

DAVID AND NATHANIEL SHIPMAN

THE TWO LEATHERSTOCKINGS

Floyd Mallory Shumway
116 East 63rd Street
New York 21, New York
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I. THE HUNTER WITH THE LONG RIFLE

In the year 1790 a tall, lean, middle-aged man named David Shipman settled on a farm on Oak Creek in Otsego County, New York, about three miles from Cooperstown. He was accompanied by his wife and at least three of their children, Samuel, Sophia and Delilah. Remaining behind in Hoosick Falls, New York, their previous home, was another daughter, Patience.

David was not a good farmer, or at least he did not choose to be. While other men in this frontier area cleared their land and improved their original crude housing, David spent most of his time hunting in the woods accompanied by a dog, armed with a rifle of unusual length and dressed in clothing made from the skins of wild animals.

This unorthodox preoccupation was not entirely fruitless, because, in addition to feeding his own family, he was frequently able to act as supplier to the table of Judge William Cooper, founder of the town and its leading citizen. A relationship of sorts developing between the two men, they sometimes hunted together, and the judge employed David to help him survey his land.

After Mrs. Shipman died, David spent a year back in Hoosick Falls with his daughter Patience, by then Mrs. John Ryan, but he returned to Oak Creek and lived the rest of his life on his son's farm. He died there during an epidemic on February 28, 1813.

Cooperstown As the Western Frontier

Except for the small settlement at Cherry Valley, Otsego County prior to the American Revolution contained virtually no white men. It was Indian country and was therefore a thoroughly dangerous place in which to live.

Potential settlers existed in abundance. New England, essentially agrarian and none too fertile, had become badly crowded. The center of population had inched toward the west, and the marginal land in the Berkshires was gradually occupied.

During the generation before the war, large numbers of New Englanders had gone on over those hills and down into the Hudson River Valley. Their arrival saturated that region, but further westward migration was impossible because of the Indians beyond the river.

The problem was solved in 1777 by the Clinton-Sullivan expedition, which eliminated the Indians as an effective threat in central New York State. The wing of this army commanded by Brigadier General James Clinton camped for a time at the foot of Otsego Lake where Cooperstown was later to stand. Clinton's officer corps established a liquor consumption record while they were there that has proved to be a shining example to six generations of residents in that village.

The first white owner of the land around Cooperstown was Colonel George Croghan, who acquired a large tract in 1768. He mortgaged it and subsequently fell into debt, and his holding became involved in

a long and complicated litigation.

In January, 1786, William Cooper and Andrew Craig, both of Burlington, New Jersey, became the joint owners of forty thousand acres of the original Croghan property. Anticipating this outcome of the suit, Cooper had gone up to look the place over the previous autumn, and he became so enthusiastic that he soon bought out Craig's interest.

Owners of large tracts in New York State had previously retained title to their land, filling it with tenant farmers whose relationship to the master was almost feudal. William Cooper wisely decided to sell his property to small-scale but independent farmers.

The Cooper land became available to the public in May, 1786, and it was completely sold in sixteen days. A few purchasers moved in promptly, but it took most of them a year or more to close out their affairs and make their way to Otsego County.

Cooperstown was laid out in 1788, and Cooper moved there himself two years after that. He bought up large areas around his original holding and went permanently into the real estate business.

Cooper's first customers had been poor farmers, but they were a sturdy and self-reliant group who made an excellent base for the new settlement. Most of them were New Englanders who had been living in the Berkshires or the Hudson River Valley.

The community soon began to attract people of extraordinary talent as well as worthy farmers. Father Nash, for example, the early Episcopal rector, was a great deal more than a backwoods missionary, and Oliver Cory was a very superior schoolmaster. Elihu Phinney set up a printing press and started a newspaper in 1795 and eventually expanded his operation into a publishing business pouring out sixty-eight thousand books and two hundred thousand almanacs a year.

Another important newcomer of particular interest to this story was Jehiel Todd, who brought with him a family tradition of New England mill operation dating back to 1646. On January 22, 1805, he purchased three hundred acres along Oak Creek from Richard Fenimore Cooper, one of the judge's sons, for \$6,320.

Todd built Toddsville as a company town, and he established there several unrelated milling firms which became known collectively as the Todd mills. In 1809 he expanded one of them, the Union Cotton Mill Company, building a new plant called Hope Factory downstream near where the Shipman's lived. An arch-Federalist but also a Yankee business man, Todd was happy to invest money in the Jeffersonian Elihu Phinney's company and to supply it its paper -- at a profit -- from his Otsego Paper Works.

For a brief moment in time Cooperstown represented America's Western frontier, and as such it attracted national interest. Even

in these early years, however, it had an unusual air of sophistication setting a precedent which was rarely followed by later communities built along the advancing line of civilization.

In the years between 1790 and 1813 David Shipman, wandering around the woods in buckskin, was a genuine local oddity.

The Second and Greater Fame

The frontier moved on past Cooperstown, and the town seemed destined for quiet obscurity. New and enduring fame came to it, however, because of the novels written by another of the judge's sons, James Fenimore Cooper, who became America's first internationally applauded author.

Cooper's most famous hero was a character known in various novels as Hawkeye, Deerslayer, Natty Bumppo, Pathfinder and Leatherstocking. The name changed from book to book, but the man was always the same tall, thin woodsman, unlettered but upright and intelligent, dressed in buckskin and equipped with a long hunting rifle. He seemed to readers everywhere to be the perfect embodiment of the frontier virtues, and he became and for long remained this country's best-loved fictional hero.

Cooper had some defects as an author, among which was an inability to create wholly original characters. It was obvious to all who knew the town that he had drawn most or all of his principal figures from life. A popular parlor game in Cooperstown during the

author's lifetime was identifying the people in his books. There was some difference of opinion, but there was complete agreement that Judge Temple was actually Judge Cooper and that Leatherstocking was David Shipman.

The novelist was unusually sensitive about his professional reputation, and he was also a markedly obstinate man. It was therefore characteristic that he should have denied that he drew from life and, specifically, that Leatherstocking and David Shipman were one. In the preface to "The Deerslayer" he stated that his hero was a composite of several men, and he restated essentially the same position more subtly by referring to Shipman in "The Chronicles of Cooperstown" as "the Leatherstocking of the region."

The town continued to equate Leatherstocking with David, however, and Susan Fenimore Cooper felt compelled to attack the legend again when she wrote "Pages and Pictures: From the Writings of James Fenimore Cooper" in 1865. Her temperate but firm statement deserves a full quotation:

A vague recollection of Shipman seems to have lingered in the mind of the writer, and to have suggested the idea of the principal character in "The Pioneers". And yet to call this man the original of Natty Bumppo, would be clearly an error. The assertion is true, only just so far as the barest resemblance in outline may go -- in pursuit, something in rude accoutrement, and in the ground over which they both hunted. Here the similarity ceases. In every higher sense of the words, the character of Natty is wholly original.

By 1865, a vital year in the chronology of this story, Coopers-town had thus been thrice disabused of its belief in David Shipman. Even so, as we shall see, David was not to be without his supporters.

The Rise of the Later Shipmans

David Shipman was certainly a failure in every worldly sense, but his descendants did rather well for themselves. It will suit our purposes now to look into what happened to two branches of his family.

Sophia Shipman, one of his daughters, married Peter Mallory, an Otsego County farmer with New England origins, and one of their children was William Mallory, born on June 10, 1813. He went away at an early age, quickly enjoyed some success as a Shakespearian actor and then came home to be married on March 7, 1836.

Seven of his play scripts survive in the possession of the author of this paper, but nothing today is known about what drew him to acting or what induced him to come home. Yankee families do not like to remember much about theatrical flings, nor are they very communicative about marital motivation.

If so much good were not known about the character of William Mallory, it would be tempting to conclude that he married for money, because his bride was Eliza Todd, the sometimes difficult granddaughter of Jehiel. She had been packed off to boarding school to break up a romance with a man named Hiram W. Hale, but she married

him anyway and was a young widow when she became Mrs. Mallory.

Nobody can remember what was supposed to have been objectionable about Hiram Hale, but the Todds evidently welcomed Eliza's second husband. Since they owned most of Toddsville, they provided housing for relatives as well as employees. The Mallorys were installed next door to the Todd mansion, and there they lived in comfort and great happiness until they both died on April 24, 1888, he from pneumonia, she from a lingering illness.

During these years of gentle captivity, the cultured, scholarly and witty William Mallory listed himself as a farmer. Inasmuch as the property that went with his house was small and almost perpendicular, the notion persists that he must in some way have benefited from the Todd business enterprises.

One of William's daughters married Sands Shumway, the Horatio Alger superintendent of the Union Cotton Mill Company, who then not surprisingly became its president. Of more importance to this story is William's son, Hiram Delos Mallory, born July 3, 1840, to whom we shall return shortly.

A word now about another line of descent from David Shipman, starting with his son Samuel, who farmed with more verve along Oak Creek than had his father. Sophia Shipman, Samuel's daughter, born in 1800, married Lewis Nash, a substantial citizen of Cooperstown, and they had a daughter named Sophia Shipman Nash.

By 1864 H. Delos Mallory, Leatherstocking's great-grandson, had established himself in business in Norwich, New York, but on May 24 he was back briefly in Cooperstown to marry his second cousin, Sophia Shipman Nash, Leatherstocking's great-granddaughter.

We have now introduced Mrs. H. D. Mallory, the Norwich bride who a year later was to assume the central position in the Leatherstocking controversy and to fight the battle for the rest of her life.

II. THE LEATHERSTOCKING CONTROVERSY

In 1865 Cooper's most famous character was still big news, and in September of that year the Eastern press gave wide coverage to the announcement that the town of Hoosick Falls was collecting money to erect a monument over the grave of a man named Shipman, the original Leatherstocking, who was buried there in the Baptist cemetery.

Mrs. H. D. Mallory, the Norwich bride, apparently read a lot of papers, because she saw the article in New York States' Troy "Times", Stamford "Mirror" and Bloomville "Mirror".

She wrote in horror to all three papers to the effect that Hoosick Falls was about to make a terrible mistake, because David Shipman was buried, not in that community, but in Otsego County. Her letters were published, those papers found their way to Hoosick Falls and the battle was on.

Miss Agnes Gordon of Hoosick Falls was capable of a rather snide literary style, and she put her talents to use on September 22 in composing a letter to Mrs. Mallory. The recipient expressed her indignation by writing "accomplished lady" across the first page.

The same mail brought another and seemingly more official letter from A. De Witt, the Presbyterian minister in Hoosick Falls, who wrote as if he had been selected to speak for the community. He managed a more temperate tone than did Miss Gordon, but in commenting on

Mrs. Mallory's claim that she was descended from David Shipman, he could not resist from referring to David as "your 'ancestor'."

The Case for Nathaniel Shipman

What the two letters said was that Mrs. Mallory, innocently or purposely, was lying. Hoosick Falls had in its cemetery the grave of the man Shipman, father of Patience Ryan, woodsman and wearer of buckskin, hunter with a dog and a long rifle, one-time resident in the Cooperstown countryside, supplier of game to the table of Judge Cooper and the Leatherstocking of James Fenimore Cooper's novels.

As evidence of Mrs. Mallory's lack of accuracy, they pointed out that Shipman died in 1809, not in 1813 as she claimed, and that his name was not David but Nathaniel.

The relatively patient A. De Witt added some further background to the Hoosick Falls claim. He said that some years previously their Dr. Walworth, a brother of Chancellor Walworth and therefore by inference a man of probity, had been told by someone from Cooperstown that Nathaniel Shipman was the original Leatherstocking.

Intrigued because he remembered Nathaniel from his boyhood as a recluse who was pleasant to children but had little to do with adults, Dr. Walworth had a probing chat with John Ryan, Nathaniel's father-in-law, who was then still living.

Ryan had not been entirely communicative, but he had surrendered

a few facts. Nathaniel, he explained, had been servant to a British officer during the French and Indian War. At this time he had lived largely in the forests and had become friendly with members of the Delaware and Mohegan tribes, adopting their dress and many of their mannerisms. He lived thereafter near Hoosick Falls in a mountain cabin north of the present village of White Creek.

Nathaniel disappeared about the time of the Revolution, a period Ryan seemed anxious to avoid discussing. Years later Ryan heard from Judge William Cooper, when they were serving together in the New York State Assembly just after the turn of the century, about a furtive old buckskin-clad hermit who lived in the woods near Cooperstown. Suspecting that this man might be Nathaniel, Ryan went to Cooperstown to investigate. He did find Nathaniel there and brought him back to Hoosick Falls to live.

As all the neighbors knew, however, he could not be completely domesticated, and from time to time he would take off into the local hills, being gone occasionally for relatively long periods. He had continued this in-and-out-of-town life until his death.

The Reverend De Witt concluded by challenging Mrs. Mallory to produce her contrary evidence. "We do not," he said, "intend to resign our claim if we can hold it," but added that no monument would be erected until the issue was clarified.

The Case for David Shipman

Mrs. Mallory answered both letters on the 29th. She merely acknowledged the one from Miss Gordon, reserving her facts for the more reasonable and more official A. De Witt.

She told him that she had the Bible which had belonged to David Shipman and that it contained the following handwritten entries:

"John Ryan was born on Sunday, May 21st 1755. Patience Ryan was Born on Monday October 12th 1762. David Shipman Senr. Departed this life Febry 28th 1813." (Author's Note: The last entry suggests that Patience had a brother named David, but there is no other known reference to such a person.)

The Bible references satisfied Mrs. Mallory that she and Hoosick Falls were talking about the same person and that she was correct in the matter of name and date of death. Shipman (correct name, David), she wrote, had come from Hoosick Falls, where he had probably been born, and he had spent a year there with the Ryans, but he had definitely come back to Otsego County to live. Mrs. Mallory's mother was thirteen when David died, and she had clearly remembered him and his clothes, which were made of the skins of wild animals. He had died in the county and "buried near Fly Creek."

How did she know that David was Leatherstocking? Her father, Lewis Nash, had put the question directly to James Fenimore Cooper,

and the novelist had admitted confidentially that David had been his inspiration.

Mrs. Mallory had momentarily regained the initiative, but there were two obvious weaknesses in her position. Hoosier Falls enjoyed the comfortable possession of a Shipman corpse, whereas nobody was sure exactly where "near Fly Creek" Mrs. Mallory's great-grandfather was buried. Secondly, the testimony of the interested (and dead) Lewis Nash looked pretty biased when placed back to back with the dispassionate statement of Dr. Walworth, brother of Chancellor Walworth.

In haste Mrs. Mallory got off a request for help to Chester Jarvis, formerly of Cooperstown, but then living in Kinderhook, New York, whose wife's parents had lived next door to the Shipman farm.

The pertinent passages from Jarvis' October 16 reply are reproduced here with no editorial tampering or modern improvements:

I always understood that Mr. Cooper personified the father of Samuel Shipman as Leatherstocking. I suppose the name of Leatherstocking originated from the fact that he used to wear Leather Breeches, Buckeled at the Knee. I have often seen him thus dressed with his Long Hunting Gun, he was a tall, slim man. I have never heard Mr. Cooper say that Leatherstocking was personified by your Great Grand Father but that was Generally understood by all who was acquainted with the truth in that day.

The letter added that both David and his wife were buried on the Shipman farm near Oak Creek. This news was small comfort to Mrs. Mallory, because the passage of time had effectively obscured the exact whereabouts of that property.

Mrs. Mallory's file is silent about what happened after that, but she apparently faced down the whole town of Hoosick Falls, since no monument was built.

Years of Uneasy Truce

Each faction obviously continued to think it had been attacked with lies, and local historians in Cooperstown and Hoosick Falls continued to celebrate their rival Natty Bumpos.

D. Hamilton Hurd's "History of Otsego County, New York" written in 1878, identified David as a fictional hero, occupant of a cabin and father of Samuel. Then in a footnote it hedged by quoting a local ancient to the effect that Shipman lived in a cave and never married. (There is somehow a subtle redundancy in that statement, since regular residence in a cave would almost inevitably result in celibacy.)

The opposition was heard from in 1897 when George B. Anderson wrote "Landmarks of Rensselaer County, New York", pronouncing Nathaniel the true Natty Bumpo and the father-in-law of John Ryan.

The "Rennselaer County Standard", published in Hoosick Falls, braced up the local case on March 11, 1902, by printing the then-musty notes of Dr. Walworth, brother of Chancellor Walworth.

As late as September 4, 1958, they were still beating the drums for Nathaniel in the Hoosick Falls "Standard Press". The article pointed out that in four of the five Leatherstocking novels the hero

is called Nathaniel one or more times and reminded the weak in faith that near the close of "The Last of the Mohicans" the hero says, "I am the man that got the name of Nathaniel from my kin, and the compliment of Hawkeye from the Delawares."

New Insight Into the Problem

While the frantic local historians were writing for their tiny audiences, Mrs. Mallory was thinking her way toward the truth. She had been called back to duty, as one might suspect, by reading the newspapers.

A Mrs. M. Cheney Flower wrote on August 31, 1899, to Cooperstown "Otsego Farmer" from a fashionable address in Chicago. She was, it developed, the daughter of Patience (Cheney) Perry, the granddaughter of Delilah (Shipman) Cheney and therefore, she assumed, the daughter of Nathaniel Shipman, the original Leatherstocking.

She understood Nathaniel was buried near Cooperstown, and she was anxious to contribute to a monument to be placed over his grave. Her purpose in writing was to be put in touch with relatives who could help her locate the grave and, presumably, participate in the financing.

John Gifford of Cooperstown straightened her out on her Nathaniel-David confusion in a letter to the same paper dated September 12. He suggested that since the late William Mallory had

taken such "great delight" in his descent from David Shipman, the lady from Chicago should be taken in hand by William's daughter, Mrs. Sands Shumway.

He added to the confusion about the location of David's grave by announcing flatly that the body lay in the Adams' burying grounds near the hamlet of Fork Shop and that it reposed under "a common stone, unmarked."

Mr. Gifford had nominated the wrong Shipman descendant. Mrs. Sands Shumway did not react, doubtless because she was as usual rereading her father's copies of Shakespeare and Byron, both of which he had known by heart. (Two generations later these volumes are finally beginning to wear out.)

While Mrs. Shumway puzzled once again through "Hamlet", trying to figure out why her father had named her Ophelia, the ever-alert Mrs. Mallory began a correspondence with Mrs. Flower. It was doomed to frustration, of course, because it ~~was~~ impossible to erect a monument over a grave which could not positively be identified.

Actually this probably did not bother Mrs. Flower very much, because under the thin veneer of monument builder there lay the solid oak of D.A.R. medal collector. She rapidly figured out that David Shipman had served in the Revolution in the 4th New York Regiment from Albany County, Colonel John Knickerbocker and Lieutenant Colonel John van Rensselaer commanding. Balked in her monument gesture, she

was quite happy to settle for another bar for her D.A.R. badge.

Otherwise useless as the exchange of letters proved, it did force Mrs. Mallory to do some fresh thinking about the rival claims for David and Nathaniel. Midway in the correspondence, depending purely on logic, she hit on the answer to the puzzle.

Mrs. Mallory knew she was descended from a very real David Shipman, who had been the father of Patience (Shipman) Ryan. She was willing to concede that there could also have been a Nathaniel Shipman. He could not have been Patience's father, but he had enjoyed a close and apparently well-documented relationship with her. Only one conclusion was possible: Nathaniel must have been Patience' uncle.

Assuming that Nathaniel had, as claimed, lurked for years outside of Cooperstown, Mrs. Mallory's theory explained the long-standing confusion about Leatherstocking the cabin-dwelling family man and Leatherstocking the cave-dwelling bachelor.

There was also the possibility that the novelist could have known both Shipmans. Since they dressed alike, either one or both could have been Cooper's inspiration.

The Final Crisis

Mrs. Mallory was in this constructive frame of mind when she had to face her last crisis. Word began to circulate in 1902 that Hoosick Falls was again raising money for a monument to Nathaniel. The word,

as usual, appeared in newspapers, and Mrs. Mallory had remained a constant reader.

Well behind her were the nervous bridal days of 1865. The passing years had brought her calm, new insight into the controversy -- and a typewriter. With the aid of her new machine she constructed an all-purpose form letter which stated that there had been two Shipmans with similar habits.

She was willing to concede this much but no more. Her letter continued by stating that Hoosick Falls would now be committing a folly avoided almost four decades earlier, because James Fenimore Cooper had confided to her father that her Leatherstocking was the real one.

She sent off her letter to any paper known to have published the story, and finally she sent it directly to Hoosick Falls' "Rensselaer County Standard".

That paper printed her letter on February 14, 1902, and the following day C. G. Wilcox, the editor, wrote her that he had investigated and discovered that there was no basis to the rumor. The yarn had been invented by a North Adams, Massachusetts, reporter desperate for a story. It had exercised its usual charm over the press and had been widely circulated. There would be no Hoosick Falls monument.

The battle was over, but Mrs. Mallory continued to read the papers, and she felt compelled at least once more to inform the public about the original Natty Bumppo.

On her death her only child, a Norwich attorney named Fred L. Mallory, became the possessor of the Leatherstocking Bible and his mother's correspondence file, labeled "Leatherstocking Controversy".

The Fred Mallorys had no children, so their two peculiar treasures passed, together with a diamond ring, to Mrs. Sands Shumway's oldest son, who was the author's father. The Bible is now in the hands of the New York State Historical Association in Cooperstown. "Leatherstocking Controversy" has provided much of the basis for this article, while the ring, an item of somewhat greater negotiable value, is part of the regular equipment of the author's wife.

III. EVENTS THAT SHAPED THE BROTHERS' CHARACTERS

Who was Leatherstocking, David Shipman or Nathaniel Shipman? Nobody can ever know. Logical claims can be made for either one, although it is more certain that the youthful James Fenimore Cooper was exposed to David. There is, however, no reason why he could not have known both and had them equally in mind when he created his character.

Viewed coldly, the fictional Leatherstocking is hardly a character at all. Dressed in the Shipmans' buckskin, he is that familiar stock literary figure, the man whose strength is as the strength of ten because his heart is pure.

This figure had appeared before (Galahad), and it is with us today (Little Orphan Annie). It is, for some reason, always accompanied by an animal (Galahad's faithful horse, Natty Bumppo's faithful dog Hector and Sandy). In addition it seems necessary to provide an all-powerful but not always watchful sponsor. This God in the machine started as King Arthur, went through a phase as Judge Temple and now survives, heaven help us all, as Daddy Warbucks.

In the rush to claim and defend David and Nathaniel Shipman, it seems never to have occurred to anyone that neither one of them displayed very many of the fine qualities of the fictional Leatherstocking. They were undoubtedly first-rate woodsmen, but a clear-eyed look at their careers make it inescapably obvious that David was too selfish

to provide a decent home for his family and that Nathaniel was fantastically neurotic.

Of less interest than which one inspired Cooper is the question of how the two of them got to be the kind of men they were. To attempt this we must start with their origins and then trace their lives, looking for the events which shape character.

Nobody can be completely sure who the Shipman brothers were or where they came from, but the author has a completely developed theory which is explained in the next chapter.

It is possible to make a hypothetical reconstruction of their lives by merging this theory with the known facts, including some not mentioned up to this point. The resulting interesting story explains rather well how they came to be the unconventional creatures they were.

Nathaniel Leaves an Unsettled Home

According to the author's theory, Nathaniel and David were born, probably in that order, between 1740 and 1742 in Connecticut, either in Saybrook or Killingworth. If born in the former place, they had moved with their parents to the latter by 1748.

Some of the boys' ancestors in the several maternal branches were a pretty lively lot as Puritans went, but the Shipmans themselves were essentially soggy. Not that they were subject to criticism. On the contrary, they were models of quiet conservatism leading quiet lives in quiet occupations.

The boys' father, Elias, was the exceptional Shipman, a man looking for adventure. His life may have been a merry one, because he went to sea and became master of a ship, but it was also short, and he died in 1748 at twenty-eight, leaving a widow and five children.

The ensuing years could have been hard for the boys, and the advent of a step-father in 1752 may not have added to their contentment.

Up to this point the story is based on theory, but we come to our first documented fact in 1754, the year of the outbreak of the French and Indian War. At that time, it is said, Nathaniel became servant to a British officer. It can be seen that he was young to be leaving home but old enough to do it in that capacity and that conditions at home might have made the opportunity seem attractive.

No exact dates are given for Nathaniel's war service, but even if he left home after the fighting started and resigned before it ended about 1760, his years of maturing coincided with his years in the forest with the British troops and their Indian allies. The habits and outlook he acquired then were apt to remain permanently with him.

It is said that he was part of a detail sent on the outbreak of war or shortly thereafter to build a stockade near the future site of Hoosick Falls. He must have preferred this wild and largely uninhabited region to the questionable pleasures of home, because it is understood that he settled there after the war.

At that time there were few if any people in that area and no possible way to earn a regular living. He must have built his own shelter, a cabin, and to have clothed and fed himself by hunting.

It is impossible to believe that Nathaniel did not to some extent keep in touch with his family, because David's eventual move to Hoosick Falls must have been at Nathaniel's urging.

David Joins His Brother

It is harder to trace David's movements. The family has believed that he was born in Hoosick Falls. This suggestion has to be rejected, not because it conflicts with our theory, but because nobody lived in Hoosick Falls in 1740.

Even Hoosick Falls as the alleged place of birth for David's children is open to serious doubt. A handful of lonely bachelors like Nathaniel may have been sustaining themselves in the hills shortly after 1760, but the region was still not yet frontier and hardly a place where wives and children would be found.

The town of Hoosick Falls, called originally Falls Quequick, began to be settled about 1772, and this would seem a reasonable approximate date for the arrival of David, his wife and their young family. They were scarcely moving into a crowded metropolis, because the population fifty-five years later was only two hundred.

Two tantalizing documents suggest that the David Shipmans did not come to Hoosick Falls directly from Killingworth but had instead been living in Quaker Hill, Dutchess County, New York.

Among the papers of the late J. Earle Percy, in his time Hoosick Falls' most active local historian, are photostats of a page from an unidentified Bible and a page of notes on the Ryan family written in an unknown hand. Both list Patience (Shipman) Ryan's date of birth as October 14, 1762 (differing from family records by two days) and the place as Quaker Hill.

For a town its size Quaker Hill has produced a considerable literature, but none of it mentions anybody named Shipman. There could be four explanations: (1) happenstance; (2) unwillingness of a tight-knit religious community to record births, marriages and deaths of non-Quakers; (3) disinterest in a family living in some out-of-town mountain cabin; (4) lack of anything to record, because the Shipmans never really lived there.

In any event, with or without a stop-over in Quaker Hill, it seems safe to locate David in Hoosick Falls prior to the start of the American Revolution, because he served during that war in the local militia. During the immediate pre-war period he must have copied not only his brother's dress but his passion for hunting.

During the war -- this fact was exposed eventually in spite of John Ryan's effort to conceal it -- Nathaniel showed a marked disinterest in the patriot cause. His apologists maintain, perhaps not incorrectly, that his Tory outlook resulted from loyalty to the memory of the British officer he had served.

His attitude so annoyed his neighbors that they tarred and feathered him. Shocked and mortified, he disappeared. Here we have the explanation for his outlandish behavior during the latter part of his life.

Patience Finds a Husband

Patience Shipman stayed in Hoosick Falls when her family moved to Otsego County in 1790. Why? Where did she live? How did she support herself? And how, about 1796, did this cabin-bred woman well into her thirties manage to marry John Ryan, the most important man in town?

Old Jacobus Van Cortland of New York City had been one of the original proprietors of the Hoosick Patent, but he never saw any point in trying to develop it. After his death his heirs decided on a vigorous effort, and about 1772 they selected a land agent for the estate and sent him upstate to see what could be done.

The heirs were either brilliant character analysts or else they were downright lucky, because their new agent, John Ryan, was still

almost a boy, having been born in Dover, Dutchess County, on May 17, 1755. He had, it seems, received a good education considering the time and place, and he did his work well from the start.

Hoosick Falls never boomed, but at least he created a town where none had existed, and he remained its leader as it grew. Ryan was delegate in 1801 to the convention to amend the state constitution, and he represented the district in the State Assembly between 1803 and 1806. This service in Albany and his regular trips to New York City to report to his employers made him also the most worldly man in the region.

His selection of Patience as his bride is not as hard to explain as it might seem. At the time of this marriage he had already buried two wives, and he had five motherless children at home. Ryan could not afford to wait for the appearance in tiny Hoosick Falls of a beautiful young girl with polish and money.

John solved his problem, and Patience made a fortunate marriage. It is possible that prior to that time she had been employed as his housekeeper. About 1796, then, or possibly earlier, Patience took charge of John's brood, and she later added to the family, producing a son who was given the memorable name of Xerxes Ryan.

The Final Years Around Cooperstown

When David Shipman moved near Cooperstown in 1790, his brother had been missing for years. David had no reason to expect a reunion,

and in fact there probably was none. Men who are hiding do not necessarily stay permanently in one spot. There is no evidence that Otsego County was yet the place where Nathaniel lived. It could have been merely one of several of his haunts at that time, or he could have been somewhere else completely.

We cannot, unfortunately, pin down the year^s that the recently widowed David spent back in Hoosick Falls with his daughter. It had to be after her marriage (which the record shows as "about 1796"), and it was evidently some years before his death in 1813.

Inasmuch as David's stay in Hoosick Falls was not remembered later by such observant busy-bodies as Dr. Walworth, there is a temptation to date the visit as early as possible, before Dr. Walworth's beady little eyes were riveted on the local adult population. It would suit our purposes excellently if we could get David in and out of Hoosick Falls prior to 1803.

In 1803 we then have David living on his son's farm on Oak Creek near Cooperstown. John Ryan is about to take his place in the New York State Assembly where he will swap yarns for the next four years with Judge William Cooper. Nathaniel is still among the missing.

Or is he? Assuming (as we choose to do) that Nathaniel has not been continuously near Cooperstown since the American Revolution,

we do know that he has now set up housekeeping in a cave overlooking Otsego Lake. We know this, because Judge Cooper tells Ryan about the local hermit some time between 1803 and 1806.

If Judge Cooper knows Nathaniel is there, why does not David? And if David knows, why does he fail to notify John Ryan?

The judge would have known about the hermit, because he had a curious and active mind, and he was interested in everything that went on in the town he dominated.

Samuel Shipman's farm was approximately three miles from Cooperstown. Nathaniel's cave would have been a mile or so from Cooperstown, in the other direction. Samuel was too busy a farmer to be hanging around town listening to gossip, and he probably shopped in Toddsville rather than Cooperstown. David could have been too frail to get around much.

There is no reason why Cooper should have rushed the news to David. The judge was one of the most important men in the state, and David was far from his daily thoughts. They may have been on a few hunts together, but that was years before. Even if Cooper had met David accidentally, he would have had no reason to mention the man in the cave, because he did not know the hermit's name.

Did Nathaniel know David was there? Probably. The only way to keep a secret in Cooperstown is to do as Nathaniel did and live

in a cave. To prove this, try having one drink too many in the downstairs bar at the Cooper Inn.

Sometime between 1803 and 1806 Ryan heard the hermit story from the judge, went to Cooperstown and found Nathaniel. Ryan would have visited the Shipmans, so there must have been one brief reunion between David and his brother, a meeting about which it is idle to speculate.

Ryan carted Nathaniel off to Hoosick Falls so fast that even the spectacular reunion left no memory among David's descendants, which explains why Mrs. H. D. Mallory was unwilling to accept his reality in 1865.

IV. EXPLORING THE GENEALOGY OF DAVID AND NATHANIEL SHIPMAN

Curiosity about David Shipman's origin has led to at least three serious efforts to trace his genealogy. Nathaniel has received less attention, because he left no posterity.

Needle-in-a-haystack work of this type would have been impossible except for the fact that there were relatively few Shipmans in this country prior to 1735-45, the period during which David and Nathaniel had to be born. There seem, in fact, to have been only three Shipmans who migrated here from Europe, and as a starting point we will examine their qualifications for our puproses.

Their Probable Original American Ancestor

WILLIAM SHIPMAN, aged twenty-two, sailed from England bound for Virginia on May 28, 1635. A few migrants, like Thomas Stanton, went first to Virginia and then worked their way north. Stanton was the rare exception, however, and neither William Shipman nor any of his pre-Revolutionary descendants appear to have moved to locations where they could logically have become the ancestors of David and Nathaniel.

HARMON SHIPMAN, born in 1717, arrived here about 1740 and settled in what is now Uniontown, Warren County, New Jersey. Although he had come from Germany, both his first and last names and the names he gave his children suggest that he was of English stock. He purchased two hundred acres of land, cleared most of it for farming and

spent the rest of his life in that occupation. He became impoverished during the Revolution and died on March 8, 1805.

He was the right age to have been the father of Nathaniel and David, and the circumstances of his life would have provided an atmosphere which could explain their dress and behavior as adults.

We must dismiss him as a candidate, however. He left what appears to be a convincingly complete list of his children. There was no Nathaniel, and his son David lived at least until 1858.

That narrows the list to EDWARD SHIPMAN, an Englishman who settled in Saybrook, Connecticut, dying there on September 15, 1697, and it is among his descendants that we must seek the parents of Nathaniel and David.

There remains, of course, the possibility that the boys sprang from some family so obscure as never to have been recorded anywhere. This is not likely, because surprisingly extensive documentation exists from the colonial period, and most pre-Revolutionary families can be traced at least up to 1790, the year of the first census. In any case, existing evidence makes it unnecessary to fall back on this theory.

THE DAWES-GATES INVESTIGATION

"Dawe -Gates Ancestrals Lines", published in 1931, was commissioned by General and Mrs. Rufus Dawes. The Shipmans were one of the

families covered, and the book took notice of Nathaniel and made a very probing effort to trace David's ancestry.

No attempt was made to identify Nathaniel's parents, and he was incorrectly called the father of Patience (Shipman) Ryan, rather than her uncle.

Investigators were sent to Cooperstown to locate people who could throw light on David's ancestry. Their testimony was taken and published in the genealogy. The information was actually not new, because it had been known in a general way around town and references to it had appeared in print. The genealogy made its very useful contribution by gathering this information in a systematic way, trying to find the meaning in it and making it permanently available to the interested public.

The star witness was Mrs. Ann (Shipman) Pitts of Middlefield, Otsego County, who was descended from the original Shipman in the following line:

Edward Shipman, the Migrant
John Shipman
John Shipman, Jr.
Captain Samuel Shipman
Samuel Shipman, Jr.
Samuel Shipman, 3rd
William Shipman
Ann (Shipman) Pitts

Mrs. Pitts said that her grandfather (Samuel Shipman, 3rd) was a cousin of David Shipman (Leatherstocking). More than one other

member of the family, none of whom were named in the book, went a useful step further. They testified that Captain Samuel Shipman had been David's uncle. This statement eliminated the possibility that the cousinly relationship between Samuel, 3rd, and David might have been a very distant one.

It is to be noted that no attempt was made to identify David's father except to establish that he must necessarily have been a brother of Captain Samuel.

The Author's Research

The author has attempted to determine the exact parentage of Nathaniel and David, whom he knew to be brothers. The research, which has extended over several years, has been directed toward proving that one of Captain Samuel's three brothers was the father or that, if the Pitts' testimony was entirely wrong, some other Shipman was the father.

The method adopted was somewhat inconclusive but the only one then available. There being in existence prior to 1962 no single genealogy devoted exclusively to the Shipmans, the author tried to locate and study every Shipman reference in other genealogies and in books on local history in the New York Public Library.

The end result of this activity led to two conclusions:

- (1) only one of the three brothers of Captain Samuel Shipman could

logically have been the father of Nathaniel and David; (2) no other Shipman who turned up in the library reading could possibly have been the father.

In trying to prove his theory the author, with the help of two cousins, has interviewed various Shipman descendants in and around Cooperstown, but the trail has grown fainter since the Dawes-Gates era, and nothing useful has been accomplished.

The author's candidate, then, has not to date been proved the actual father of Nathaniel and David, and the case has to rest on deduction or, if you insist, on hunch.

Nathaniel and David Were Brothers

Before discussing the father of Nathaniel and David, it will be well to establish that these two men were brothers.

First, Patience (Shipman) Ryan was the daughter of David, not Nathaniel. This is made entirely clear in the correspondence file of Mrs. H. D. Mallory, which is in the author's possession.

Mrs. Ryan gave the so-called Leatherstocking Bible (which was actually undoubtedly the Ryan Bible) to Mrs. Mallory, and it contained three family references, the dates of birth of Mr. and Mrs. Ryan and the date of death of David Shipman. Although Nathaniel died in the Ryan home, he is not mentioned.

Mrs. Ryan's father, David, spent a year with her after his wife died. Some years after that she and her husband went to the trouble

of digging Nathaniel out of his Cooperstown cave and installing him under their roof. When he died, they buried him in the family plot in the local graveyard.

There is no documentary proof that Nathaniel and David were related. For years Mrs. Mallory did not even believe that Nathaniel had ever existed. When she finally accepted his reality, she came to the only possible conclusion -- that Nathaniel and David were brothers.

Surely the Ryans were not running an old men's home for anybody named Shipman. The much-married John Ryan used his burial plot for his relatives and those of his wives.

Nathaniel had to be related to Patience (Shipman) Ryan. He could not be her father because David was. What, then, could he have been? Her grandfather? Impossible, because he was very evidently about David's age, probably a bit older. Her cousin? Possible, but hardly likely, considering the years he lived with her and his place of burial. The relationship was too close and too extended to be explained in terms of such distant relationship.

Nathaniel had, therefore, to be Patience' uncle, and that made him David's brother.

Their Three Possible Fathers

There is satisfactory evidence that Captain Samuel Shipman had three brothers, about whom the following is known:

JOHN SHIPMAN, born on December 20, 1717, was married in Saybrook on October 17, 1742, to Margaret Bushnell, and he died on November 21, 1786. Although lacking formal training, he became a lawyer and in time a judge and "a terror to evil-doers."

John had ten children, none named Nathaniel or David. The date of birth down to the month and day is given for each child. Much is recorded about their movements, marriages, occupations and deaths.

John's children were born:

August 22, 1743
 September 11, 1744
 October 24, 1745
 January 26, 1748
 March 13, 1750
 November 24, 1752
 May 10, 1755
 November 16, 1757
 November 16, 1761
 March 1, 1763

ELIAS SHIPMAN, born April 30, 1720, was married in 1741 to Rebecca Leffingwell and he died on November 17, 1748, apparently in Antigua, British West Indies, where he seems to have been buried. His home at the time of his death was in Killingworth, Connecticut, and he was a sea captain.

Elias had, according to the record, three children, none named Nathaniel or David. The complete date of birth is given only for one of them, only the year being shown for the two oldest. Considerable is known about the life of one son, who became a wealthy business

man in New Haven. We have only the name of a husband for the daughter, and nothing is known about what became of the other recorded son.

Elias' children were born:

1743

1747

February 15, 1748

NATHANIEL SHIPMAN, born in Saybrook on May 25, 1723, died on September 5 or 7 (the records differ), 1805. He was married twice, first in Norwich, Connecticut, in 1747 to Ruth Reynolds, second in Norwich in July, 1756, to Elizabeth Leffingwell. He moved to Norwich about 1750, became prominent there and was elder of a Congregational Church he had helped organize.

Nathaniel had seven children, the oldest being a boy named Nathaniel who died before he was one. A son by his second marriage was also named Nathaniel, but there was no David. There is a great deal of detail about the careers of all of his children, but no dates of birth are given for the second and third.

Nathaniel's children were born:

By first wife (who died December 11, 1755):

September 10, 1748 (Nathaniel)

no date given

no date given

By second wife:

September 11, 1757
 May 17, 1764 (Nathaniel)
 October 11, 1756
 January 26, 1773

The Case for Elias Shipman as Father

At this point two premises have to be accepted: (1) Mrs. Pitts and her relatives gave correct testimony, and we are therefore forced to select from among the three candidates described above; (2) inasmuch as the records disclose no candidate with sons named Nathaniel and David, the records are incomplete, or at least one of them is.

Having jumped that hurdle, we are drawn first to the youngest of the three brothers, because he at least had a son named Nathaniel.

Unfortunately, the record tells us too much about this Nathaniel Shipman. Born in 1764, too late for our purposes, he became a well-known Norwich silversmith and clockmaker, a judge of probate and member of the General Assembly of Connecticut, and he died in Norwich on July 14, 1853. Furthermore, he married and had two children, a "pious spinster" and a son who graduated from Yale and preached until he was nearly ninety. Surely this is not our Nathaniel Shipman, the dweller in caves.

This first candidate of ours had two sons named Nathaniel. Could there have been a third? No. Samuel Symonds, 17th century

Deputy Governor of Massachusetts, often a father and a man much pre-occupied with public affairs, seems carelessly to have assigned the same Christian name to two living sons, but no Puritan ever repeated this error.

The youngest candidate having been rejected, we turn now to John, the oldest and he, too, has to be turned down, for the following reasons:

(1) We instinctively recognize the records handed down by his descendants as being accurate and complete. There is logically little chance for two forgotten sons.

(2) Our Nathaniel and David must have been born between 1735 and, at the very latest, 1745. The earlier, it would seem, the better. A look at the dates of John's marriage and the births of his first three children shows that our Nathaniel and David, if assigned to him, could not have been born until 1746 and 1747. This would make our Nathaniel too young to have played his role in the French and Indian War.

By elimination we have arrived at the middle brother, Elias Shipman, and we can make a good case for him, starting with the observation that his records look rather indefinite. If indefinite, they could also be incomplete.

The Shipmans tended toward sedentary occupations, but Elias must have been more vigorous than his relatives, because he went to

sea. It is easier to visualize Nathaniel and David as the sons of a sailor than as boys raised by a tailor or silversmith.

We may question Elias' marriage date (1741) because it shows no month or day. Let us assume that the wedding took place no later than 1741 and possibly a year or two earlier. (His age and his wife's would certainly have permitted this.) There could then have been time for the young couple to have had Nathaniel and David before the birth of the earliest recorded child in 1743.

Elias was only twenty-eight when he died. Even an unusually successful sea captain could not have built up much of an estate at that age, and it can be assumed that his widow was left in financial distress.

Conditions in a poor and fatherless family could have been very unsettling for two young sons. The boys could even have been incompatible with Theophilus Morgan when he became their step-father on December 7, 1752. By 1754 Nathaniel could have become restless enough to leave home as servant to a British officer.

It is therefore the author's tentative conclusion that Nathaniel and David must have been the sons of Elias Shipman.

The 1962 Shipman Genealogy

At long last a Shipman family genealogy has been produced. This excellent piece of work "The Shipman Family in America" published in

1962, brings together all the data previously available only in fragmentary form, and it presents a great deal of new material.

Like all Shipmans, the compilers of this volume were interested in Nathaniel and David, and they tried hard to place them genealogically. They used the author's method of studying the records for possible clues, but they were able to do it on a much more comprehensive scale.

It is their conclusion, which they cannot prove and therefore do not present as fact, that Nathaniel must have been a grandson of John Shipman, Jr., and a nephew of Captain Samuel. They do not try to connect Nathaniel with David, and they repeat the error that Patience (Shipman) Ryan was Nathaniel's daughter.

David they also recognize as undoubtedly a grandson of John Shipman, Jr., and a nephew of Captain Samuel, but they again admit that the connection is incomplete and unproved. They list his children as Delilah (Shipman) Cheney, Patience (compounding their error), and perhaps Samuel, and they suggest that there may have been other children.

In neither case do they permit themselves to speculate about the paternity of Nathaniel and David, except by inference to indicate that they had to be sons of John, Elias or Nathaniel.

Author's Conclusion

Three serious investigators have agreed that the father has to be one of these three men. The author is satisfied in his own mind that the father has to be Elias.

He has, therefore, largely to satisfy his own curiosity, assembled the probable genealogy of Nathaniel and David Shipman, which appears as the Fifth Chapter.

A Gloomy Prediction

There will be other attempts to unravel Nathaniel's and David's ancestry. All that is needed is a document tying them to Elias Shipman or to some other father.

This phantom record could be in one of two forms: (1) a notation in a Bible or elsewhere made by the boys' parents at the times of their births; (2) evidence of the boys' parentage, written by one of the boys.

The trembling hands of Shipman researchers have probably unearthed all remaining records of the first sort. If Nathaniel carried any records around with him, which is unlikely, they must have succumbed to mold from being stored in caves, so we are reduced to hoping for something written by David. The author suspects that no such piece of paper exists, and he believes that he knows why.

William Mallory, one-time Shakespearian actor and grandson of David, displayed on occasion an elfin sense of humor. At the time of his marriage he announced that he had destroyed all of his genealogical papers and when asked why, he explained blandly that the Todds already had all the pride any one family could stand.

A small bonfire in a back yard in 1836 may have made fruitless all investigation to date and in the future into the lineage of Nathaniel and David Shipman.

V. THE PROBABLE ANCESTRY OF DAVID AND NATHANIEL SHIPMAN

If David and Nathaniel Shipman were sons of Elias and Rebecca (Leffingwell) Shipman, a theory discussed in the previous chapter, the biographies presented below constitute the brothers' American ancestry, at least as much of it as can be determined.

These biographies are arranged by families, with the Shipmans first, followed by all maternal lines arranged alphabetically.

Within each family group, the biography of the oldest known ancestor appears first.

Shipman Family

EDWARD SHIPMAN, undoubtedly born in England, married (1) in Saybrook, Conn., on January 16, 1651, to Elizabeth, daughter of William Comstock, married (2) in Saybrook on July 1, 1663, to Mary (Chandler) Andrews, died September 15, 1697; possibly a tailor; townsman (selectman) in Saybrook about 1672; fought in King Philip's War.

Nobody knows when he migrated to New England or settled in Saybrook. He was made a freeman of that town in October, 1667, and he lived in the Pataconk section which has since become Chester, Conn. His land included Shipman Pond, later called Guilford Reservoir, which was owned as of 1961 by the Connecticut Water Company.

Joshua Uncas, son of the Indian Sachem Uncas, wrote a will on February 29, 1676, leaving 83,000 acres of land scattered through Connecticut to white men who had befriended him. Edward, one of the three principal beneficiaries, received 3,000 acres near Hartford.

JOHN SHIPMAN, oldest child of Edward Shipman by his second wife, Mary (Chandler) Andrews, born in Saybrook, Conn., on April 5, 1664, married there on May 5, 1686, to Martha Humphrey, died before November 16, 1718; fought as a sargeant in Queen Anne's War, serving in the 1709 expedition against Canada in Captain Williamson's company of Colonel William Whiting's regiment.

He succeeded to the ownership of his father's homestead.

JOHN SHIPMAN, JR., oldest child of John and Martha (Humphrey) Shipman, born in Saybrook, Conn., on January 6 or 20, 1687, married there on January 11, 1715, to Elizabeth Kirtland, died there July 7, 1742; tailor.

He purchased much of his father's estate, including the homestead, from the other heirs.

ELIAS SHIPMAN, second son and third child of John and Elizabeth (Kirtland) Shipman, Jr., born in Saybrook, Conn., on April 30, 1720, married there in 1741 to Rebecca Leffingwell, died probably in Antigua, British West Indes, on November 17, 1748; sea captain.

He was living in Killingworth, Conn., at the time of his death.

The author believes that Elias was the father of David and Nathaniel Shipman, the two Leatherstockings. His reasons are given in the previous chapters.

Chandler Family

MARY (CHANDLER) ANDREWS SHIPMAN, born in England or North America about 1640, married (1) William Andrews, Jr., granted a divorce from him on October 16, 1661, with freedom to remarry, married (2) in Saybrook, Conn., on July 1, 1663, to Edward Shipman, died August 30, 1704.

Clark Family

JOHN CLARK, born in England, a native of Great Munden, Hertfordshire, married (1) in England to Mary, married (2) in Milford, Conn., to Mary (Ward) Fletcher, widow of John Fletcher, died, probably in Milford, on February 5, 1673; alewife fisherman; a founder of Hartford, Conn.; deputy from Saybrook, Conn., to the Connecticut General Court at twenty-seven sessions between 1644 and 1663, deputy from Milford from 1665 to 1668; commissioner for Saybrook in 1644, member of commission to build fort at Saybrook in 1647, magistrate in Saybrook, commissioner for Milford from 1665 to 1667 and from 1669 to 1673; sargeant in the militia, fought in the Pequot War under Mason.

He migrated to New England with his brother George early in 1632, settling in Newtowne (now Cambridge), Mass., where he became a free-man on November 6 of that year. On March 1, 1635-6, the town appointed him its only licensed catcher of alewife, a small fish used to fertilize corn. Whenever the town thought of animals, it thought of John, and on December 5, 1636, he was also appointed hog reeve, a minor community office having to do with policing the swine population.

Hartford was founded in 1636. Although the Clarks did not move there until the following year, John became one of the original proprietors in 1639, and his name appears on the Founders' Monument in that city.

About 1644 he moved to Saybrook, acquiring large holdings. Later he sold out and moved to Milford, where his brother George was living.

In 1651 there was a feeling around Stratford, Conn., that Goody Bassett had become a witch. John Clark and the governor of Connecticut went down to investigate. They tried her, found her guilty and had her hanged by the neck until dead.

John left a pretty impressive 434 pounds, very little of which could have come from his original employment as alewife fisherman.

ELIZABETH (CLARK) PRATT, oldest child of John and Mary Clark, undoubtedly born in England, married (1) in Hartford, Conn., on June 16, 1640, to Lieutenant William Pratt, married (2) in 1682 to William Parker of Saybrook, Connecticut.

Grant Family

DEACON MATTHEW GRANT, born in England on October 27, 1601, married there (1) on November 16, 1625, to Priscilla, married (2) in Windsor, Connecticut on May 29, 1645, to Susanna, daughter of Bernard Capen and widow of William Rockwell, died December 16, 1681; sureveyor; deacon in the Windsor church.

On March 20 or 30, 1629-30, the Grants sailed from England on the Mary and John, taking with them their first-born child and possibly Matthew's mother-in-law. They reached Massachusetts on May 30, 1630, and settled in Dorchester, where Matthew became a freeman on May 18, 1631.

A large percentage of the Dorchester families decided to move in 1635. Matthew was one of the small advance party that selected the site for Windsor, and the Grants moved there in 1636. He served as town clerk for many years, and his records were considered a model throughout New England.

Priscilla died April 27, 1644. Matthew's second wife died November 13, 1666, and he lived with his son John during his last years. He left a modest 119 pounds.

PRISCILLA (GRANT) HUMPHREY, oldest child of Matthew and Priscilla Grant, born in England, probably in Devon, on September 14, 1626, married in Windsor, Conn., on October 14, 1647, to Michael Humphrey, died after October 21, 1669.

Humphrey Family

MICHAEL HUMPHREY, undoubtedly born in England, married in Windsor, Conn., on October 14, 1647, to Priscilla Grant, died, probably in Simsbury, Conn., between June 25, 1688, and March 19, 1695; manufacturer, importer, exporter; deputy to the Connecticut General Court from Simsbury, 1670; in service at Windsor during King Philip's War.

His first American home may have been in Dorchester, Mass. By March 8, 1643, he was in Windsor. That year or possibly earlier he and John Griffin started a business that operated both in Windsor and Simsbury, where Michael moved in 1669. They manufactured pitch, tar and turpentine, exported them to St. Malo, France, where Michaels brother acted as their agent, and in turn imported French dry goods.

Everyone in the Puritan colonies paid taxes to support the Congregational church. In 1663 Michael, a loyal member of the Church of England, announced that since he had to pay taxes to the Congregationalists, the least they could do was to baptize his children. When this request was refused, he asked to be relieved from paying the tax.

The resulting controversy rocked New England. The church fathers finally worked out a compromise called the Half-Way Covenant, under the terms of which non-members could be baptized but had to continue paying taxes. A few purists were so outraged at this dangerous laxity that they pulled up stakes and stomped off down into New Jersey, where they founded Newark.

MARTHA (HUMPHREY) SHIPMAN, third daughter and fifth child of Michael and Priscilla (Grant) Humphrey, born in Windsor, Connecticut, on October 5, 1663, married on May 5, 1686, to John Shipman, died after 1697 but before June 18, 1741.

Kirtland Family

PHILIP KIRTLAND, a native of Sherington, County Bucks, England, married there; cordwainer (worker in leather).

There being no record of his wife in this country, it is believed that Philip came here a widower. Two of his sons, Philip, Jr., and Nathaniel, came on the Hopewell in 1635, and he may have arrived with them or may have joined them here later. In any event he had arrived by 1638, settling in Lynn, Massachusetts, where he became the first man in his trade.

NATHANIEL KIRTLAND, third son and child of Philip Kirtland, a native of Sherington, County, Bucks, England, born about 1616 or 1617, married in Southampton, N.Y., between 1642 and 1645 to Parnell Rand, died December 27, 1686; a founder of Southampton; selectman in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1673 and 1678; fought in King Philip's War under Captain Nicholas Manning of Ipswich, Massachusetts.

He came to America with his brother Philip, Jr., on the Hopewell in 1635. The ship left London early in April and reached Boston, Massachusetts, in June. The brothers settled in Lynn and remained there until 1640.

That year they joined a colonizing venture involving thirty or forty families. The group sailed first to the western part of Long Island, an area claimed by the Dutch. They were shortly apprehended by troops sent out from New Amsterdam. Several Lynn men, including the Kirtlands, were arrested, but they were released on the understanding that the colonists would settle further to the east. The party explored beyond range of the Dutch and established themselves in what became Southampton.

Philip Kirtland, Jr., moved back to Lynn within a few years, and Nathaniel and Parnell followed him prior to July, 1647.

LIEUTENANT JOHN KIRTLAND, son of Nathaniel and Parnell (Rand) Kirtland, born in Lynn, Massachusetts, in August, 1659, married in

Saybrook, Conn., on November 8 or 18, 1679, to Lydia Pratt, died there on January 20, 1716; lieutenant of the fort at Saybrook in 1702, lieutenant of the second Saybrook militia company in 1708.

John had the unusual experience of being given away by his parents. His aunt, Susanna (Kirtland) Westall, wife of John Westall of Saybrook, was childless, whereas young John Kirtland had nine brothers and sisters. Taking compassion on the barren Susanna, the Kirtlands presented their son John to the Westalls when he was thirteen. It was an odd arrangement, but it seems to have worked very well, and there was much visiting back and forth between the two families.

During its first few years, Yale College was located in Saybrook, and at least one of John's sons went there.

ELIZABETH (KIRTLAND) SHIPMAN, third daughter and fourth child of Lieutenant John and Lydia (Pratt) Kirtland, born in Saybrook, Connecticut, on June 27, either in 1688 or 1689, married there on January 11, 1715, to John Shipman, Jr., died there on April 27, 1778.

Her nephew Samuel, a missionary to the Oneida Indians, was the founder of Hamilton College, and he changed the spelling of his name to Kirkland. That man's grandson was president of Harvard College from 1810 to 1828.

Leffingwell Family

REBECCA (LEFFINGWELL) SHIPMAN, born 1719, married (1) in 1741 to Elias Shipman, presumed father of David and Nathaniel Shipman, married (2) on December 7, 1752, to Theopholus Morgan, died 1759.

Although the Leffingwells, plentiful in the Saybrook-Norwich area, are a well-documented family, it seems impossible to trace Rebecca's ancestry. Her brother-in-law, Nathaniel Shipman married Elizabeth Leffingwell, who was born in Norwich, Connecticut on January 4, 1729, but the two women do not appear to have been sisters.

Rebecca must almost certainly have been descended from Lieutenant Thomas Leffingwell, who was in Saybrook in 1637 and who later became a founder of Norwich, serving as deputy to the General Court of Connecticut from the latter town at fifty-three sessions between 1662 and 1700. Noted for his physical strength, he was about ninety when he died in 1714.

Once when the Mohegans were besieged on a peninsula in the Thames River by the Narragansetts, the Mohegan Sachem Uncas sent word to Saybrook, where he was favorably regarded. Thomas Leffingwell loaded a canoe with food, went down the Sound with it and up the Thames, landing the supplies at night and so discouraging the Narragansetts that they withdrew. Uncas gave most of what became Norwich to Thomas as a token of gratitude and later, in June of 1659,

confirmed the gift with a formal deed, which also named a number of other friends in Saybrook.

Thomas served as a lieutenant in King Philip's War and was one of the officers under that great and colorful Indian fighter, Captain George Denison, the day Chief Canonchet was captured. The faithful Uncas served that expedition as head of Denison's scouts.

The Leffingwell family biographers had never heard of Rebecca and thus had no knowledge of a possible Leffingwell connection with David and Nathaniel Shipman. It is, therefore, all the more curious that they should have described Thomas Leffingwell as "a young hunter...the prototype, perhaps, of Cooper's 'Deerslayer'."

Pratt Family

THOMAS PRATT, native of Baldock, Hertfordshire, England, married in England to Joan, died there February, 1539.

ANDREW PRATT, third son and child of Thomas and Joan Pratt, born in Baldock, Hertfordshire, England, died in England.

REVEREND WILLIAM PRATT, first son and second child of Andrew Pratt, baptized in Baldock, Hertfordshire, England, in October, 1562, married in England about 1604 to Elizabeth, died there 1629; minister, known to have been the rector in Stevenage, Hertfordshire, as of December 6, 1598.

Elizabeth lived at least until 1621.

LIEUTENANT WILLIAM PRATT, third son and sixth child of Reverend William and Elizabeth Pratt, born in England, probably in Stevenage, Hertfordshire, married in Hartford, Connecticut, on June 16, 1640, to Elizabeth Clark, died in Saybrook, Connecticut, between May, 1678, and February 20, 1679; a founder of Hartford, the founder of Essex, Connecticut; deputy from Saybrook to the Connecticut General Court at twenty-four sessions between 1666 and 1677; commissioner for Saybrook, 1666-70; lieutenant of the Saybrook militia as of October 3, 1661, fought in the Pequot War as lieutenant of the Saybrook troops under Mason, council of war in 1642.

He migrated to New England in 1632 or earlier, probably settling first in Newtowne (now Cambridge), Mass. A follower of Reverend Thomas Hooker, he was part of the group that settled Hartford in 1636.

In 1645 or a little later he moved to the Potapong section of Saybrook, settling on 250 acres acquired by grant or purchase. His first house there was on land now lying between Dauntless Lane and Pratt Street. In 1820 Potapong became the town of Essex, and William, the first white man to have lived there, became retroactively its founder. He was made a freeman of Saybrook on October 4, 1669.

Joshua Uncas, a wealthy Indian and son of the Sachem Uncas, left valuable bequests to a number of white men who had been kind to him. He willed William 3,000 acres in the vicinity of Hebron, Connecticut.

LYDIA (PRATT) KIRTLAND, third daughter and seventh child of Lieutenant William and Elizabeth (Clark) Pratt, born in Saybrook, Connecticut on January 1, 1659-60, married there on November 8 or 18, 1679, to Lieutenant John Kirtland, died there after 1704.

Rand Family

PARNELL (RAND) KIRTLAND, probably but not positively born in England, married (1) in Southampton, New York, between 1642 and 1645 to Nathaniel Kirtland, married (2) on October 31, 1687, to John Laiton, died, probably in in Lynn, Massachusetts, on September 20, 1694.

Ward Family

MARY (WARD) CLARK, born in England, quite possibly in Clipsham, County Rutland, married (1) John Fletcher, married (2) in Milford, Connecticut, to John Clark, probably died in Farmington, Connecticut, about 1679.

Her mother and four of her brothers all migrated to New England, but it is not clear whether or not they came together or whether she was then married. The Fletchers lived first in Wethersfield, Conn., but removed to Milford in 1639, where he died on April 18, 1662. She stayed in Milford during her second marriage but apparently moved again after that husband died in 1674.

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Ch	Chandler	L	Leffingwell
Cl	Clark	P	Pratt
G	Grant	Ra	Rand
H	Humphrey	Ry	Ryan
K	Kirtland	S	Shipman
W Ward			

In the case of Shipman references which eliminate possible ancestors of David and Nathaniel, the symbol (S-negative) is used. This same device is employed in the case of the Quaker Hill literature, which might have said something about David but did not.

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