

## When New York was the Wild West, 1500-1850

History 277/277W

Tu Th 9:40-10:50

Gavett 310

Office Hours: Wed. 2:00-4:00 or by appt.

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**Land Acknowledgement** - The University of Rochester sits on the homelands of the Onöndowa’g:a’ (Seneca) Nation, the “Great Hill People” and “Keepers of the Western Door” of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. The land on which we gather was unjustly taken from them through British and US colonial expansions. We recognize and resist the erasure of Indigenous histories and will actively cultivate an awareness of Indigenous presence, their enduring relationship with this land, and ongoing Onöndowa’g:a’ quest for restitution, justice, and reparations.

**Course Description:** This lecture class explores the history of the region that became New York from the pre-European contact period through the early nineteenth century. We will particularly focus on this geographic crossroads as a frontier zone, where cross-cultural encounters were common and bold new economic, social, and religious experiments were launched. Our readings will survey Native American culture, Dutch settlement, British colonial development, the American Revolution and the growth of Western New York and New York City in the Early Republic. Along the way you will either study more closely a particular period or topic through secondary readings or develop a primary research project on a specific subject of interest.

This is primarily an interactive lecture course – my experimental attempt to distill the vastly complex interplay of events and cultures rooted in a specific place as a series of “true stories” rather than lectures as we try to best understand Haudenosaunee, Dutch, pan-Atlantic, British,

and American histories. The course demands your listening attention, thinking, and reflection and commitment to recording this all in a handwritten notebook.

We will approach history as a process – 1) recovering what happened from documents and material culture, 2) communicating this recovery narratively in written and oral forms, and 3) using argument and rhetoric to inflect histories with meaning and relevance. We will use discussions and critiques of primary sources and historical works to do so.

### **A Device-free Classroom**

Technology can be wonderful and the IoT permeates our daily lives, but for three hours a week you will be historical re-enactors of analog college students in the 1990s. Listening and discussion thrives when we are not distracted and can focus on the here and now, so please do not bring laptops, smartphones, etc. to class or use them unless asked to. You should definitely take notes on key aspects of stories and the texts we will discuss using good old-fashioned pen and paper notebooks.

In the weeks ahead we will mix story-telling sessions with critical analysis of histories and historical texts, maybe with a field trip or two thrown in for good measure. In most weeks, Tuesdays will provide broad historical background and content and Thursdays will be devoted to conversations/discussions, when reaction papers (if you choose these) will be due at the start of class.

### **Assessment**

People learn in different ways and have different intellectual strengths and weaknesses. Some of us love research, driven by curiosity to ask and figuring out ways to answer new questions, fill in historical gaps, solve mysteries, better understand the unfamiliar, or immerse ourselves in past worlds and lives. Some of us love mastering the “big picture” of knowing what happened and how we became who we are today. Some of us are good test-takers. Some prefer more time and space to compose our thoughts and figure things out. I want this course to play to your strengths so will experiment with letting you choose your own assignments and grade weighting at the start of the semester. Students taking this course for “W” credit must write a research paper on a topic of their choice, submit it in early December, and revise and resubmit it.

	HIS 277	HIS 277W
Class Participation	25-40%	25-40%
Written Journal	10-20%	10-20%
0-2 Reaction papers	5-10% each	5-10% each
2 in-person midterms	0-10 % each	0-10 % each
Final exam	0-15%	0-15%
Primary research paper	0 OR 30%	30-40%
Critical book review	0-10%	0-10%

This approach hopefully gives you maximum control over achieving a high grade in this class.

**Class Participation:** You are expected to attend every class, read any assigned material, and come prepared to talk about what you have read. You should be engaged, ready to think on your feet, and frame historical questions about the assigned material. In contributing to discussion,

quality is more appreciated than quantity: as Benjamin Franklin's Poor Richard says, "Silence is not always a Sign of Wisdom, but Babbling is ever a Mark of Folly." Your class participation grade is worth a minimum of twenty-five percent (25%), a blend of attendance and engagement. If you are ill or need to be away from campus, let me know in advance and we can discuss alternative ways to credit your participation. Unexcused absences will reduce your participation grade and accumulating more than five unexcused absences will result in a failing grade.

### **Midterm and Final Exams**

Strategically, exams are an end to the mean of getting you to review and synthesize course material, assigning weight and meaning to people, concepts, and events; making comparisons and drawing contrasts among and between historical actors; assessing causality and changes over time; and considering events from multiple perspectives. You will hopefully learn as much from preparing for an exam as you will in individual classes. I frame exams to assess what you know (rather than what you don't) in terms of the questions asked and will give you choices. You can even avoid taking midterm exams entirely. **Exams will be open book, in-person, and handwritten in blue books (like in the 1990s), since this is the only way I can ensure that your answers are not AI-produced or enhanced (see policy below).** Acing them should therefore be easy if you prepare well and understand the material.

### **Writing Assignments**

The rest of your grade is based on a flexible self-determined mix of reaction papers (5-10%), a critical book summary (0-10%), work leading to your final research paper (0-40%), and your handwritten journal (10-20%), which I will read and give feedback on midway through the semester and collect on the final day of classes (so keep it up to date!).

**Reaction Papers:** You can write up to TWO single-spaced, two-page critical reaction papers addressing an assigned reading due at the beginning of the class in which we discuss it. These papers should succinctly summarize the issues that authors addresses and evaluate the persuasiveness of arguments and evidence. Reaction essays turned in late will be marked down half a grade for each day late, so have your papers ready on time! You are forbidden to use ChatGPT and all other AI writing platforms to write your reaction paper and in suspicious cases you will need to prove they are your original work (see policy below).

**Book Summary:** If you want to know more about a particular topic, you can pick a suggested Alternative text (marked "A") that complements the lecture or common reading that week. In your report you should write an introduction, provide a detailed summary and your own critical evaluation, and situate the book's content and argument within our class stories and discussions. These are normally in the 4-5 single-spaced page range. This will be due NO LATER than a week after the class it was suggested for and you will also briefly report on it in class. This assignment is worth up to 10% of your grade.

**Research Paper:** Besides learning about Haudenosaunee, Dutch, British, and U.S. periods of New York history, this course can introduce you to research methods that historians use to identify subjects and areas worthy of study, gather evidence to address research questions, wrestle with primary and secondary source biases and interpretations, and craft an engaging, original narrative about the past. Your writing and critical thinking skills will improve along the

way. The research paper option is required for students taking HIS 277W and optional for all others. On our final day of class, you will formally present your findings and arguments to your peers.

Research papers explore a specific subject or relevant person, place, event, or development relating to New York history using mainly primary sources or a substantial collection of documents and contextual secondary material with my guidance. They are generally in the 12- to 18-page double-spaced range. Success will largely depend upon your ability to conduct research independently, analyze documents, and creatively write up your findings. Collectively your research paper is worth up to forty percent (40%), including several steps in the developmental process: paper proposal/bibliography (3%), outline/status report (2%), first draft (10%), final paper (15-25%). Late submissions will be penalized a grade per day so it is important to work steadily throughout the semester and submit complete, polished assignments on schedule.

Research paper development entails additional benchmarks during the semester to ensure steady progress and iterative development, so you must commit to this option within the first two weeks of class. We will follow the schedule below to incrementally develop your research topic:

**By Friday, Sept. 11:** meet with me to discuss potential topics.

**Sept. 17-19:** Meet with Lara Nicosia (RR Research librarian) to discuss sources and research strategies for your topic. Meet also with Autumn Haag (RR Rare Books & Special Collections) to investigate manuscript sources in UR's archives.

**By Friday, Oct. 9:** register a specific topic with me.

**October 17:** submit a 1- to 2-page paper PROSPECTUS and annotated bibliography (see Storey, *Writing History* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), p. 22-24 for criteria) – 3% of paper grade

**Nov. 2:** submit a paper OUTLINE and status report of research & writing progress to date – 2% of paper grade.

**November 26:** full draft of research paper due. 10% of paper grade.

**Dec. 2-5:** meet with me individually to collect your draft and discuss ways to revise and improve it.

**Friday, Dec. 13:** final revised paper due, with no exceptions.

**Chat GTP and other AI writing platforms:** Writing is a key component of public and academic discourse and is a learned, constantly practiced, evolving skill. New AI platforms can synthesize enormous bodies of texts for you but do so in an uninformed, mindless way and generally fall well short of the concise, targeted writing you will need to do for this course. It also cannot make use of unpublished and manuscript sources, upon which original historical research usually draws. Until I am convinced otherwise, I will not allow you to use AI tools in your writing assignments without prior explicit permission (and a good reason from you why I should). **Unauthorized use of Chat GTP and other AI will therefore constitute an academic honesty violation** since you would be presenting work as your own that has been artificially enhanced. If I am in doubt whether your work is AI-enhanced or generated, it is up to you (by showing me earlier drafts, notes, marked-up/annotated readings etc.) to demonstrate that your written work is your own creation.

**UR WSAP:** While developing your reaction and research papers, you are allowed and very

much encouraged to work with writing fellows and specialists in the College [Writing, Speaking, and Argument Program](#) (Rush Rhees G-121). They can help you to organize your structure, improve your prose, and serve as ideal readers/sounding boards as you develop your research. As a fortune cookie I once opened stated, “Good writing is clear thinking made visible.” If you work with them, the writing center staff will help you to achieve this.

**Rush Rhees Research Librarians:** You should consult [Lara Nicosia](#) and [Autumn Haag](#) early and often while developing research papers. Lara is the History Research Librarian with specialties in U.S. and Canadian sources, while Autumn Haag is the Assistant Director of the Rare Books and Special Collections Department and can lead you to numerous local and regional manuscript sources. Use [THIS LINK](#) to book appointments.

**Technology Failures:** I am astonished by how often hard drives and laptops crash right before paper due dates. Never fear! I regularly build high-end computer systems for my Digital History Lab and am handy with recovering data from fried laptop SSDs. To get an excused extension when you suffer a catastrophic computer failure, you need to bring your afflicted computer to my Digital History lab so we can try to access or recover your lost files. If your system truly is fried, we will then work out an extension timetable. Or just regularly save your work on OneDrive, iCloud, Google Drive, Box, Dropbox, etc.

**Credit Hours:** The College’s credit hour policy on undergraduate courses is to award four credit hours for courses that meet for the equivalent of two periods of seventy minutes each week. Students enrolled in HIS 277/277W are expected to devote at least one hour each week to identifying the main lines of argument in course readings, writing in your journals, conducting research on chosen topics, reading additional books, and generally contemplating the meaning of life, the universe, and everything.

**Academic honesty:** All assignments and activities associated with this course must be performed in accordance with the University of Rochester's Academic Honesty Policy. Cheating and plagiarism - including the unauthorized use of AI platforms to compose work you submit as your own original creation - are serious offenses and will be treated as such. I will refer anyone who engages in such activities to the College Board on Academic Honesty for disciplinary action, as outlined at <http://www.rochester.edu/College/honesty>. For a helpful discussion of plagiarism (including subtle instances), see the American Historical Association’s “Defining Plagiarism.”

Please include the UR honor pledge at the end of every written paper you submit: “I affirm that I have not given or received any unauthorized help on this assignment, and that this work is my own.”

**A Note on Communication:** It is up to you to get to class on time and submit all your work early or on time in paper or electronic form. I check my email regularly during the work week and am usually good about responding to *correct and courteously worded* missives but don’t expect instant responses and do not assume we got your email. Informal and poorly punctuated/capitalized emails annoy me. Finally, if you find yourself overwhelmed or struggling during the semester, do not simply “disappear.” Instead, come to office hours so we can talk

through your difficulties and try to come up with strategies to stop downward spirals from occurring. I can only help if I know this is happening, and early timely intervention is far more productive than damage control at semester's end.

**Inclusion:** The University of Rochester, this course and I are committed to inclusion and welcome students of all backgrounds and abilities. Services and reasonable accommodations are available to students with temporary and permanent disabilities, to students with DACA or undocumented status, to students facing mental health issues, other personal situations, and to students with other kinds of learning needs. Please let us know if there are circumstances affecting your ability to participate in class. Some resources that might be of use include: In the event you encounter any barrier(s) to full participation in this course due to the impact of a disability, please contact the Office of Disability Resources. (disability@rochester.edu; (585) 276-5075; Taylor Hall)

**Accommodation:** If you have a disability for which you require an academic accommodation, you are encouraged to contact the Office for Disability Resources and me. We will work together to find a solution. Access coordinators in the Office of Disability Resources can meet with you to discuss the barriers you are experiencing and explain the eligibility process for establishing academic accommodations. The director of disability resources is Amy Wight (amy.wight@rochester.edu). The access coordinators are Pamela Spallacci (pamela.spallacci@rochester.edu) and Elizabeth Carpenter (elizabeth.carpenter@rochester.edu). The access assistant is Anne Staab (anne.staab@rochester.edu). The Office of Disability Resources is located in Taylor Hall, can be reached via telephone at 585-276-5075, and maintains a website at <http://www.rochester.edu/college/disability/>.

Grading Scale for exams and other assignment graded out of 100 points:

- |               |                              |
|---------------|------------------------------|
| * A: 93–100   | * C: 73–76.9                 |
| * A-: 90–92.9 | * C-: 70–72.9                |
| * B+: 87–89.9 | * D+: 67–69.9                |
| * B: 83–86.9  | * D: 63–66.9                 |
| * B-: 80–82.9 | * D-: 60–62.9                |
| * C+: 77–79.9 | * E: Failure (59.9 or below) |

**REQUIRED TEXTS:**

Russell Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World*  
Jill Lepore, *New York Burning*  
Judith Van Buskirk, *Generous Enemies*  
Carol Sheriff, *The Artificial River*  
Paul Johnson and Sean Wilentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias*

## Schedule of Classes, Readings, and Meetings

\* = Required Reading, P = Primary Source, A = Alternative Text

### Week I – Introduction

Welcome to New York...It's been waiting for you

**Tu Aug. 26 – Course Overview & New York's Many Frontiers**

**Th Aug 28 – Story I. Turtle Island**

### Week II – The People of the Longhouse

**Tu Sept. 3 – Story II. The Haudenosaunee**

**Th Sept. 5 - Story III. Haudenosaunee Society & Culture**

Suggested:

**A Daniel Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse.***

**P *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents:***

***Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791 (1891-1902).* 72 vols.**

**P Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations depending on the Province of New-York in America* (1969)**

**P Charles Ganter, ed., *Collected Speeches of . . . Red Jacket* (2006)**

**P William Johnson, *Papers of Sir William Johnson, 1747-1774*, 14 vols.**

**Jordan Kerber, ed. *Archaeology of the Iroquois* (2007)**

**Barbara Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas* (2000)**

**Jon Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods: Iroquoia, 1534-1701* (2014)**

**P William Pilkington, ed., *Journals of Samuel Kirkland* (1980)**



### Week III – Netherlanders

**Tu Sept. 10 – Story IV. A Marshy Medieval Mess**

**Th Sept 12 – Story V. Iberian Supernova & Dutch Dissidence**

## Week IV – Atlantic Expansion

**Tu Sept. 17 – Story VI. A Global War for Independence, 1568-1648**

**Th Sept. 19 – Story VII. 1607-1609 – European Invasions on the Haudenosaunee Frontier**

Suggested:

Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World* (London, 2009)

Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1998)

Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (2002)

Maarten Prak and Jan Luiten van Zander, *Pioneers of Capitalism: The Netherlands 1000–1800* (Cambridge, 2024)

**A - Simon Shama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Oxford, 1997)**

Anton van der Lem, *Revolt in the Netherlands: The Eighty Years War, 1568-1648* (2019)

## Week V – Worlds Collide

**Tu Sept. 24 – FIRST MIDTERM EXAM  
(covering years 1300-1620)**

**Th. Sept. 26 - Story VIII. The Beaver Wars**



## Week VI – Melting Pots of All Sizes

**Tu. Oct. 1 – Time Travel: Visiting the World that Hats Made**

\* Film *Black Robe* (1991) – see on your own or at a class screening (TBA)- DISCUSSION

**Th. Oct. 3 – Story IX: The Dutch West India Company and New Netherland**

Suggested:

**A Wim Klooster, *The Dutch Moment***





**Week VII – Holland on the Hudson**  
**DEADLINE FOR REGISTERING RESEARCH TOPICS**

**Tu Oct. 8 - Old and New Netherlands I**

\* Russell Shorto, *The Island at the Center of the World*, 1-145, DISCUSSION

**Th Oct. 10 – The Quickening of a Colony**

\* Shorto, *Island and the Center of the World*, 146-325, DISCUSSION

**Suggested:**

**A – Jaap Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland: A Dutch Settlement in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca, 2009)**

Donna Merwick, *The Shame and the Sorrow* (2007)

Oliver Rink, *Holland on the Hudson* (1986)

Susannah Shaw Romney, *New Netherland Connections: Intimate Networks and Atlantic Ties in Seventeenth-Century America* (2014)

Joyce Goodfriend, *Revisiting New Netherland* (2005)

Janny Venema, *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664* (2003)

Henri and Barbara Van der Zee, *A Sweet and Alien Land: The Story of Dutch New York* (1978)

P E.B. O’Callaghan, *[Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York](#)* [1603-1774] (1853-87). 15 vols.

**Week VIII – A Mid-semester Pause**

**Tu. Oct. 15 NO CLASS FALL BREAK**

**Th. Oct. 17 – SECOND MIDTERM (covering years 1600-1665)**  
Research Paper Prospectus and Annotated Bibliography DUE



**Week IX – Becoming New York**

**Tu. Oct. 22 – Story X. The Treachery and Tragedy of 1664: Selling Out the Haudenosaunee**

**Th. Oct. 24 – Story XI. English Culture, Colonization, Consolidation & Crisis**

**Suggested:**

**A- Robert Ritchie, *The Duke's Province: A Study of New York Society and Politics* (1977)**

Donna Merwick, *Death of a Notary* (1999)

Joyce Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial NYC* (1992)

Cynthia Kierner, *Traders and Gentlemen: The Livingstons of New York, 1675-1790* (1992)

Jean Zimmerman, *The Women of the House: How a Colonial She-Merchant built a Mansion, an Fortune, and an Dynasty* (2006)

**P – The Jacob Leisler Papers Project** (<https://jacobleislerinstitute.org/the-jacob-leisler-papers-project/>)

**POTENTIAL FIELD TRIP (Saturday Oct. 26) to Ganandagan Seneca Longhouse**



**Week X – Atlantic New York**

**Tu Oct. 29. Story XII – New York City: A Scrappy Little Seaport**

**Th Oct. 31 – Melting Pots Sometimes Boil Over...**

\* Jill Lepore, *New York Burning*, all, DISCUSSION

**HALLOWEEN – Extra credit for anyone who comes to class in historic costume!**

**Suggested:**

**A Cathy Matson, *Merchants and Empire***

Patricia Bonomi, *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York* (1971)

Patricia Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven*

Patricia Bonomi, *The Lord Cornbury Scandal*

Thomas Davis, *A Rumor of Revolt* (1985)

Douglas Greenberg, *Crime and Law Enforcement in the Colony of New York, 1691-1776* (1976)

Graham Hodges, *Root and Branch* (1999) colonial NY/NJ slavery

Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul* (2003) Huguenot migration

Gary Nash, *The Urban Crucible* (1986)

Nan Rothschild, *New York City Neighborhoods: The Eighteenth Century* (1990)

*Unearthing Gotham: The Archaeology of New York City*

Alan Singer, *New York and Slavery* (2008)

**Week XI – Clash of Empires and The Road to Revolution**  
**RESEARCH PAPER OUTLINE AND STATUS REPORT DUE**

**Tu Nov. 5 – Story XIII. New York: Epicenter of the Seven Years War**

**Th Nov. 7 – Story XIV. Patriotic Britons: Georgian New York Culture**

**Suggested:**

Tim Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution*

Gary Nash, *The Urban Crucible*



**Week XII – Revolutionary New York**

**Tu Nov. 12 – Story XV. Losing the Peace: British Imperial Reform & The Road to Revolution**

**Th Nov. 14 – The American Revolution in New York**

\* Judith Van Buskirk, *Generous Enemies*, all, DISCUSSION

Suggested:

Benjamin Carp, *Rebels Rising* (2007)

George Daughan, *Revolution on the Hudson: New York City and the Hudson River Valley in the American War of Independence* (2016)

Lincoln Diamond, *Chaining the Hudson* (1989)

H.T. Dickinson, ed., *Britain and the American Revolution* (1998)

Christopher Hibbert, *Rebels and Redcoats: The American Revolution Through British Eyes*

Richard Ketchum, *Saratoga* (1997)

David McCullough, *1776* (2005)

P *Naval Documents of the American Revolution, 1774-1779+*, 13 vols.

William Nelson, *The American Tory* (1992)

Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters* (1980)

Philip Ranlet, *The New York Loyalists* (1986)

Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York* (2002)

Joseph Tiedemann, *Reluctant Revolutionaries: New York City, 1763-1776* (1997)

Joseph Tiedemann and Eugene Fingerhut, eds., *The Other New York: The American Revolution Beyond New York City, 1763-1787* (2005)

### **Week XIII – Winners and Losers**

#### **Tu Nov. 19 – Joseph Brant, Conotocarious: The Revolutionary War in Western New York**

\* Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground*, 1-141.

DISCUSSION

#### **Th Nov. 21 – “Nature Abhors a Vacuum” – American Invasions**

\* Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground*, 142-294.

DISCUSSION

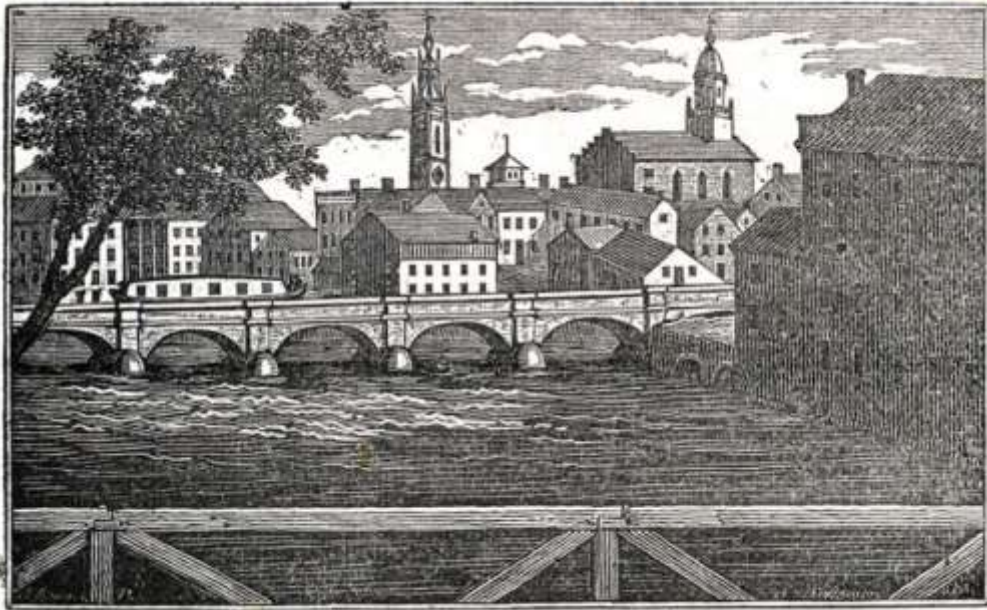
Suggested:

Colin Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (1995)

Gregory Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance* (1992)

P James Seaver, ed., *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison, Who Was Taken by the Indians, In the Year 1755, When Only About Twelve Years of Age, and Has Continued to Reside Amongst Them to the Present Time* (1823)





VIEW OF ROCHESTER WITH A SECTION OF THE AQUEDUCT.

**Week XIV – The Whitening of Western New York**  
**RESEARCH PAPERS DUES**

**Tu. Nov. 26 – Story XVI. Rochesterville - Young Lion of the West**

**Th. Nov. 28 – NO CLASS – THANKSGIVING BREAK**

Suggested:

Linda De Pauw, *The Eleventh Pillar: New York State and the Federal Constitution*

Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town*

Ron Chernow, *Alexander Hamilton*

**Week XV – History in our Backyard**  
**RESEARCH PAPER PRESENTATIONS**

**Tu. Dec. 3 – Religion, Revival, and Reform in a Young Republic**

\* Paul Johnson and Sean Wilentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias*, all, DISCUSSION

**Th. Dec. 5 – No Longer the Wild West?**  
**Reflections on New York History**

Suggested:

**A Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium***

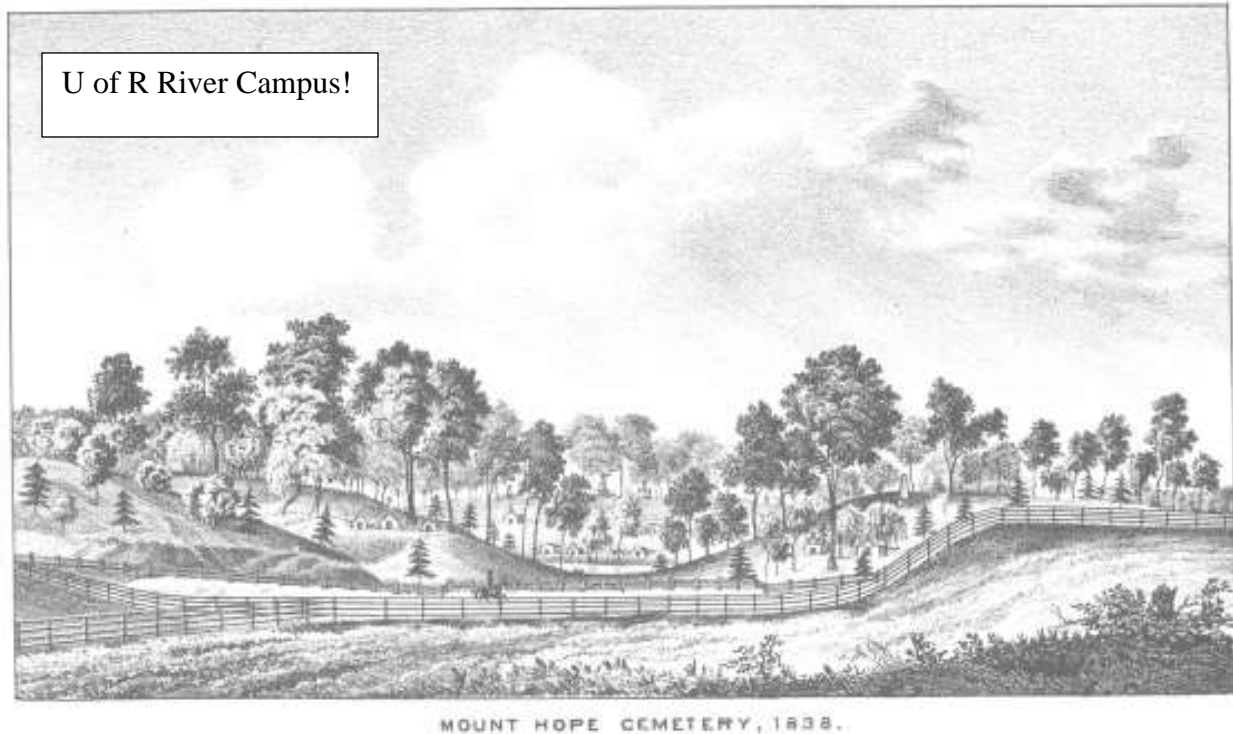
Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*

Anthony Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*



Louis Mazur, *Rites of Execution*  
David Rothman, *Discovery of the Asylum*  
Blake McKelvey, 4 vol. history of Rochester.

**FINAL EXAM - Monday Dec. 16 @ 4:00-7:00 pm**



**Research Paper Challenges/Ideas:**

The Denonville Invasion of 1687

Dutch and English Women – comparing roles and rights

Smallpox Epidemics in New York/NYC & public health policies

Dutch Commercial Persistence & Dutch Caribbean connections

NY Jewish Community & navigating the Dutch to English shift

Loyalist Privateering out of New York City, 1776-1783

The Fox News of the American Revolution: British Newspapers in NYC, 1776-1783

The Lost City of Tryon (1790-1815) - Rochester's older brother