanceyites and the Sons of Liberty was not destined to last. By the end of 1769, Sears, Lamb, and McDougall joined forces to support the Livingstons in their battle with the De Lanceys over the issues of opposition to the Townshend duties, nonimportation of British goods, and financial support for the British garrison in New York. Off-duty soldiers also competed with citizens for scarce jobs. In mid-January 1770 soldiers blew up a liberty pole erected by the radicals on The Commons. Since the Stamp Act riots, the pole had become symbolic of American defiance, and several times had been cut down by soldiers and re-erected by the Liberty Boys. On January 19, a riot erupted when the rival groups clashed at "the battle of Golden Hill" (located near the Elizabeth Rutgers brewery), in which several citizens were wounded; the next day a similar clash happened on nearby Nassau Street. These incidents preceded by several weeks the more famous Boston Massacre.⁶⁹

The next several years passed with a deceptive lull in political agitation. For his part, "Henry Rutgers the younger" continued to assume a visible place in society. In 1771 he was listed, among more than 100 very eminent men, as a member of the corporation of the "The Society of the Hospital in the City of New-York." The New York Hospital answered a pressing need in the city; its charter stated that it was founded by "sundry public spirited Persons, influenced by Principles of Benevolence." Henry Rutgers' membership in the hospital corporation may well represent the earliest of his long involvement in philanthropic endeavors. In September 1773, in a ceremony most likely attended by Henry, Governor William Tryon laid the first stone "of that truly charitable Asylum of the Distressed," which was built on Broadway on land purchased from Anthony Rutgers. Unfortunately, the hospital burned down in February 1775 when nearly completed; the legislature then allocated £4000 for its reconstruction, which was not yet completed when the war broke out. As an educated, literate person, Henry Rutgers also subscribed, in 1772, to the publication of an edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* and, two years later, to an edition of the works of Laurence Sterne. In 1774, Rutgers was listed in the first alumni catalog of King's College.⁷⁰

On the domestic front, at least one source of family discord seems to be Hendrick Jr.'s younger brother, Harmanus. As noted, both brothers voted as freeholders in the 1768 and the 1769 assembly elections. In 1770 Harmanus matriculated at his brother's alma mater, but "left College in his second year." In 1773 he was indicted for assault and battery—the details are unknown, but it was a common offense; he pleaded guilty and was fined five shillings. That same year Harmanus likely merited disapproval by marrying Dorcas Tibbets, a woman of obscure background who was not Dutch and who was possibly regarded as beneath his station. They apparently married in a civil ceremony. Even though Harmanus was in his mid-20s when his father made out his will in August 1775, the latter stipulated that his youngest son's inheritance of £200 annually be held in trust and doled out by the trustees, Isaac Roosevelt and Benjamin Kissam. Of that sum, his brother Henry was to pay £160 and his four sisters the remainder. The will included the stipulation: "If the Trustees . . . shall think it prudent to trust my son Harmanus with any small sums of money they may do so, but I desire that they will be careful and sparing in that respect, lest he should misspend the same." This curious

proviso implies an irresponsible side of Harmanus—had his parents perhaps been too “indulgent?” Almost exactly one year after the will’s date (August 28), Harman would be dead, perhaps because of his rashness. Tellingly, when his brother Henry informed the family about Harmanus’s demise, no reference was made to Dorcas.⁷¹

By 1774, politics again began to heat up. British punitive measures—the Intolerable, or Coercive Acts—against Massachusetts in the wake of the Boston Tea Party rallied the other colonies in her support. In April of that year, four months after the more famous event in Boston Harbor, New York had its own tea party in protest of the act that granted the East India Company a monopoly on the staple. By the next month, there were two rival parallel governments vying for control in New York simultaneously: the duly elected assembly, and the various rebel committees (between May 1774 and May 1775) and, eventually, Provincial Congresses (from May 1774 to June 1776). The radicalism of the 1760s seemed tempered though; moderate Whigs hoped for “reconciliation without supine capitulation.” These were years when people “continually reassessed their expedient positions and personal allegiances.” Fearing the newly-awakened power of the masses, moderates such as the Livingstonites attempted to remain in control. The De Lanceyites drifted toward support of the royal government, thus alienating their former allies among the radical Liberty Boys. Many conservatives ended up in the loyalist camp, including a majority of merchants in the Chamber of Commerce, as well as the governors, faculty, and alumni of Henry Rutgers’ alma mater, King’s College.⁷²

As he had done during the Stamp Act crisis, Reverend Laidlie continued to use the pulpit to draw obvious biblical allusions to the current political situation. Beginning in January 1774, he became increasingly bold as he preached a series of Sunday sermons on the Psalms, the recurring message of which was “God’s providential deliverance of his people from their troubles, especially from their wicked enemies.” In September 1774, Laidlie used a biblical allusion to justify resistance to venal bureaucrats. In December 1775 he took a familiar text from Galatians as his “scriptural authority for resistance to oppression.” Reverend Laidlie preached in the city until July 7, 1776.⁷³

On September 29, 1775, in the midst of the revived imperial crisis, Henry Rutgers Jr. entered public service for the first time when he was elected a tax assessor for the Out Ward. It was an unpopular office that could subject the holder to abuse, but it was

a role in which he could enlist his aptitude for numbers. It was not long before he faced his first challenge. In May 1776 he joined the other ward assessors in petitioning the Provincial Congress. There were, the petitioners noted, 400 poor in the almshouse, who consisted of "the Blind & the lame; numerous helpless orphans, tender distressed infants, Foundlings & decrepid old age in its last stage, the sick in body & distempered in mind, many of whom have by various means fallen into this City as well from different parts of this colony as from other colonies & countries." But due to "the Calamitous Circumstances of the times" many inhabitants, including "the most opulent" who would normally be taxed to support the poor, had left the city. Because of their inability to procure support for so many poor, the assessors requested that £5000 be advanced or lent to the city "to secure these unhappy objects from all the Wretchedness of Poverty & disease." The Provincial Congress appointed a committee (including Captain Anthony Rutgers) "to take said petition into consideration, and inquire into the state of the corporation funds." As the military crisis deepened, the poor were eventually farmed out to the surrounding rural counties.⁷⁴

As the prospect of war loomed over the city, the most prominent member of the extended Rutgers family who was involved in martial preparations was Anthony Rutgers, the sea captain and erstwhile privateer of Seven Years' War fame. In June 1775 the Marine Society of New York City, a benevolent organization of current and former sea captains established to provide for widows, orphans, and indigents, received the approbation of the Provincial Congress to form an artillery company with Anthony Rutgers as their captain. He was a member of both the Provincial Congress, where he was appointed to the marine committee, and of the Committee of Safety. He was also a member of "a committee to purchase hemp," and "the Ropewalk committee." He was authorized to purchase an armed vessel to patrol the East River and prevent people from supplying the "Ministerial army and navy," and also to protect the colony's trade. He expressed willingness to loan the Continental army a cannon. Captain Rutgers also dispatched persons to The Narrows and to Sandy Hook to gather intelligence regarding the impending arrival of British vessels.⁷⁵

In mid-August 1776, more than a month after the British had landed on Staten Island, the Provincial Congress empowered

Anthony Rutgers to obstruct the channel in the lower harbor. By the end of the month, as hostilities were imminent, he was authorized "to impress Boats and Craft of any kind." Amidst the swirl of activity as the battle of Long Island (Brooklyn Heights) commenced on August 27, however, Robert G. Livingston complained to the New York City committee that Captain Rutgers "absolutely refused" to accept Continental money in payment of a personal debt. Livingston pointed out that such a refusal "may be attended with the most dangerous consequences to the publick interest ... for if such a person as Mr. Rutgers may refuse it, who may not do the same, and where will it end?"⁷⁶ Anthony Rutgers was a patriot, but he was also a businessman: continental money was nearly worthless. The complaint paled in significance to the American defeat that same day.

Other family members played roles on a more grassroots level. In late April 1775, Henry Rutgers' brother Harmanus served as a guard in one of the city's independent militia companies. A week before, on April 19, the shooting war had commenced at Lexington and Concord; when news of the battles reached New York on April 23, it electrified the city. Harmanus was in company with several men who would later be prominent in New York's public affairs, such as Marinus Willett, Nicholas Fish, Richard Varick, and Morgan Lewis. The tavern of Isaac Sears's father-in-law provided a rendezvous for the rebel militia. Only three days prior to the battles in Massachusetts, a crowd had freed Sears and Willett from jail and paraded them triumphantly through the streets. When news of the fighting arrived, the two men led a mob that broke open the city arsenal and distributed arms to "the most active citizens, who formed themselves into a voluntary corps and assumed the government of the city." By the end of the month, patriotic citizens such as Henry Rutgers subscribed to a General Association, in which they expressed alarm at the measures of the British ministry and "the bloody scene" in Massachusetts, and solemnly resolved "never to become Slaves"; they did, however, "ardently Desire" reconciliation with Britain "on Constitutional Principles." The British garrison confined themselves to their barracks, and eventually took refuge aboard a royal warship.⁷⁷

In the spring of 1776, Henry Rutgers appeared on a list of "Officers of Different Beats in New York" as a first lieutenant. On June 1, Lieutenant Rutgers was a commissioner in the Out Ward who oversaw an election of officers in "beat No. 28," and submitted

a return of the election to the Provincial Congress. The militia company in his beat would ideally have consisted “of about eighty-three able bodied and effective men, officers included, between sixteen and fifty years of age.” His brother Harmanus, meanwhile, had joined an independent company of grenadiers commanded by Captain Abraham Van Dyke in Colonel John Lasher’s regiment. Grenadiers usually wore distinctive uniforms and were chosen for their imposing physical stature—but they were also big targets. In early April 1776 the New York Committee of Safety ordered King’s College to be vacated, ultimately for use as a military hospital.⁷⁸

There were other tangible signs of imminent hostilities. In February 1776, General George Washington ordered Charles Lee to New York to improve the city’s defenses. An experienced (albeit eccentric) former British officer, General Lee recognized the natural advantages of Manhattan’s terrain: “the whole Island is ... redoubted in certain regular steps.” His recommendations resulted in a flurry of construction of batteries, entrenchments, and redoubts—the rebels “dug like prairie dogs.” Harmanus Rutgers probably helped his independent militia company construct the Grenadier Battery on the Hudson River in lower Manhattan. In the vicinity of the Rutgers Farm, a battery was built at Corlear’s Hook (also known as Crown Point). Connecticut troops built Waterbury’s Battery on the East River at what would later be the intersection of Catherine and Cherry Streets; close by was the smaller Shipyard Battery. The Yankees also constructed fortifications known as Spencer’s Battery on prominent Jones Hill (Mount Pitt), the estate of royalist official Thomas Jones. Badlam’s Redoubt, garrisoned by Massachusetts troops, occupied Rutgers’ Hill east of the Jews Burying Ground.⁷⁹ Thus, the Rutgers property was ringed by fortifications and artillery pieces.

In April 1775 Myles Cooper, the president of King’s College who remained loyal to king and established church, was among several men who received an anonymous threatening letter that advised them to “fly for your lives.” Cooper temporarily went aboard a British warship, but soon returned to the college. On May 10, a mob of “armed banditti” broke open the college gate looking for him, but he was warned by a student (by some accounts Alexander Hamilton) and fled once again aboard a British vessel—Cooper shortly sailed for England, never to return. Likewise, James De Lancey, the colonial politician and Rutgers family neighbor, saw the handwriting on the wall and in July 1775 also took ship

for England, where he lived the rest of his life. He was generously compensated for his losses by the loyalist claims commission, of which he was a member. Thomas Jones, the royal official who was the Rutgerses' neighbor on Jones Hill, had a more checkered wartime experience. He was confined by the Whigs for several months in 1776, then paroled, then re-arrested and paroled again to his home on Long Island. In 1779 he was captured by a raiding party from Connecticut and held prisoner for the exchange of a prominent Whig. After being exchanged, he sailed for England in 1781 and spent the postwar years writing an acerbic history of New York during the Revolution, in which he vented as much against the British as the Americans.⁸⁰

In 1775 and early 1776, loyalists such as Myles Cooper, James De Lancey, and Thomas Jones had become refugees from their homes. By the summer of 1776, however, the tables were turned on the Whigs. On July 2, the Continental Congress in Philadelphia adopted the resolution for independence; that same day, British forces landed unopposed on Staten Island. On July 9 the Declaration of Independence was read to American troops assembled on The Common in New York City. Two days previous, Reverend Archibald Laidlie had preached his last sermon in the city and soon abandoned his parish for the safety of his in-laws' property at Red Hook on Long Island. Captain Anthony Rutgers relocated with his family to Staatsburg in Dutchess County. In advance of the impending British invasion of Manhattan Island, the elder Hendrick Rutgers and his wife Catharina left the family homestead on the East River and fled to Albany. Shortly, Henry Rutgers Jr. would also join the ranks of New York City's refugee patriots.

NOTES

1. William Smith Jr., *The History of the Province of New-York*, ed. Michael Kammen, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1972), v. 1: 203. On the 573 hills of 18th-century Manhattan Island, and the height of Corlear's Hook in particular, see Eric W. Sanderson, *Mannahatta: A Natural History of New York City* (New York, 2009), 78–79. The Trumbull quote is from *The Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull, Patriot-Artist, 1756–1843*, ed. Theodore Sizer (New York: Kennedy Graphics, 1970), 24. On

the Rutgers Farm, see I. N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909*, 6 vols. (New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1915–1928), v. 6: 134–36 (hereafter cited as Stokes, *Iconography*); and David Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1860* (New York, 1860), 556–57 (hereafter cited as Valentine, *Manual*). For more detailed information about the Rutgers property, see note 17 below.

2. On New York City as a “gateway port,” see Richard Buel Jr., *In Irons: Britain’s Naval Supremacy and the American Revolutionary Economy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 110. On the city’s waterfront, see Floyd M. Shumway, *Seaport City: New York in 1775* (New York: South Street Seaport Museum, 1975); Works Projects Administration Writers’ Program, *A Maritime History of New York* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1941); Carl Abbott, “The Neighborhoods of New York, 1760–1775,” *New York History* 55 (Jan. 1974): 35–54; Ann Buttenwieser, *Manhattan Water-Bound: Planning and Developing Manhattan’s Waterfront from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (New York: NYU Press, 1978), 9–10, 13, 21–55; and Thomas M. Truxes, *Defying Empire: Trading with the Enemy in Colonial New York* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 19–36. On cartmen, see Graham Russell Hodges, *The New York City Cartmen, 1667–1850*, rev. ed. (New York: NYU Press, 2012). On smuggling and contraband trade, see Truxes, *Defying Empire*. The shipyards are depicted in Bernard Ratzer, *Plan of the City of New York, in North America: Surveyed in the Years 1766 & 1767* (London, 1776).
3. On the waterfront smells, see Cadwallader Colden to Dr. John Mitchell, Nov. 7, 1745, quoted in Hendrik Hartog, *Public Property and Private Power: The Corporation of the City of New York in American Law, 1730–1870* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 58–59n45; Colden referred to dock areas west of the Rutgers Farm. By the 1750s and 1760s two ropewalks, where cable and hawser were twisted and tarred, flanked the Rutgers Farm along Division Street and along its eastern boundary; see Francis Maerschalck, *A Plan of the City of New York from an actual Survey, Anno Domini—M,DCC,LV* [New York, 1755]; John Montresor, *A Plan of the City of New-York & Its Environs ... survey’d in the Winter, 1766* (London, 1767); and Ratzer, *Plan of the City of New York ... Surveyed in the Years 1766 & 1767*; a modern map based on the Ratzer map appears in Lester J. Cappon et al., eds., *Atlas of Early American History: The Revolutionary Era, 1760–1790* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 10. On the “anonymous underworld,” see Truxes, *Defying Empire*, 25–26, 35.

4. The original Rutgers farmhouse is depicted on "Plan of the City of New York in the Year 1735" ("Mrs. Buchnerd's Plan"), in Paul E. Cohen and Robert T. Augustyn, *Manhattan in Maps, 1527–1995* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1997), 60–61. Contemporary descriptions of the New Dutch Church appear in Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America*, trans. John Reinhold Forster (Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1972), 131; and Smith, *History of the Province of New-York*, 203. See also Jonathan Greenleaf, *History of the Churches, of All Denominations, in the City of New York* (New York, 1846), 12. After the North Dutch Church opened in 1769, the New Dutch Church became known as the Middle Dutch Church. Three of Hendrick's older brothers had died in infancy, "Copy of Rutgers Family Bible," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 30 (Oct. 1899): 254 (hereafter cited as *NYG&B Rec.*). On the Rutgers family burial vaults, see "Copy of a Plan of the Vaults in the New Dutch Church Yard made Aug 13th 1765 by Andrew Marschalk," Duyckinck Papers, New York State Library, Albany. The Collegiate Dutch Church is defined by Edward T. Corwin thus: "Where two or more ministers were colleagues, or two or more churches were combined, and had two or more ministers, they were called Collegiate Ministers and Churches. The principal example is the Collegiate Church of New York . . .," *A Digest of Constitutional and Synodical Legislation of the Reformed Church in America* (New York: The Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1906), 150; see also Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America, 1628–1902* (New York: Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1902), 995–1007.
5. On Jacobsz's arrival in New Netherland, see "Log of the ship Rensselaerswyck on its voyage from Amsterdam to New Netherland and return, Sept. 25, 1636–Nov. 7, 1637," in A. J. F. van Laer, trans. and ed., *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts* (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1908), 355–89. The quote about the Dutch "Golden Age" is from Gerald F. De Jong, *The Dutch in America, 1609–1974* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), 4–5. On New Netherland's failure to attract settlers, see *ibid.*, 28–39; and Thomas J. Condon, *New York Beginnings: The Commercial Origins of New Netherland* (New York: NYU Press, 1968), 105, 114 (the quote re "men in motion" is on p. 105).
6. Rutger Jabobsz's career is summarized largely from Janny Venema, *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652–1664* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003), who relies on primary source publications of the New Netherland Project. On Jacobsz' marriage, see Samuel S. Purple, ed., *Records of the Reformed*

Dutch Church in New Amsterdam and New York: Marriages from 11 December 1639, to 26 August 1801 (New York: Printed for the Society, 1890; reprinted 1997 [Bowie, MD: Heritage Books]), 14. The quote about beer is from Venema, *Beverwijck*, 292. The inventory of the sale of Jacobsz's estate is in Jonathan Pearson, trans., and A. J. F. van Laer, ed., *Early Records of the City and County of Albany and Colony of Rensselaerswijck*, 4 vols. (Albany, NY, 1869), v. 1: 83–85.

7. The window is reproduced in Roderic H. Blackburn and Ruth Piwonka, *Remembrance of Patria: Dutch Arts and Culture in Colonial America, 1609–1776* (Albany, NY: Albany Institute of History and Art, 1988), 53. The first quote is from Joel Munsell, *Annals of Albany*, 10 vols. (Albany, NY, 1850–59), v. 1: 19. On Rutger Jacobsz' indebtedness, see Venema, *Beverwijck*, 113, 189, 218, 264–67, 269.
8. There is some question about Harman Rutgersz's parentage. E. H. Crosby, a descendant who wrote the most detailed genealogy of the family, stated that it was "improbable" that Harman Rutgersz was Rutger Jacobsz's son, "The Rutgers Family of New York," *NYG&B Rec.* (April 1886): 83n, and "A Brief Account of the Ancestry and Descendants of William Bedlow Crosby, of New York, and of Harriet Ashton Clarkson, His Wife" *NYG&B Rec.* 30 (April 1899): 74. George Olin Zabriskie, on the other hand, holds that Harman was the son of Rutger Jacobsz and Tryntjie Jans, "Rutgers Family in New Netherland and New York," *De Halve Maen* 41 (Oct. 1966): 9. There is a possibility that Harmen was born out-of-wedlock to another woman, or out-of-wedlock to Tryntjie Jans. Possibly, there was another, unrelated Harman of the same name, Venema, *Beverwijck*, 416n169. The fact that after Rutger Jacobsz's death Harmen Rutgersz's name is associated with Volkert Jansz, however, does indicate some familial connection. Volkert Jansz had married Trijntje Jans Jacobsz's sister Dorothee in 1650; they were also neighbors, *ibid.*, 249, 434. Due to a lack of records, it may be impossible to answer the question definitively.
9. On Trinjtje Jacobsz's indebtedness, see Venema, *Beverwijck*, 267. Donna Merwick identifies Harman Rutgersz as a brewer and as one of fifty-seven men "under the age of forty" who attended the funeral of Jeremias Van Rensselaer in October 1674, *Possessing Albany, 1630–1710: The Dutch and English Experiences* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 196n23, 210n61. For a succinct account of the Leisler Rebellion, see Ronald W. Howard, "Provincial and Imperial Politics," in Milton M. Klein, ed., *The Empire State: A History of New York* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 126–29; Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 95–102; and

the Papers of Jacob Leisler Project, jacobleislerinstitute.org. On the migration from Albany to New York City, see Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664–1730* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 44; and Merwick, *Possessing Albany*, 280.

10. On Harmanus's freeman status, see Edward F. De Lancey, ed., *The Burghers of New Amsterdam and the Freemen of New York, 1675–1866*, in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for ... 1885* (New York, 1886), 59, 76; in 1701 his name was recorded as "Harmanus Rutgerse." On his election as assessor, see *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1675–1776*, 8 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1905), v. 2: 416 (hereafter cited as *Min. Common Council, 1675–1776*). On church membership, see "Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in the City of New York—Church Members' List," *NYG&B Rec.* 59 (April 1928): 160. Harmanus's will is in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for ... 1893: Abstracts of Wills*, v. 2 (New York, 1894): 69.
11. On Harmanus Jr.'s illegal voting, see *Min. Common Council, 1675–1776*, v. 2: 166. On his marriage, see E. H. Crosby, "Brief Account of the Ancestry and Descendants of William Bedlow Crosby," *NYG&B Rec.* 30 (April 1899): 75. The quote regarding Catharina Meyer Rutgers is from her death notice in the *New-York Weekly Journal*, March 7, 1736, *America's Historical Newspapers: Early American Newspapers, 1741–1922*, online database (hereafter cited as AHN online). The quote regarding localist tendencies is from Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1992), 245. On Harmanus's purchase of the Rutgers Farm, see Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 6: 134–36. On his service on the board of deacons, see Henry W. Dunshee, *History of the School of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church in the City of New York, from 1633 to 1883*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1883), 96; his son Harmanus Jr. served on the board in 1740, *ibid.*, 97. On the Zenger trial, see James Alexander, *A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger, Printer of the New York Weekly Journal*, ed. Stanley N. Katz, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), 58, 215n19; Howard, "Provincial and Imperial Politics," in Klein, ed., *The Empire State, 187–93*; and Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 152–55. Harmanus served on the grand jury in both the 1734 and the 1735 trials. Rutgers' death notice refers to him as "Captain" Harmanus Rutgers, *New-York Gazette*, Aug. 13, 1753; there are few militia records from the time period. On November 19, 1753, John Depeyster Jr. placed a newspaper ad regarding those with demands against Harmanus's estate, *New-York Mercury*, Nov. 19, 1753 (and subsequent issues), AHN online.

12. Harmanus Rutgers' brewing establishment, equipment, and workers are mentioned in his will (proved Aug. 28, 1753), *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for ... 1895: Abstracts of Wills*, vol. 4: 446. The brewing complex of Anthony Rutgers Jr. is described in *New-York Journal*, March 26, 1772, and *New-York Gazette*, June 1, Dec. 21, 28, 1772, both in AHN online. On the Rutgers family as brewers, see Stanley Baron, *Brewed in America: A History of Beer and Ale in the United States* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1962), 21, 25, 27, 28, 69, 103; the quote is on p. 28. The brewing process is described in Harry B. and Grace M. Weiss, *The Early Breweries of New Jersey* (Trenton, NJ: New Jersey Agricultural Society, 1963), 19–25.
13. Doctor Alexander Hamilton commented several times on the drinking habits of New Yorkers, *Itinerarium*, ed. Bridenbaugh, 43, 45, 88, 179. On liquor retailers, see "List of Liquor Sellers in New York City," *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, Relating to the War of the Revolution, in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N.Y.*, 2 vols. (Albany, 1868), v. 1: 287–92 (hereafter cited as *Calendar of Historical Mss.*). On breweries in New York City, see Weiss and Weiss, *Early Breweries of New Jersey*, 83–87. On alcohol consumption in general, see W. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); Morris Weeks Jr., *Beer and Brewing in America* (New York: United States Brewers Foundation, 1949); and Mark Edward Lender and James Kirby Martin, *Drinking in America: A History*, rev. ed. (New York: Free Press, 1987), 4–6, 9–15. On the poor quality of New York's drinking water, see Hamilton: "They have very bad water in the city, most of it being hard and brackish," *Itinerarium*, ed. Bridenbaugh, 107. Another traveler claimed that the horses of strangers were reluctant to drink from the city wells, Kalm, *Travels into North America*, trans. Forster, 131. Paul G. E. Clemens points out that after cloth and clothing, "the most important consumer good was probably alcohol," "The Consumer Culture in the Middle Atlantic, 1760–1820," *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 62 (Oct. 2005): 580n3 (hereafter cited as WMQ).
14. The description of the types of beer offered is from *New-York Gazette*, March 27, 1769, and April 16, 30, 1770, AHN online. On the price of imported beer, see Greg and Cunningham to John Heslin, Nov. 25, 1756, same to Haliday and Dunbar, Nov. 29, 1756, and same to Geo. Mercer, Dec. 15, 1756, all in *Letterbook of Greg & Cunningham, 1756–57: Merchants of New York and Belfast*, ed. Thomas Truxes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 254, 259, 275. On coopers, see Gerard W. Beekman to John Channing, Nov. 4, 1747, in *The Beekman Mercantile Papers, 1746–1799*, ed. Philip L. White, 3 vols. (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1956), v. 1: 29.

15. Harmanus Rutgers' will was dated June 26, 1750 (proved Aug. 28, 1753), *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for ... 1895: Abstracts of Wills*, vol. 4: 446. On references to Cornelia Rutgers as a brewer, see *New-York Gazette*, Feb. 24, April 27, 1752; by 1760, she was referred to as "the late widow," *New-York Mercury*, May 5, 19, 1760, and *New-York Gazette*, May 19, 1760, all in AHN online. It is often difficult to determine which "widow Rutgers" is being referred to. On Dutch inheritance practices, see David E. Narrett, *Inheritance and Family Life in Colonial New York City* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992); and Narrett, "Dutch Customs of Inheritance, Women, and the Law in Colonial New York City," in William Pencak and Conrad Edick Wright, eds., *Authority and Resistance in Early New York* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1988), 27–55. The role of Elizabeth Rutgers' brewery in the precedent-setting case of *Rutgers v. Waddington* is covered in more detail in the sequel to this article.
16. E. H. Crosby, "Rutgers Family of New York," *NYG&B Rec.* 17 (April 1886): 89. De Lancey, ed., *Burghers of New Amsterdam and the Freemen of New York*, 124. On his militia commissions, see Hugh Hastings, ed., *Second Annual Report of the State Historian of the State of New York* (Albany, NY, 1897), 587, 597. On the privateer vessel, which he owned in conjunction with Harman and Petrus Rutgers and others, see E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N.Y.: Part II, English Manuscripts, 1664–1776* (Albany, NY, 1866), 537 (hereafter cited as *Calendar of Historical Mss.: Part II, English Mss., 1664–1776*). On the De Peyster family, see Waldron Phoenix Belknap Jr., *The De Peyster Genealogy* (Boston: privately printed, 1956), 14–16, 45–46; the portrait of Catharina (following p. 108), is from the Frick Art Reference Library. Joyce Goodfriend points out that while it was not uncommon for colonial Dutch women to be able to read, it was rarer that they could also write, "Incorporating Women into the History of the Colonial Dutch Reformed Church: Problems and Proposals," in Renée House and John Coakley, eds., *Patterns and Portraits: Women in the History of the Reformed Church in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, [1999]), 21. For references to her father, Johannes De Peyster, see the index (volume 8) to *Min. Common Council, 1675–1776*. Petrus Vas married the widow Elsje Rutgers Schuyler, who was the aunt of Hendrick Rutgers; there is a portrait of her attributed to Pieter Vanderlyn in the collection of the Albany Institute of History and Art, which is reproduced in Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), [267].

17. For the will of Harmanus Rutgers, see citation in note 15 above. The manuscript map referred to, which depicts both the Hendrick Rutgers mansion house and brew house, is "A Plan of the North East Environs of the City of New-York ... by Saml. Holland. 17th Sept. 1757"; the original map was lost in the 1911 New York State Library fire, but it is reproduced in Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 1: Plate 36b, and described in *ibid.*, 278–79; a much clearer lithograph of the Holland survey appears in Valentine, *Manual ... for 1859*, opposite p. 108. The mansion house is also depicted in the slightly earlier, anonymous "Manuscript Plan of the North-east Section of New York," circa 1755–57, reproduced in Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 1: Plate 36a, and described in *ibid.*, 277–78. On the Rutgers mansion, see also Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 3: 612–13. The mansion, brew house, and related buildings are depicted circa 1763 in an engraving by Royal Artillery officer Thomas Howdell, *A South West View of the City of New-York, in North America*, reproduced in Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 1: Plate 37, and described in *ibid.*, 279–81; the mansion and brew house as depicted are both substantial buildings. The quote about views from the windows is from Mary Crosby, "Reminiscences of Rutgers Place," Wm. B. Crosby Papers, New-York Historical Society; she was the daughter (born 1822) of Henry Rutgers' (hereafter HR) grand-nephew and heir, Wm. B. Crosby. An earthquake was "very sensibly felt" in New York and elsewhere on Tuesday, Nov. 18, 1755, Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4: 674 (the entry mis-dates its occurrence as Nov. 17); the damage is mentioned in M. Despard, *Old New York from the Battery to Bloomingdale* (New York, 1875), 102. The property is described in the will of Hendrick Rutgers Sr. dated Aug. 28, 1775, *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for ... 1900: Abstracts of Wills*, vol. 9 (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1901): 213–15. A British inventory of rebel estates in the city in 1778 described the property as "12 Houses Out Houses & 80 [acres]," "Estimate of the Value of the real Estates in the Out Ward of the City of New York, belonging to Persons in Actual Rebellion," in *B. F. Stevens's Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773–1783*, 25 vols. (London, 1889–1898), v. 12: no. 1235 (hereafter cited as Stevens, *Facsimiles of Mss.*). The ad for barley appeared in the *New-York Mercury*, Oct. 1, 8, 1764, AHN online. An advertisement for a house for sale in the Out Ward noted that it was "pleasantly situated along the East River, next to Mr. Henry [i.e., Hendrick] Rutgers, Brewer," *New-York Mercury*, Jan. 21, 1760 (and subsequent issues), and *New-York Gazette*, Feb. 4, 1760 (and subsequent issues), all in AHN online. Both the Montresor map and the Ratzer map (both cited in note 3 above) seem to depict orchards and gardens on the Rutgers Farm. A postwar advertisement referred to the remnants of the orchard as among "the once flourishing improvements of the

late Henry [i.e., Hendrick Sr.] Rutgers," *New-York Journal*, March 18, 25, April 1, 1784, AHN online. On liquor retailers near the Rutgers brewery, see "List of Liquor Sellers in New York City," *Calendar of Historical Mss.*, v. 1: 287–92.

18. The earliest known survey of part of the property—in July 1755—is mentioned in Articles of Agreement, May 14, 1772, between William Bedlow, Ann Bancker, Gerard De Peyster, Henry Rutgers Jr., Harmanus Rutgers, and Mary Rutgers, Conger Papers, New York State Library, Albany. Another survey in May 1756 is mentioned in Deed of Gift, Jan. 1, 1764, from Hendrick and Catharina Rutgers to "Hendrick Rutgers Junr," *New-York Historical Society*; and also Deed of Gift, Jan. 1, 1764, from same to William Bancker, Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries (hereafter cited as RUL). Another survey was apparently made in August 1775, Deed of Gift, Jan. 9, 1785, from Anna Bancker to Henry Bancker, RUL. Unfortunately, none of these earliest surveys have been discovered. On the grant of water rights, see *Min. Common Council, 1675–1776*, v. 6: 14, and v. 7: 367, 374, 397, 398; and Hartog, *Public Property and Private Power*, 44–68. On the De Lancey property, see Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan for Rent, 1785–1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 33–35, 37–39; on the "Church Farm," see *ibid.*, 30–33.
19. For these references see, respectively, *New-York Mercury*, Jan. 21, 1760; *ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1760; *New-York Journal*, Dec. 19, 1771; *New-York Mercury*, Aug. 18, 1760; and *ibid.*, April 12, 1762, all in AHN online.
20. On Anthony Rutgers' partnership with Jacob Le Roy Sr., see *Princetonians, 1776–1783: A Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Richard A. Harrison (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 430. On his cordage business, see *New-York Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1768, and July 24, 1769, AHN online. On his success at horseracing, see *New-York Gazette*, Oct. 16, 1769, and June 3, 1773, AHN online; it is unclear if both references are to the same Anthony, but both won purses of £50.
21. On Anthony Rutgers' merchant voyages see, for example, *New-York Gazette*, Aug. 3, 1752; *New-York Mercury*, April 8, Sept. 16, Dec. 30, 1754, Aug. 18, 1755, Sept. 6, 1756, and July 25, 1757; and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 21, 1754, all in AHN online. On his privateering voyages see, for example, *New-York Gazette*, June 19, Aug. 28, Oct. 16, 1758, April 2, 23, 1759, and June 1, 1761; *New-York Mercury*, June 26, Nov. 30, 1758, and April 9, Oct. 1, 1759, all in AHN online. On Rutgers family members' involvement in privateering, see James G. Lydon, *Pirates, Privateers, and Profits*

- (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Gregg Press, 1970), 272, 279, 283; and petition of Harmanus Rutgers, merchant, April 1, 1760, in *Calendar of Historical Mss.: Part II, English Mss., 1664–1776*, 708. On Robert Rutgers, see Cathy Matson, *Merchants & Empire: Trading in Colonial New York* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 272; he was the son of Elizabeth Benson Rutgers. On the Seven Years' War, see Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754–1766* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 2000).
22. On events in 1745, see especially Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4: 587–93. The reference to Whitefield's preaching is on p. 591–92; the quote about him is by David T. Morgan, *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), s.v. "Whitefield, George" (hereafter cited as ANB). For a succinct account of the Great Awakening in New York, see Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 157–58; and Howard, "Colonial Culture: The Sacred and the Secular," in Klein, ed., *The Empire State*, 169–72. The palisade constructed in 1745 is depicted on "A Plan of the City and Environs of New York as they were in the Years 1742, 1743, & 1744. Drawn by D[avid] G[rin] in the 76th Year of his age who has at this time a perfect and correct recollection of every part of the same ... August 1813," New-York Historical Society. On privateering during King George's War, see Lydon, *Pirates, Privateers, and Profits*.
 23. The first quote is from Truxes, Introduction, *Letterbook of Greg & Cunningham*, 6. On the city's population, see Table Eg60–64, Population of cities ... New York, in Susan B. Carter et al., eds., *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to the Present*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), v. 5: 5–655; for contemporary population estimates of 11,718 and 12,017, see entry under June 4, 1746 in Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4: 597. On the "face-to-face society," see Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 60, 63. The description of the city in the 1740s is summarized largely from Hamilton, *Itinerarium*, ed. Bridenbaugh, 41–48, 79–89, 210–29; and Kalm, *Travels into North America*, trans. Forster, 129–41.
 24. Hamilton, *Itinerarium*, ed. Bridenbaugh, 89; Kalm, *Travels into North America*, trans. Forster, 140 (emphasis in original). The earliest graphic depiction of the Rutgers mansion circa 1763 shows it with a balustrade on the roof, Howdell, *South West View of the City of New-York*, reproduced in Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 1: Plate 37.
 25. The quote about Hendrick Rutgers Sr. is from HR to Capt. Thomas Machin, July 31, 1779, in Susanna Machin Revolutionary War

widow's pension application (W17081); Hendrick Sr. had died on July 13. The quote about marriages is from Larry R. Gerlach, *Prologue to Independence: New Jersey in the Coming of the American Revolution* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1976), 31. HR's older sister Elizabeth, for example, had married a cousin, Gerardus De Peyster. The comment about the Dutch is by Thomas Jones, *The History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, 2 vols. (New York, 1879), v. 2: 326. The last quote is from Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*, 44. Even a family descendent was bewildered: "The number of Anthonys and Harmans in the Rutgers family makes it difficult to be accurate in determining which one is referred to in any particular instance by contemporary records," E. H. Crosby, "Rutgers Family of New York," *NYG&B Rec.* 17 (April 1886): 88n; see also "Copy of Rutgers Family Bible," *NYG&B Rec.* 30 (Oct. 1899): 254.

26. On the Dutch Reformed school, see Dunshee, *History of the School of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church*; and William Heard Kilpatrick, *The Dutch Schools of New Netherland and Colonial New York* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1912). See also the index (volume 7) to Edward T. Corwin, *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York*, 7 vols. (Albany, NY: University of the State of New York, 1901–16), under "schools and schoolmasters" (hereafter cited as *ERNY*). The location of the school is depicted in the map by Francis Maerschallck, *Plan of the City of New-York from an Actual Survey ... M,DCC,LV*. On the percentage of school-age children, see Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607–1783* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1970), 572. Dutch ministers supplemented their incomes by tutoring ministerial candidates, but may also have tutored others as well; see Gerald F. De Jong, *The Dutch Reformed Church in the American Colonies* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978), 110–11.
27. The quote regarding beer is from "Colonel Rutgers's Address," *Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church* 2 (Oct. 1827): "113" [i.e., 213]. In 1892, Mary Crosby (born 1822), the daughter of HR's heir William B. Crosby, wrote a reminiscence about her great-great uncle Rutgers: "My uncle had a strong voice, and report says that his orders to his negroes across the East River could be heard by them," "Reminiscences of Rutgers Place," Wm. B. Crosby Papers, New-York Historical Society. In a letter to his schoolboy nephew, Rutgers mentioned his "case of Mathematical instruments with the Surveyors guide," HR to Henry Bancker, Nov. 24, 1782, RUL.
28. The best treatment of the 1741 "Negro plot" is Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century*

Manhattan (New York: A. A. Knopf, 2005); see also Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 159–66. On the white and black population of the city in 1737, see Ira Rosenwaike, *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1972), 8.

29. Peter O. Wacker points out that the large migration of Dutch from New York to the northeastern counties of East Jersey resulted in a high incidence of slavery there, *Land and People: A Cultural Geography of Preindustrial New Jersey* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1975), 189–90, 191, 194. On the issue of slavery and the Dutch Reformed Church, see especially Gerald F. De Jong, “The Dutch Reformed Church and Negro Slavery in Colonial America,” *Church History* 40 (Dec. 1971): 423–36; and De Jong, *Dutch Reformed Church in the American Colonies*, 161–69. The quote regarding slavery is from Dirk Mouw, “Dutch Clergy in Colonial North America,” in Leon van den Broeke et al., eds., *Transatlantic Pieties: Dutch Clergy in Colonial America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2012), 28.
30. The most important, albeit biased, primary source on the 1741 “Negro plot” is [Daniel Horsmanden] *A Journal of the Proceedings in the Detection of the Conspiracy Formed by Some White People, in Conjunction with Negro and other Slaves for Burning the City of New-York in America, and Murdering the Inhabitants ... By the Recorder of the City of New-York* (New York, 1744), Early American Imprints, ser. 1, no. 5413 (hereafter cited as Horsmanden, *Journal*). As city Recorder, Horsmanden was intimately involved in the prosecutions. Lepore points out that the 1810 edition of the *Journal*, as well as modern editions based on it, are flawed, *New York Burning*, 275. On David Grim’s hand-drawn map, see note 22 above.
31. Horsmanden, *Journal*.
32. For a lurid description of the execution of John Hughson, see Lepore, *New York Burning*, 119–20, 170–71. On the Grim map, see note 22 above. The Rutgers legal documents are: Deed from Hendrick and Catharine Rutgers to William Bancker, Jan. 11, 1764, Rutgers Collection, RUL; Deed from same to Hendrick Rutgers Jr., Jan. 11, 1764, New-York Historical Society; and Release from same to Hendrick Rutgers Jr., May 23, 1769, New-York Historical Society. Hughson was “a poor and illiterate cobbler from Yonkers,” Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 160; the Hughson surname does not appear in the *Minutes of the Common Council, 1675–1776*, which is a rough indication of the family’s humble status. In May 1769 a convicted murderer was “hanged in chains” on Bedlow’s Island in New York Harbor, Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4: 795.

33. The will of Harmanus Rutgers was dated June 26, 1750 (proved August 28, 1753), *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for ... 1895: Abstracts of Wills*, vol. 4: 445–49.
34. *Ibid.*, 447. Hendrick Rutgers Sr.'s advertisement for runaway Jenny appeared in the *New-York Mercury*, May 19, 1760 (and several subsequent issues), AHN online; his will dated Aug. 28, 1775 (proved Nov. 15, 1779) is in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for ... 1900: Abstracts of Wills*, v. 9: 213–15.
35. See De Jong, *Dutch Reformed Church in the American Colonies*.
36. On the language controversy, see *ibid.*, 211–27; Randall Balmer, *A Perfect Babel of Confusion: Dutch Religion and English Culture in the Middle Colonies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 141–56; and Alexander J. Wall, "The Controversy in the Dutch Church in New York Concerning Preaching in English, 1754–1768," *New York Historical Quarterly Bulletin* 12 (July 1928): 39–58. Primary sources on the controversy are in *ERNY*, especially volume 6; check the index in volume 7 under "English language and the Dutch church," and "English preaching in the Collegiate Church of New York."
37. William Livingston, *The Independent Reflector, Preface*, 23, and *Occasional Reverberator* III, Sept. 21, 1753; and William Smith Jr., *History of the Province of New-York*, ed. Kammen, v. 1: 203.
38. On Laidlie, see especially Joyce D. Goodfriend, "Archibald Laidlie and the Transformation of the Dutch Reformed Church in Eighteenth-Century New York City," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 81 (Fall 2003): 149–62; Goodfriend, "Archibald Laidlie (1727–1779): The Scot who Revitalized New York City's Dutch Reformed Church," in van den Broeke et al., eds., *Transatlantic Pieties*, 239–57; Earl William Kennedy, "From Providence to Civil Religion: Some 'Dutch' Reformed Interpretations of America in the Revolutionary Era," *The Reformed Review* 29 (1976): 112–15; William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit; or Commemorative Notices of Distinguished American Clergymen of Various Denominations*, 9 vols. (New York, 1857–69), v. 9: 40–43; and Corwin, *Manual of the Reformed Church in America, 1628–1902*, 564–65. As a manager of the American Bible Society, in 1816 Rutgers was a member of a committee that responded to a request for Bibles printed in foreign languages: "all citizens of the United States will be compelled from necessity to embrace that language in which the Laws of the Land are promulgated, and ... yield the use of their native language to that of the Country in which they reside," quoted in Edmund B. Shotwell, "Henry Rutgers and the American Bible Society," unpublished monograph (typescript), p. p. [11–12] n10. Shotwell Collection (R-MC 005), RUL.

39. See the two works by Joyce Goodfriend cited in note 38 above. Laidlie married Mary Hoffman (1743–1825), the 23-year-old daughter of Martin and Catharine Rutgers Hoffman of Red Hook, Richard Varick Dey, *Discourse, Delivered in the Middle Dutch Church in Cedar-Street, on Sabbath Evening, June 12th, 1825, on Occasion of the Death of Mrs. Mary Laidlie* (New York, 1825), 14 (Dey was her grandson). The quote is from Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, v. 1: 21–22.
40. See Goodfriend citations in note 38 above; on Laidlie's preaching style, see also Jack Douglas Klunder, "The Application of Holy Things: A Study of the Covenant Preaching in the Eighteenth Century Dutch Colonial Church," Th.D. dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1984, 133–37, 215–61. On Laidlie's influence on HR, see William McMurray, *A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of Col. Henry Rutgers, Preached in the Church in Market Street, February 28th, 1830* (New York, 1830), 23 (hereafter cited as McMurray, *Sermon*).
41. Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4: 795. For a physical description of the North Dutch Church, see Thomas De Witt, *A Discourse Delivered in the North Reformed Dutch Church (Collegiate) in the City of New York, on the Last Sabbath in August, 1856* (New York, 1857), 95–96; and Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 177. On John H. Livingston, see John W. Coakley, "John Henry Livingston (1746–1825): Interpreter of the Dutch Reformed Tradition in the Early American Republic" in van den Broeke et al., eds., *Transatlantic Pieties*, 295–314.
42. On the Coetus-Conferentie dispute, see De Jong, *Dutch Reformed Church in the American Colonies*, 188–210; a detailed account of the controversy is Dirk Edward Mouw, "Moederkerk and Vaderland: Religion and Ethnic Identity in the Middle Colonies, 1690–1772," PhD dissertation, University of Iowa, 2009. A contemporary view of the dispute is provided by Smith, *History of the Province of New-York*, ed. Kammen, v. 1: 203. On the pamphlet literature concerning the dispute, see Hendrik Edelman, *Dutch-American Bibliography, 1693–1794* (Nieuwkoop, Netherlands: B. de Graff, 1974).
43. On HR's admission to King's College, see "The *Matricula* or Register of Admissions and Graduations ... in King's College at New York," in Herbert and Carol Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson, President of King's College: His Career and Writings*, 4 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), v. 4: 250. On the affordability of colonial colleges, see Jackson Turner Main, *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 247. On tuition at King's College, see David C. Humphrey, *From King's College*

to *Columbia, 1746–1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 93–94.

44. "The *Matricula* or Register of ... King's College," in Schneider and Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson*, v. 4: 244, 245, 247. For profiles of HR's classmates, see "Kings [*sic*] College Alumni ... Class of 1766," *Columbia University Quarterly* 9 (March 1909): 187–90.
45. Humphrey, *From King's College to Columbia*, 18–100. On the background of the founding of King's, see also Jurgen Herbst, *From Crisis to Crisis: American College Government, 1636–1819* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 97–113; and J. David Hoeveler, *Creating the American Mind: Intellect and Politics in the Colonial Colleges* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 129–54.
46. *The Independent Reflector or Weekly Essays on Sundry Important Subjects More particularly adapted to the Province of New-York by William Livingston and Others*, ed. Milton M. Klein (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1963), Introduction, 32–39, 43–46, and related essays, 171–214, 427–32; Humphrey, *From King's College to Columbia*, 36–54; Robert A. McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia: A History of Columbia University in the City of New York, 1754–2004* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 9–12, 15–21.
47. Schneider and Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson*; volume four is devoted to "Founding King's College." Humphrey, *From King's College to Columbia*, 55–66; and McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 12–16.
48. The advertisement (emphasis in original) was dated May 31, 1754; it is transcribed in Schneider and Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson*, v. 4: 222–24. On Samuel Johnson's presidency, see Humphrey, *From King's College to Columbia*, 105–25; and McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 25–26.
49. "The Statutes of King's College in the City of New York, 1763," in Schneider and Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson*, v. 4: 237–43.
50. On King's College during the period of HR's enrollment, see Humphrey, *From King's College to Columbia*, 126–53, 176–83; and McCaughey, *Stand, Columbia*, 27–33.
51. "The Statutes of King's College ... 1763," in Schneider and Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson*, v. 4: 237–43; "Rules for Dieting the Students Belonging to King's College in New York," in *ibid.*, 231.
52. *New-York Gazette*, May 26, 1766, AHN online; and transcribed in Milton Halsey Thomas, "King's College Commencement in the Newspapers," *Columbia University Quarterly* 22 (June 1930): 234–36.

53. Ibid. "The *Matricula* or Register of ... King's College," in Schneider and Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson*, v. 4: 252. A copy of the diploma of "Henricum Rutgers" is in the Columbia University Archives; the whereabouts of the original is unknown. I thank Jocelyn K. Wilk for providing this information.
54. For HR's lieutenant's commission (printed form), May 23, 1766, see Thomas Addis Emmet Collection, Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution* (extra-illustrated edition), EM.6868, New York Public Library. Later appended to the document, no doubt by a family member, was the 18th-century bookplate of Hendrick Rutgers, containing the armorial and motto "Tan tes da dir" ("There is so much to be said"); see "A. R." reply to query by J. Rutgers Le Roy, *Notes and Queries* 81 (Feb., March 1890): 129, 176; I thank Silvana Notormaso for alerting me to this reference. On the colonial militia, see John Shy, "A New Look at the Colonial Militia," in Shy, *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 21–33. On the use of social titles, see Main, *Social Structure of Revolutionary America*, 215, 217–19.
55. McMurray, *Sermon*, 21. On his properties in the East Ward, see "Estimate of the Value of the real Estates in the [East Ward] of the City of New York," in Stevens, *Facsimiles of Mss.*, v. 12: no. 1235.
56. *New-York Gazette*, May 26, 1766, AHN online; Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4: 765. The quote is from G. D. Scull, ed., "Journals of Capt. John Montresor, 1757–1778," *The Montresor Journals*, in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1881* (New York, 1882), 350 (hereafter cited as Montresor, "Journals").
57. On the transition from a monarchy to a republic, see Wood, *Radicalism of the American Revolution*. The loyalist historian is Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, v. 1: 21–24.
58. The standard study of the Stamp Act is Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); the text of the act is in Henry Steele Commager and Milton Cantor, eds., *Documents in American History*, 10th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1988), v. 1: 53–55. On the unprecedented costs of the Seven Years' War, see John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War, Money and the English State, 1688–1783* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1989), 67, 114, 175, 176. For an overview of events leading up to the outbreak of hostilities, see Kammen, *Colonial New York*, 337–71; Burrows and Wallace,

- Gotham*, 191–244; and Howard, "Provincial and Imperial Politics," in Klein, ed., *The Empire State*, 182–201.
59. Resolutions of the Stamp Act Congress, October 19, 1765, in Commager and Cantor, eds., *Documents of American History*, v. 1: 57–58; C. A. Weslager, *The Stamp Act Congress* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1976).
 60. Gary B. Nash, *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 303–04, 364, 365, 369, 372; Edward Countryman, *A People in Revolution: The American Revolution and Political Society in New York, 1760–1790* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 59; and Countryman in ANB, s.v. "Sears, Isaac." On the New York Sons of Liberty, see also Roger J. Champagne, "New York's Radicals and the Coming of Independence," *Journal of American History* 51 (June 1964): 21–40; Herbert M. Morais, "The Sons of Liberty in New York," in Richard B. Morris, ed., *The Era of the American Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 269–89; and Henry B. Dawson, *The Sons of Liberty in New York* (privately printed, 1859).
 61. For this sequence of events, see Countryman, *A People in Revolution*, 37–38; for an eyewitness account of the disturbances by a British officer, see Montresor, "Journals," 336–37, 342, 344, 345, 346, 348, 349, 351, 353, 357, 360. On the ramifications of colonial membership in the "empire of goods," see T. H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
 62. Gouverneur Morris to John Penn, May 20, 1774, quoted in Kammen, *Colonial New York*, 343–44. On the suffrage in New York City, see Roger Champagne, "Liberty Boys and Mechanics of New York City, 1764–1774," *Labor History* 8 (Spring 1967): 125. On the Declaratory Act, see Commager and Cantor, eds., *Documents of American History*, v. 1: 60–61.
 63. See *A Copy of the Poll List, of the Election for Representatives for the City and County of New-York; which Election Began on Monday the 7th Day of March, and Ended on Friday the 11th ... in the Year ... MDCCLXVIII*; the list was reprinted in facsimile in 1880. On his parents' gift, see Indenture (deed of gift) from Hendrick and Catharina Rutgers to "Hendrick Rutgers Junr," for three lots at Hughson's Point, Jan. 11, 1764, New-York Historical Society. On voter eligibility in New York City, see De Lancey, ed., *Burghers of New Amsterdam and the Freemen of New York*; Beverly McAnear, "The Place of the Freeman in Old

New York," *New York History* 21 (Oct. 1940): 418–30; and Graham R. Hodges, "Legal Bonds of Attachment: The Freemanship Law of New York City, 1648–1801," in Pencak and Wright, eds., *Authority and Resistance*, 226–44. On the number and occupations of voters, see Roger Champagne, "Liberty Boys and Mechanics of New York City, 1764–1774," *Labor History* 8 (Spring 1967): 126–28, 132; on the carters, see Hodges, *New York City Cartmen*, 55–58.

64. The New York City elections of 1768 and 1769 are the subject of considerable attention by scholars. The quote is from Bonomi, *A Factious People*, 239; she also suggests that the terms "popular Whig" and "moderate Whig" are more accurate to describe the two factions, *ibid.* See also Kammen, *Colonial New York*, 359–60, 406–07; the article by Champagne cited in the previous note, and Champagne, "Family Politics Versus Constitutional Principles: The New York Assembly Elections of 1768 and 1769," *WMQ*, 3rd ser., 20 (Jan. 1963): 57–79. Bernard Friedman takes issue with Champagne's interpretation in "The New York Assembly Elections of 1768 and 1769: The Disruption of Family Politics," *New York History* 46 (Jan. 1965): 3–24. Gary Nash provides a different perspective in *Urban Crucible*, 363–67. Joseph S. Tiedemann addresses the various interpretations in *Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City and the Road to Independence, 1763–1776* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 134–36. John Adams, no stranger to political machinations in his own colony of Massachusetts, regarded New York's politics as "the devil's own incomprehensibles," quoted in Kammen, *Colonial New York*, 341.
65. *A Copy of the Poll List ... [1768]*, 41, 42.
66. The quote is from Kammen, *Colonial New York*, 360.
67. The broadside attacking Scott is *A Contrast: Read my Fellow Citizens, and judge for yourselves* [New York, 1769], *Early American Imprints*, ser. 1, no. 11223.
68. *A Copy of the Poll List, of the Election of Representatives for the City and County of New-York; which Election Began on Monday the 23d Day of January, and ended on Friday the 27th ... in the Year ...MDCCLXIX* [New York, 1769]. For an analysis of the vote, see Bonomi, *A Factious People*, 248–57; and Champagne, "Liberty Boys,": 132.
69. The quote is from Champagne, "Liberty Boys,": 133. On liberty poles and the "battle of Golden Hill," see Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763–1834* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), 52–58; and

Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4: 765, 768, 769, 774, 802–03. There is some discrepancy regarding the date of the riot: Gilje (p. 57) dates it as Jan. 18, whereas most other sources say Jan. 19.

70. On the New York Hospital, see *Charter for Establishing an Hospital in the City of New-York. Granted by the Right Hon. John, Earl of Dunmore, the 13th July, 1771* (New York, 1771), Early American Imprints, ser. 1, no. 12161. See also Stokes, *Iconography*, v. 4: 820, 840, 875–76, 880; and Eric Larrabee, *The Benevolent and Necessary Institution: The New York Hospital, 1771–1971* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971). Rutgers is listed as a subscriber in *Commentaries on the Laws of England. Book the Third. By William Blackstone ...* (Philadelphia, 1772), Early American Imprints, ser. 1, no. 12327; and in *The Works of Laurence Sterne ... with the Life of the Author* (Philadelphia, 1774), *ibid.*, no. 13640. The alumni catalogue is *Catalogus Eorum exhibens Nomina qui in collegio Regali, Novi-Eboraci ... ab anno 1758 ad annum 1774* (broadside), Early American Imprints, ser. 1, no. 13363.
71. On Harmanus' s votes in the 1768 and 1769 elections, see the poll lists cited in notes 63 and 68 above. On his college attendance, see "The *Matricula* or Register of ... King's College," transcribed in Schneider and Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson*, v. 4: 255. On the assault indictment, see Kenneth Scott, *New York City Court Records, 1760–1797: Genealogical Data from the Court of Quarter Sessions* (Washington, DC: National Genealogical Society, 1983), 36, 39. On his marriage to Dorcas Tibbets, see *Names of Persons for Whom Marriage Licenses Were Issued by the Secretary of the Province of New York, Previous to 1784* (Albany, NY, 1860), 332; William Solyman Coons, "The Tibbitts or Tibbetts Family," *NYG&B Rec.* 51 (Jan. 1920): 69 (the family was originally from Yonkers in Westchester County); and Dorcas Remsen affidavit in Pardon Burlingham pension application (W17526), Revolutionary War Pension Application Files, U.S. National Archives. Burlingham was Dorcas' second husband, and Remsen her third. She mistakenly remembered that she married Harmanus in 1776, which is contradicted by the official marriage record cited previously. The surname "Tibbets" does not appear in *Min. Common Council, 1675–1776*; "Dorcas" is an English, not a Dutch given name. On Hendrick Sr.'s will, see *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for ... 1900: Abstracts of Wills*, vol. 9: 213. On Hendrick Sr. as "an Affectionate and indulgent Parent," see HR to Capt. Thomas Machin, July 31, 1779, in Susanna Machin Revolutionary War widow's pension application (W17081). On Harmanus's death, see HR to Gerardus De Peyster, Aug. 30, 1776, RUL, and the sequel to this article in the *Journal of the Rutgers University Libraries* 68, number 2.

72. On the Coercive acts, see Commager and Cantor, eds., *Documents of American History*, v. 1: 71–76; and Boatner, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, 3rd ed. (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1994), 544. Kammen, *Colonial New York*, 362–69; the quotes are on pages 364 and 365, respectively. On the royalist sentiments of King's College governors, faculty, and alumni, see Humphrey, *From King's College to Columbia*, 139–44, 150–54, 209–16, 219–24, 269–70; and McCaughey, *Stand Columbia*, 44–48. On royalism in general in New York, see Alexander C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1901); Wallace Brown, *The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants* (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1965), 77–110, 306–11; Robert M. Calhoun, *The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760–1781* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), 370–81, 408–30; and Philip Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1986). By way of contrast with the royalist sentiments of King's College, the College of New Jersey at Princeton under the Presbyterian minister John Witherspoon was "a veritable seminary of sedition," Gerlach, *Prologue to Independence*, 274.
73. Kennedy, "From Providence to Civil Religion," *The Reformed Review* 29 (1976): 112–15; Philip Davidson, *Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763–1783* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 207.
74. On HR's election as assessor, see *Min. Common Council, 1675–1776*, v. 8: 108. On the ward assessors' petition, see "Petition of the Vestry of New York," *Calendar of Historical Mss.*, v. 1: 311; *Journals of the Provincial Congress, Provincial Convention, Committee of Safety and Council of Safety of the State of New-York, 1775–1776–1777* (Albany, NY, 1842), entry for May 30, 1776, 467 (hereafter cited as *Journals of the Provincial Congress*); the petition also appears in Peter Force, comp., *American Archives*, 4th ser., v. 6: 627 (hereafter cited as Force, comp., *Am. Arch.*). On poverty and poor relief in New York City, see David M. Schneider, *The History of Public Welfare in New York State, 1609–1866* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 61–92; Steven J. Ross, "'Objects of Charity': Poor Relief, Poverty, and the Rise of the Almshouse in Early Eighteenth Century New York City" in Pencak and Wright, eds., *Authority and Resistance*, 138–72; and Robert E. Cray Jr., "Poverty and Poor Relief: New York City and Its Rural Environs, 1700–1790," in *ibid.*, 173–201.
75. On Captain Anthony Rutgers' involvement in privateering, see note 21 above. On his attendance in the Provincial Congress and in the Committee of Safety, see *Journals of the Provincial Congress*. On his activities prior to the battle of Long Island see, for example, William

- Bell Clark et al., eds., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, 12 vols. to date (Washington, DC: Naval History Division, Dept. of the Navy, 1964–), v. 1: 681, 822; v. 3: 184, 942; v. 4: 235, 236, 237, 300, 410; and v. 6: 322 (hereafter cited as *NDAR*); and Philander D. Chase et al., eds., *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, 23 vols. to date (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1985–), v. 3: 12; and v. 6: 55–56, 117. On his involvement on the hemp and ropewalk committees, see Auditor's Journal, 1775–1785, p. 108, 114, 250, 274, and Treasurer's Journal, 1775–1782, p. 258, 278, both in Records of the States of the United States (Early State Records), reel D.22, 24.
76. On obstructing the river and procuring boats, see Chase et al., eds., *Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, v. 6: 55–56, 117; *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, v. 1: 539, 594; Force, comp., *Am. Arch.*, 5th series, v. 1: 1544, 1548; and *NDAR*, v. 6: 322. On the complaint against him, see Force, comp., *Am. Arch.*, 5th ser., v. 1: 1182, 1562.
77. On Harmanus Rutgers' militia duty, see *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for ... 1915: Muster and Pay Rolls of the War of the Revolution, 1775–1783*, 2 vols. (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1916), v. 2: 505, 506, 507. On the events in spring 1775, see Countryman, *A People in Revolution*, 143–44; on Sears's father-in-law's tavern, see *ibid.*, 59. The quote is from William M. Willett, *A Narrative of the Military Actions of Colonel Marinus Willett, Taken Chiefly from His Own Manuscript* (New York, 1831), 27. On the General Association dated April 29, 1775, see *Early American Imprints*, ser. 1, no. 14339. Henry Rutgers no doubt signed the General Association, because it was required of ward committeemen who oversaw militia elections, as he did in June 1776; see *Journal of the Provincial Congress*, entry for Aug. 9, 1775, v. 1: 104, and entry for June 1, 1776, v. 1: 469.
78. "Officers of Different Beats in New York," *Calendar of Historical Mss.*, v. 1: 267; on the militia election in Beat no. 28, see *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, entry for June 1, 1776, v. 1: 469. A beat was a militia district: on Aug. 9, 1775, a committee of the Provincial Congress reported "That every county, city, manor, town, precinct and district within this Colony ... be divided into districts or beats, by the respective committees, in such manner that out of each may be formed one military company," *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, v. 1: 104. It is unclear if HR had an uninterrupted involvement with the city militia since he was first commissioned a lieutenant in 1766. On Harmanus Rutgers in the grenadier company, see Dorcas Remsen (Remson) deposition in Pardon Burlingham Revolutionary

War pension application (W17526) (Harmanus Rutgers was Dorcas's first husband, Burlingham her second, and Remsen her third); Samuel Brown deposition in same; and William Crolius affidavit in George Conselyea's pension application (S12712). On the independent militia companies, which included the grenadiers, see Alan C. Aimone and Eric I. Manders, "A Note on New York City's Independent Companies, 1775–1776," *New York History* 63 (Jan. 1982): 59–73; the uniform of the grenadiers is depicted in the Company of Military Historians, *Military Uniforms in America* series, plate no. 713. On King's College as a military hospital, see Chase et al., eds., *Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, v. 4: 124.

79. Charles Lee, "Report on the Defence of New York," *New-York Historical Society Collections for 1871: The Lee Papers*, 4 vols. (New York, 1872), v. 1: 354–57. The second quote is from Boatner, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, 798. On the fortifications in the vicinity of the Rutgers Farm, see Robert B. Roberts, *New York's Forts in the Revolution* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980), 265, 290–91, 308; and Chase et al., eds., *Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, v. 4: 368–69, and note 2. On the Grenadier Battery, see Roberts, *New York's Forts*, 284–85. In 1785, former British engineer lieutenant John Hills dedicated a manuscript topographical map of New York City (based on surveys he made in 1782) to Governor George Clinton, which depicted defensive works in the vicinity of the Rutgers Farm built by the Americans in 1776 and repaired and extended during the British occupation, "To His Excellency George Clinton, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief of the State of New York ... This Plan of the City of New York and it's Environs Is Most Humbly Dedicated by ... John Hills," 1785, New-York Historical Society; the map is reproduced in Valentine, *Manual ... for 1848*, and *Manual ... for 1857*. For an overview of events leading up to armed conflict, see Burrows and Wallace, *Gotham*, 223–35; Howard, "The Coming of the Revolution," in Klein, ed., *The Empire State*, 215–25; Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York: The City at the Heart of the American Revolution* (New York: Walker & Co., 2002), 46–140; and Chase et al., eds., *Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series*, volumes 1 through 6.
80. On Cooper, see Humphrey, *From King's College to Columbia*, 126, 153, 344n29; for an abstract of James De Lancey's loyalist claim, see Peter Wilson Coldham, *American Migrations, 1765–1799* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2000), 217–18; on Thomas Jones, see *ibid.*, 267, and ANB, s.v. "Jones, Thomas."