

## SOURCES

I have chosen not to use numbered footnotes for source citation; simply because their immense number would have made the narrative unreadable. Instead, I've described how I used our sources, hoping those who wish to follow up on this study will be able to confirm and expand on the information gathered here.

Special mention must be made of the local public historians, many of whom went far out of their way to correct and add information in these pages: Especially Barrington's Wilfred Knapp, Italy's Jessie Coons, Jerusalem's Jane Davis, Middlesex's Fred Harter, Potter's Thelma Bootes, Starkey and Dundee's Shirley VanDyne, Torrey's Betty Smalley, Dresden's Ray Welker and Penn Yan's Catharine Spencer. Becky Jensen and John Stine helped with the Benton segment. I had several useful conversations with Polly Smith about Starkey, and especially the Glenora area. Scarlett Emerson Stevens let me use material from a family scrapbook. And Virginia Gibbs made innumerable phone calls, tracking down elusive points. Her knowledge of specific buildings in this county is as far as I know unsurpassed.

More than one of these people spent hours gathering information, making copies and submitting to interviews during the sometimes trying process of sorting out a great mass of often-conflicting data. Needless to say, any errors that have slipped through are my responsibility; a large amount of the interesting detail herein contained is due to their interest and hard work.

### EARLY SETTLEMENT PERIOD - Beginnings: 1787-1810

The primary sources used to document location of the earliest settlers were the 1790, 1800 and 1810 censuses of Ontario County (on microfilm at the Yates County Historian's Office), tax rolls (especially the 1799 Middlesex roll, a photocopy of which was provided by the Ontario County Records Management Officer; and a 1792 roll for Jerusalem - then including modern Benton, Milo, Torrey and Jerusalem - published in Cleveland's *History*).

The censuses and the 1792 tax roll are set out in geographical order; by cross-checking names mentioned with deeds (originals and microfilm in the Yates County Clerk's record room), it was possible to pinpoint locations.

The Town of Jerusalem's Record of Roads was also used. A photocopy of the 1790-1802 original is in the Yates County Historian's Office. Roads were also located from a print of Augustus Porter's 1794 survey map included in Orsamus Turner's classic 1851 *History of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase*. Other survey maps were also used, especially originals in the Yates County Historian's Office of the Gore and of Plum's Survey; early surveys of Italy and Augusta; and photocopies of 1808 survey plats of Barrington, supplied by Town of Wayne Historian Don Rowland. Barrington Historian Wilfred Knapp provided me with a photocopy of the 1809 map of western New York printed by B. H. Pease of Albany. Bruce Westerdahl gave me a photocopy of the "Map of the Genesee Lands in the County of Ontario and State of New York According to an Accurate Survey Which Was Made of the Same: 1790."

Stafford C. Cleveland's *History of Yates County* (1872) was used to confirm or

in a few cases actually to fill in otherwise unfillable blanks. Cleveland compiled his *History* in the 1860s, largely from questionnaires and interviews, also from original documents no longer available. He appears to have been - for a nineteenth-century newspaper editor and amateur history buff - a pretty meticulous researcher. We have turned up a few errors and his romantic bias - he loved a good story above a reasonable one - has to be remembered at all times when one is tempted to lean too hard on him. On the other hand, the researcher can no longer talk to her followers about the Universal Friend. Cleveland did so, and put us in his debt.

Lewis Aldrich's 1892 *History of Yates County* is largely cribbed from Cleveland. The exception is the marvelous chapter on Starkey and Dundee, written by C. H. Martin who personally remembered many of the events he relates, using a good salty no-nonsense style; also the biographical information, which adds 20 years to Cleveland.

Turner's *History of the Phelps and Gorham Purchase* (indexed in 1973 by George E. Lookup) contains accounts of many personal interviews, plus the author's own memory of events. He quotes in a footnote a description of David Wagener's public house (the first built in Yates County and one of the first in western New York) from the memoir written by the Duke de Liancourt about his epic tour of the Genesee frontier; of course the Duke also visited and described the Universal Friend, a sight no tourist of the time would want to miss (on a par with Niagara Falls).

Letters and papers of the Universal Friend and her household are in the collection of the Yates County Genealogical & Historical Society and of the Olin Library at Cornell University. Also consulted as secondary sources were "blue forms" and other architectural-history materials collected in connection with the creation of the Penn Yan Historic District and other nominations elsewhere in the county; also the voluminous files of clippings and other material collected by former Yates County Historian Frank Swann, now in the Yates County Genealogical & Historical Society collection, which include a clipping of a facsimile of John L. Lewis's 1815 diary entries; and in the same collection the 1874 manuscript "History of Main Street" submitted by Sidney Ayres and the notebooks and articles compiled on Penn Yan and Yates County history by former Penn Yan Village Historian Walter Wolcott. These include text of the original contract between Lewis Birdsall and Enoch Malin for building the 1794 dam and sawmill at Penn Yan; an interview with Abraham Wagener during which he asserted that when he helped William Eddy locate his land in what's now Starkey there was no other settler between Himrod and Watkins Glen; an interview with Catharine Chissom Crane; and several early descriptions of Penn Yan's appearance, including one written by his own grandfather, also named Walter Wolcott.

Notes on architectural styles included in this and later segments follow Virginia and Lee McAlester's *A Field Guide to American Houses* (1986) and Carole Rifkind's *A Field Guide to American Architecture* (1980).

#### CONSOLIDATION PERIOD - Taking Hold: 1810-1855

Yates County had a newspaper before it had a county government - the *Penn Yan Herald*, founded in 1818. During most of this period between wars there

were at least two, frequently three or more papers published within the county's borders.

The Yates County Genealogical & Historical Society, the Yates County Historian's Office, the Dundee Library, the Dundee Area Historical Society, the Penn Yan Public Library and the *Chronical-Express* Office in Penn Yan all have collections of newspapers published during this period (original and microfilm) consulted for this study. Attitudes taken in editorials and letters of comment, plus advertising and very occasional notes on local events provide a good picture of the social, intellectual and commercial life of the time. Most early-nineteenth century papers - to judge by the local sample - concentrated almost exclusively on world and national events. The editorial stance (usually partisan) reflected reaction to these larger events. Almost no local news appears, beyond important fires and a few spectacular crimes. It's quite obvious that local editors felt everyone already knew the local news and needed enlightenment on what was going on in the outside world. Every ship that made port in New York and Boston, even Baltimore, brought word of European and occasional Asian events to American shores and these were eagerly printed and discussed. Complete texts of speeches by candidates for national and state office, lecturers, reformers and other opinion leaders were printed verbatim. Election results were printed (with commentary) for every election district in the county and many elsewhere. Stances were taken on such issues as temperance, women's rights, immigration, abolition of slavery, clothing reform and others. Advertising reveals the preoccupations of consumers, their views on health, sex, the home and fashion trends. It seems clear from the tone of much of this advertising that it was aimed largely at women; the corollaries inevitably drawn are that women were literate enough to routinely read the papers, and they had at least some control over spending the household's money.

Another excellent source for determining how people lived in this era is census records. The 1820, 1825, 1830 and 1835 enumerations all give some statistics on industry and the number of people engaged in agriculture, commerce and manufacture. Beginning in 1850, every person was listed (not just the heads of household, as earlier) with their ages, places of birth and occupations. The 1855 census gives county of birth if within New York, and data on construction and value of dwellings. Statistics were collected on each farm (with products and value of crops and livestock) and each nonagricultural industry. A detailed picture can be built up through examination of this data - a picture of how people really lived. Mortality statistics tell researchers how they died as well: largely of disease, and many at a very young age.

H. G. Spafford's 1824 *Gazetteer of the State of New York* gives statistical information on each of the towns and villages in the county along with some pointed and enjoyable commentary.

The Yates County Genealogical & Historical Society has original and photocopied assessment and tax collector's rolls from the village of Penn Yan, taken in the 1840s.

The 1829 map of Yates and Ontario Counties by David M. Burr and the 1854 L. & S. Denton map of Yates County with its insets of three of the villages were both very helpful. The Yates County Historian's Office also has Israel

Arnold's original survey of the town of Torrey, old surveys of several of the towns and the village of Hopeton, the 1857 map of Milo and Penn Yan, and the 1855 map of Starkey and Dundee. On file with the Yates County Clerk are a number of helpful maps, including one of the Hopeton Millsite and the original survey and plot of Dresden.

Use was made of the Record of Roads of Barrington and Starkey, both on microfilm at the Yates County Historian's Office. A similar document for Milo is in the vault of the town clerk. The minute books and other records of the village of Penn Yan, as indexed and summarized by Dennis Corlew were also consulted.

Secondary sources included Cleveland and Aldrich, as above, material in the Swann files - especially a wonderful interview with former slave John Thomas - and other material in the collection of the Yates County Genealogical & Historical Society. The information quoted from Robert P. Bush was printed in centennial issue of the *Penn Yan Democrat* printed in 1918, in the collection of the Yates County Historian. Richard F. Palmer's *The "Old Line Mail"* (1977) provided much background on the stagecoach days.

#### EXPANSION PERIOD - Reaching Out: 1855-1900

The Civil War era is extremely well documented as far as the soldiers in the field are concerned. Less-well-known is what we would today call "The Home Front." Soldiers' letters home were faithfully preserved, but the replies were, obviously, much more at risk. Aldrich's *History* and Walter Wolcott's *Military History of Yates County* both contain plenty of information about the soldiers, and the latter some revealing anecdotes about the feeling at home.

In addition, local newspapers, particularly the Penn Yan ones (which adhered to opposing party lines) are very revealing, both of political overtones and the astonishing economic well-being of the area during the war years. They also published several series of soldiers' letters.

The 1865 map of the county - available in the Yates County Clerk's office and at the Oliver House Museum - is an excellent one, providing detailed and accurate insets of many of the hamlets as well as the villages and of course the rural towns. The 1876 *New Historical Atlas of Yates County, New York* by Everts, Ensign & Everts was, obviously, very heavily used. Don Rowland provided maps and other information on the Corning & Sodus Bay Railroad.

Another excellent source is the census undertaken by the state in 1865. Not only does this document list every local resident who was a soldier or sailor; but it gives his unit as well, the condition and convalescence of the wounded, and the names and other information about the war dead. Each enumerator was invited to comment on the sociological status of his district, and most of them took the opportunity; their comments are revealing and quoted in the text.

Newspapers continued to provide good information about the postwar period, and this source was heavily used for "color" as well as statistical information. Statistics on agriculture and industry were abstracted from the 1875 census; also country of birth and the occupations held by immigrants, blacks and

women (and, obviously, white men as well; *their* status is easy to come by).

Both nineteenth-century histories of Yates County focus on navigation of Keuka Lake and pretty well ignore the county's other two Finger Lakes, Seneca and Canandaigua. Histories of two Ontario County towns were helpful in regard to Seneca Lake: *The Country Cousin, A Chronicle of the Town of Geneva*, by Lucille M. Harford (1976); and *A History of the Town of Seneca*, by Rodney S. Lightfoote (1989). Frank Swann's files at the Yates County Genealogical & Historical Society contain a folder on Canandaigua Lake navigation.

Directories of Penn Yan and Yates County began to be published during the period, beginning with the 1879-80 edition. The best, probably, is George Hanford's *Directory of Yates County, N.Y. with Map, 1894-95*. This was printed in Elmira in 1894 and makes good reading all by itself, with its copious advertising. It lists residents of each township and village in the county, with special sections on businesses (including agricultural ones like vineyards). It even gives everyone's address, invaluable for locating vanished business enterprises.

Lewis Aldrich devotes a whole chapter to the development of vineyards and the basket industry that so dominated the agricultural and industrial scene during the latter part of the period. Pictures of the various types of baskets, picking boxes and trays are shown in Liberty Hyde Bailey's *The Principles of Fruit-Growing* (1910).

The clipping file of Frank Swann, alluded to earlier, again proved invaluable for researching this segment. The marvelous anecdote about the planned defense of the Metropolitan in case of antidraft rioting came from this file, as well as interviews with members of the black community and others. The material is not arranged chronologically, but geographically (in a somewhat haphazard manner; evidently the system suited the compiler) and is incredibly voluminous. The collection is a very important resource, especially for Penn Yan and to a lesser extent the county's smaller communities.

#### ASSIMILATION PERIOD - Bringing the World Home: 1900-1945

Sources of information about Yates County in the early twentieth century are, oddly, harder to come by than those for the nineteenth. The information is there, but it is uncollected and much more diffuse.

Map data for this section was largely taken from a 1916 soil map, and highway maps made in 1933 and 1939. The first two are in the collection of the Yates County Genealogical & Historical Society and the last can be found at the Yates County Highway Department, though the copy used by the writer was from the personal collection of Yates County Historian Virginia Gibbs.

Census data was collected from the enumerations done in 1915 and in 1925, including numbers and origin of immigrants and the occupations held by women and men in various towns. The originals of these censuses (and microfilm copies of the decennial federal ones) are in the record room of the Yates County Clerk.

Directories for Penn Yan were done very frequently during the period and they are full of specific data on the existence and location of commercial and industrial enterprises. The ones used to prepare this section were the ones dated 1906-7, 1935 and 1938. The only county-wide directories that could be located were the American Agriculturist Farm Directories for 1913 and 1914. These include other counties as well. Both can be found at the Yates County Genealogical & Historical Society, which also has a very complete set of the village directories. The Yates County Historian's Office possesses a few of the latter.

Walter Wolcott's *Penn Yan, New York* gives a very complete picture of the village as it existed in 1914. This first village historian included valuable chapters on the village's history, but the most useful part of the book for present purposes is the description of the local businesses, industries and educational institutions.

E. D. Harrison of Penn Yan compiled in 1921 a book that he called *Yates County in the World War*, which contains the names of all the county's men and women who served in the Great War during 1917 and 1918, as well as those who raised money to pay for the War's prosecution, served on draft boards, the Red Cross and other related activities.

During the years covered by this section and afterward, several booklets were produced describing the history and present status of the town of Starkey and village of Dundee. The ones used in this study were Adelaide Eddy Sunderlin's *Bonnie Dundee* (1958) and *Starkey Township* (1960); W. R. Kuklantz' *A History of Starkey Seminary* (1978); *Dundee 1847-1947*; *The Village of Dundee New York* (undated, about 1935); *Recollections of Early Days* (1976); *The Anniversary Book* (1973); and Janet Heller Howell's *The History of Glenora* (1985 and 1988). These are in the Yates County Historian's collection and all but the last mentioned were obtained from the Dundee Area Historical Society. The Dundee Woman's Study Club and Library maintains a local history collection that contained much useful data for this section; particularly the material on "Dogtown" and the village of Dundee. Pat Rapalee Murphy kindly volunteered information about her grandmother Hester Rapalee. Statistics were printed in the Yates County edition of *County Profiles: Socio-Economic Characteristics* (1985), a report of the New York State Bureau of Market Information.

The Bicentennial of 1976 gave the impetus for histories of some of the towns. Particularly useful for this section were Thelma Bootes' *Potter Profiles* and Scarlett Emerson Stevens' booklet on Middlesex. Both are in the collection of the Yates County Genealogical & Historical Society. So is Robert Moody's outline history (up through 1916) of the village of Rushville. Mr. Moody also wrote an article appearing in the *Chronicle-Express* on June 22, 1939. Its headline was "Many Changes in Central School District Since Days of Washington," and much of the issue was devoted to the new central school in Middlesex near Rushville. The article gives many details on the educational history of the district, as well as covering agriculture, politics, even architecture. It was a remarkable example of so-called "social history" written well before that term or in fact the subject became fashionable. Mrs. Bootes found histories of both Potter Center churches for me. Catharine Spencer's *The Sesquicentennial History of Penn Yan, New York* (1983) collects in one place a great many interesting clippings, including Richard W. Williams'

biographical sketch of Jacob Fredenburgh, the 1852 interview of Abraham Wagener printed in the *Dundee Record*, lots of reminiscences and early descriptions of the villages and many interesting photographs.

In gathering the information for this section generally, and particularly so in the case of the World War II years, the local newspapers were invaluable. The Yates County Genealogical & Historical Society's enormous clipping files compiled by former Yates County Historian Robert Swann were particularly useful, as were the microfilm collections of newspapers in the collection of the Yates County Historian. Swann also collected voluminous notes on local veterans of all the nation's wars. His card file on veterans of the World Wars is in the collection of the Yates County Historian.

And finally, if the compiler of this study hadn't already decided to dedicate it to the memory of Stafford Cleveland (who is reported to have wondered if he had bitten off more than he could chew; a sentiment with which I can readily sympathize), the honor (if that's what it is) would certainly have gone to her known and anonymous forerunners, to the many individuals who have clipped, copied, saved and otherwise preserved the written record of our past; to those with the energy - and courage - to argue, complain, picket, sue and generally agitate for our right to retain the structural remnant of our heritage; to the people who brought back the Painted Ladies; to these previous toilers in the vineyard: I thank you all.