

14. [Theodore Dwight], *The Northern Traveller, and Northern Tour, with the Routes to the Springs, Niagara, and Quebec, and the Coal Mines of Pennsylvania; also, the Tour of New-England* (New York, 1830), 87; [Thomas Hamilton], *Men and Manners in America* (Philadelphia, 1833), 2:162; Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas*, 1:134; Howison, *Sketches of Upper Canada*, 98; Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels from Detroit Northwest through the Great Chain of American Lakes to the Sources of the Mississippi River in 1820* (Albany, N.Y., 1821), 36-37.
15. Stone, "From New York to Niagara," 246.
16. Stone, "From New York to Niagara," 246-47.
17. *Albany Daily Advertiser*, 9 July 1828; *New-York Evening Post*, 7 July 1828 (reprint from the *Journal of Commerce*). On the *Journal of Commerce*: Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Levitts Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery* (Cleveland, 1969), 54; *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 5 August 1829 (reprint from the *New England Palladium*); Stone: *New-York Spectator*, 11 July 1828 and 18 July 1828. (The *Spectator* was the for-the-country edition of the *Commercial Advertiser*.)
18. Stone, "From New York to Niagara," 227, 238, 240.
19. Jackson riot: *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 31 July 1828 (quote) and 2 August 1828.
20. Corrupt bargain parody: *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 8 August 1828. Historians continue to argue about the validity of these charges. See Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson: Volume Two: The Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832* (New York, 1981), 74-99; Remini, *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union* (New York, 1991), 251-72; Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York, 1991), 185-201; Harry L. Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (New York, 1990), 80-83.
21. *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 6 October 1829.
22. James Fenimore Cooper, *The Pioneers, or the Sources of the Susquehanna; A Descriptive Tale* (New York, 1823). On Hiram Doolittle, see Alan Taylor, *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic* (New York, 1995), 290-91, 421-22.
23. Francis Hodge, *Yankee Theatre: The Image of America on the Stage, 1825-1850* (Austin, Tex., 1964), 106-9, 162-63; Leon Howard, *The Connecticut Wits* (Chicago, 1943), 262-65. On the stage Yankee generally, see Hodge, *Yankee Theatre*; Alexander P. Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in*

- Nineteenth-Century America* (London, 1990), 116-23; Rosemarie K. Bank, *Theatre Culture in America, 1825-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 39-42.
24. On Cooper: Taylor, *William Cooper's Town*. On Dunlap: Joseph J. Ellis, *After the Revolution: Profiles of Early American Culture* (New York, 1979), 113-58. On Hackett: Hodge, *Yankee Theatre*, 84-86, and Coke, *A Subaltern's Furlough*, 1:35.
25. William Dunlap, *A History of the American Theatre* (New York, 1832), 384-92, 400-1, and idem, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York, 1834; reprint 1965), 1:345; Taylor, *William Cooper's Town*, 411.
26. On Jedediah Peck: Taylor, *William Cooper's Town*, 237-38, 241-49, 275-76, 284-87. Stone, "From New York to Niagara," 216.
27. Stone, "From New York to Niagara," 228-33.
28. *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 6 October 1829 and 21 October 1829.
29. *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 13 October 1829. All further quotes from Hiram Doolittle, Jun., are from this article. It is reprinted in full in *Buffalo Historical Society Publications* 14 (1910), 265-71.
30. Forsyth: *Colonial Advocate* (York, Upper Canada), 9 August 1827; *Black Rock Gazette*, 15 June 1826. Guest lists: *Colonial Advocate* (Queenston, Upper Canada), 16 September 1824; *Farmer's Journal and Welland Canal Intelligencer* (St. Catharines, Upper Canada), 1 August 1827. Quote: *Syracuse Advertiser*, 15 August 1827. The Pavilion, the largest of four hotels at Niagara, could accommodate 150 guests in 1828, according to Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, 1:110. A guidebook estimated the capacity of the Pavilion at 100-150 guests. [Gideon Davison], *The Traveller's Guide through the Middle and Northern States, and the Provinces of Canada*, 6th ed. (Saratoga Springs, N.Y., 1834), 272.
31. *Rochester Album*, 14 August 1829 (from the *Black Rock Gazette*); *Black Rock Gazette*, 23 December 1826.
32. Names: Christian Schultz, *Travels on an Inland Voyage through the States of New-York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, and through the Territories of Indiana, Louisiana, Mississippi and New Orleans; Performed in the Years 1807 and 1808; Including a Tour of Nearly Six Thousand Miles* (1810; reprint Ridgewood, N.J., 1968), 65; Hibernicus [De Witt Clinton], *Letters on the Natural History and Internal Resources of the State of New York* (New York,

1822), 202; Robert Courley, *Statistical Account of Upper Canada, Compiled with a View to a Grand System of Emigration* (London, 1822; reprint 1966), 1:66; Anon., *A Northern Tour: Being a Guide to Lake George, Niagara, Canada, Boston, &c., &c.* (Philadelphia, 1825), 149; David W. Prall, "Journal of a Jaunt from New York to Niagara, July 1821," entry for 21 July 1821, manuscript journal, New-York Historical Society; Samuel Reznock, "A Traveling School of Science on the Erie Canal in 1826," *New York History* 40 (July 1959), 265 (quote); John Fanning Watson *Travel Diary*, 24 July 1827 (quote); *Rochester Genl.*, 25 September 1830. Only a few early tourists (Schultz in 1807, Prall in 1821) admitted that they "conformed to the custom of the place, by engraving our names on a rock."

33. Quote: [Dwight], *The Northern Traveller*, 86. M. Smith, *A Geographical View of the Province of Upper Canada, and Promiscuous Remarks on the Government in Two Parts, with an Appendix: Containing a Complete Description of Niagara Falls, and Remarks Relative to the Situation of the Inhabitants Respecting the War, and a Concise History of Its Progress, to the Present Day* (New York, 1813), 13; Timothy Bigelow, *Journal of a Tour to Niagara Falls in the Year 1805* (Boston, 1876), 64; Howison, *Sketches of Upper Canada*, 101-2; P. Stansbury, *A Pedestrian Tour of Two Thousand Three Hundred Miles, in North America . . . Performed in the Autumn of 1821* (New York, 1822), 112-13; [—Mathews], *A Summer Month; or, Recollections of a Visit to the Falls of Niagara, and the Lakes* (Philadelphia, 1823), 78. Trees and boats: Peter Kaln, *Travels in North America* (1770; reprint, New York, 1964), 2:702-3; Elizabeth Cometti, ed., *The American Journals of Lt. John Enys* (Syracuse, 1976), 132; Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 338; Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America*, 2:166-67.

34. *The Columbian* (New York), 22 November 1810. Canoe: Clinton, *Letters on . . . Natural History*, 208. Furniture: *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, N.Y.), 13 November 1821; *Connecticut Courant* (Hartford), 20 November 1821; the story is retold in Talbot, *Five Years' Residence in the Canadas*, 1:136-37. Canoe and small boat: *Montreal Gazette*, 21 November 1821. Apples: *Colonial Advocate* (York, Upper Canada), 25 November 1824; *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, N.Y.), 1 December 1824. Three men: *Black Rock Gazette*, 28 March 1826; *Livingston Register* (Geneseo, N.Y.), 4 April 1826; *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, N.Y.), 29 March 1826. Ice: *Syracuse Gazette & General Advertiser*, 4 March 1828. Smugglers: *Erie*

*Gazette* (Pa.), 26 February 1829. Eagle: *Seneca Farmer & Waterloo Advocate* (Waterloo, N.Y.), 27 February 1828. Deer: *Farmer's Journal and Welland Canal Advertiser* (St. Catharines, Upper Canada), 1 April 1829. See [Theodore Dwight, Jr.], *The Northern Traveller: Containing the Routes to Niagara, Quebec, and the Springs; with Descriptions of the Principal Scenes, and Useful Hints to Strangers* (New York, 1825), 50-51.

35. See the dates to newspaper citations in note 34. Construction: Coke, *A Subaltern's Furlough*, 2:38; Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 344; [Davison], *The Traveller's Guide*, 271-72n.

36. Annie Fields, ed., *The Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Boston, 1897), 90. On romantic death at Niagara, see Patrick McGreevy, *Imagining Niagara: The Meaning and Making of Niagara Falls* (Amherst, Mass., 1994), 41-70, and McKinsey, *Niagara Falls*, esp. 167-69. Both the nineteenth-century elite and most historians have construed the relations between common people and nature in these years as unthinking, unfeeling rape of the land. For an account which sees a more nuanced plebeian aesthetic—one with powerful echoes of the terrific sublime—see Lewis O. Saum, *The Popular Mood of Pre-Civil War America* (Westport, Conn., 1980), 174-99. On the relation of nature, physical labor, and elite leisure, see Richard White, "Are You an Environmentalist or Do You Work for a Living? Work and Nature," in William Cronon, ed., *Uncommon Ground: Re-thinking the Human Place in Nature* (New York, 1995), 171-85.

37. Paul E. Johnson, "Strange Cargo: The Michigan Descent at Niagara, 1827," presented at the Conference on Festive Culture and Public Ritual, American Philosophical Society, 13 April 1996. Quotes: *Black Rock Gazette*, 8 September 1827 (reprinted in many places); *Leroy Gazette*, 16 August 1827.

38. *Buffalo Patriot*, 8 September 1829; *Buffalo Journal*, 8 September 1829; *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 1 October 1829; *Farmer's Journal and Welland Canal Intelligencer* (St. Catharines, Upper Canada), 30 September 1829. Many, many reprints.

39. *Buffalo Journal*, 8 September 1829; *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 1 October 1829 (citing *Buffalo Republican*); *Seneca Farmer & Waterloo Advocate* (Waterloo, N.Y.), 23 September 1829 (citing *Niagara Courier*); *Painesville Telegraph* (Painesville, Ohio), 15 September 1829.

40. William Forsyth spent his fortune on the court cases, lost, and left Niagara in 1832. On Forsyth and his troubles with the government, see

Robert L. Fraser, "William Forsyth," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1988), 7:311-16; John Charles Dent, *The Story of the Upper Canada Rebellion* (Toronto, 1885), 1:151-60; Patrick Bode, *Sir John Beverley Robinson: Bone and Sinew of the Compact* (Toronto, 1984); Paul Romney, *Mr. Attorney: The Attorney General for Ontario in Court, Cabinet, and Legislature, 1791-1899* (Toronto, 1986). Willis story: Nathaniel P. Willis, "Niagara—Lake Ontario—the St. Lawrence," in *Dashes at Life with a Free Pencil*, Part 2: "Inklings of Adventure" (1845), reprinted in the American Short Story Series (New York, 1968), 30:11. Because the governor sent soldiers instead of civil authorities to tear down the fence, Canadian reformers branded the incident the "Niagara Falls Outrage," and covered the controversy in scores of newspaper stories. See especially McKenzie's *Colonial Advocate* for the years following 1827. Papers on the United States side also kept track of Forsyth's travails.

41. *Buffalo Journal*, 6 October 1829 and 13 October 1829; *Farmer's Journal and Welland Canal Intelligencer* (St. Catharines, Upper Canada), 7 October 1829; *Connecticut Courant* (Hartford), 27 October 1829; *Livingston Register* (Geneseo, N.Y.), 21 October 1829; *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 13 October 1829. Pigs and fireworks: *The Atlas* (New York), 10 October 1829. Circus: Barnard and Page headed the only circus troupe playing in the area. They had played in Erie, Pennsylvania, a few days earlier, and opened in Buffalo a few days after the Niagara exhibition. On this troupe, see *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 21-27 November 1828; *Erie Gazette* (Pa.), 1 October 1829; *Buffalo Journal*, 13 and 20 October 1829; *Anti-Masonic Enquirer* (Rochester, N.Y.), 24 November 1829 (fullest description); *Onondaga Standard* (Syracuse, N.Y.), 21 October 1829 and 30 December 1829; Stuart Thayer, *Annals of the American Circus, 1793-1829* (Manchester, Mich., 1976), 224-25.
42. *Livingston Register* (Geneseo, N.Y.), 21 October 1829.
43. *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 13 October 1829.
44. Hiram Doolittle locates the downriver explosion at the Indian Ladder in the *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 13 October 1829. Accounts of the Indian Ladder: Commetti, ed., *American Journals of Lt. John Eays*, 136-39; Isaac Weld, Jr., *Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London, 1800), 2:122-23; J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, in Frank H. Severance, "Studies of the Niagara Frontier," *Buffalo Historical Society Publications* 15 (1911), 356-59.

There in 1823: Talbot, *Five Years*, 131-35. Fishing: Capt. William Newnham Blane, *An Excursion through the United States and Canada during the Years 1822 and 1823* (London, 1824), 405; Mary F. Dewey, *Life and Letters of Catharine Maria Sedgwick* (New York, 1871), 132.

45. Terrapin Rocks quote: Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America*, 2:166. Other accounts: Fowler, *Journal of a Tour*, 140; Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, 1:141. Terrapin Bridge and Michigan Descent: *Saratoga Sentinel*, 18 September 1827.
46. *Providence Patriot*, 21 October 1829 (citing a Buffalo paper); *Farmer's Journal and Welland Canal Intelligencer* (St. Catharines, Upper Canada), 7 October 1829; *Livingston Register* (Geneseo, N.Y.), 21 October 1829; *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 13 October 1829.
47. Quotes: *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 13 October 1829; *Livingston Register* (Geneseo, N.Y.), 21 October 1829; *Providence Patriot*, 21 October 1829; *Farmer's Journal and Welland Canal Intelligencer* (St. Catharines, Upper Canada), 7 October 1829. The ship stayed on the rock until a storm dislodged it in late November; *Buffalo Republican*, reprinted in *New-York Evening Post*, 3 December 1829.
48. *Painesville Telegraph* (Painesville, Ohio), 13 October 1829; *Freeman's Journal* (Cooperstown, N.Y.), 26 October 1829; *Livingston Register* (Geneseo, N.Y.), 21 October 1829; *Providence Daily Advertiser*, 20 October 1829.
49. *Colonial Advocate* (York, Upper Canada), 15 October 1829.
50. *People's Press* (Batavia, N.Y.), 23 October 1829 (citing *Buffalo Republican*); *Livingston Register* (Geneseo, N.Y.), 21 October 1829; *Colonial Advocate* (York, Upper Canada), 22 October 1829. Other mentions of drunkenness: *Farmer's Journal and Welland Canal Intelligencer* (St. Catharines, Upper Canada), 19 December 1829; *Painesville Telegraph* (Painesville, Ohio), 27 October 1829.
51. Sam at museum: *Livingston Register* (Geneseo, N.Y.), 21 October 1829; *Painesville Telegraph* (Painesville, Ohio), 27 October 1829; *Buffalo Patriot*, 10 November 1829 (portrait) and 27 October 1829 (recitation).
52. *Buffalo Journal*, 14 July 1829, 11 August 1829, 25 August 1829; *Buffalo Republican*, 25 August 1829; *Buffalo Patriot*, 25 August 1829. During the previous year, McCleary operated a similar establishment in Detroit. The *Detroit Gazette*, 6 November 1828 and 13 November 1828, printed McCleary's advertisement for a "Select Cabinet of Nature and Art" in that town. He published notices of dramatic recita-



tions in the issues of 25 December 1828 and 8 January 1829, then apparently left Detroit.

53. *Buffalo Journal*, 4 August 1829, 18 August 1829, 22 September 1829; *Buffalo Patriot*, 25 August 1829, 29 September 1829, 27 October 1829 (Patch recitation). Neither Hewitt nor Anderson appears in the detailed indexes to George C. O. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1927-47). Within a few years McCleary had left Buffalo to perform his Irish songs and comic sketches with the York (Toronto) Circus. See Edith G. Firth, ed., *The Town of York, 1815-1837* (Toronto, 1962), 344n.
54. Clothes: accounts of Sam's second Niagara leap. Bear: *Painesville Telegraph* (Ohio), 27 October 1829. W. P. Moore: *Buffalo Journal*, 13 October 1829. Frog: *Democratic Press* (Philadelphia), 9 July 1829. (Thanks to Shane White.)
55. *Buffalo Journal*, 13 October 1829; *Colonial Advocate* (York, Upper Canada), 15 October 1829; *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 20 October 1829; many others.
56. Goat Island tolls: *Onondaga Standard* (Syracuse, N.Y.), 21 October 1829; *The Atlas* (New York), 17 October 1829. Steamboat: *Buffalo Gazette*, 13 October 1829.
57. *People's Press* (Batavia, N.Y.), 23 October 1829 (citing *Buffalo Republican*); *Colonial Advocate* (York, Upper Canada), 22 October 1829. Steamboat departure: *Buffalo Gazette*, 13 October 1829.
58. Biddle Stairs: *Buffalo Journal*, 29 September 1829; Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (New York, 1969; orig. 1838), 1:108. Crowd, weather, and ladder: *People's Press* (Batavia, N.Y.), 23 October 1829; *Buffalo Journal*, 20 October 1829; *Colonial Advocate* (York, Upper Canada), 22 October 1829; *The Gem* (Rochester, N.Y.), 31 October 1829.
59. Flag: *Farmer's Journal and Welland Canal Intelligencer* (St. Catharines, Upper Canada), 19 December 1829 (from the *Buffalo Republican*); *Buffalo Patriot*, 27 October 1829. For a particularly startling mix of patriotism, Anglophobia, and populist racism, see Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York, 1984), 264-65. See also Paul A. Gilje, *The Road to Mobocracy: Popular Disorder in New York City, 1763-1834* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1987), 246-53.
60. *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 22 October 1829 (from the *Buffalo Republican*); *Colonial Advocate* (York, Upper Canada), 22 October 1829; *The Gem* (Rochester, N.Y.), 31 October 1829.

61. *Colonial Advocate* (York, Upper Canada), 22 October 1829. The article is bylined "Andrew Todd," but Mackenzie reprints it and identifies himself as its author in William Lyon Mackenzie, *Sketches of Canada and the United States* (London, 1833), 97-100. At the Descart: *Colonial Advocate*, 15 September 1829.

62. Only fragmentary files of the *Buffalo Republican* have survived. The long article datelined 17 October 1829, however, was reprinted throughout the Northeast: see *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 22 October 1829; *New-York Evening Post*, 21 October 1829; *Rochester Republican*, 27 October 1829; *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 21 October 1829; *Anti-Masonic Enquirer* (Rochester, N.Y.), 3 November 1829; *Onondaga Standard* (Syracuse, N.Y.), 28 October 1829; *People's Press* (Batavia, N.Y.), 23 October 1829; *Manufacturer's and Farmer's Journal* (Providence), 26 October 1829; *Providence Patriot*, 24 October 1829. Most of the article is reprinted in the *Buffalo Historical Society Publications* 14 (1910), 247-49n. A reminiscence published in the *Republican* two months later (it contains Sam's admission that he nearly fell) was reprinted only in the *Farmer's Journal and Welland Canal Advertiser* (St. Catharines, Upper Canada), 19 December 1829.

#### IV. Rochester

1. [Margaret Hunter Hall], *The Aristocratic Journey: Being the Outspoken Letters of Mrs. Basil Hall, Written during a Fourteen Months' Sojourn in America, 1827-1828*, ed. Una Pope-Hennessy (New York, 1931), 53; Thomas L. McKenney, *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes, of the Character and Customs of the Chippewy Indians, and of Incidents Connected with the Treaty of Fond Du Lac* (Baltimore, 1827), 85.
2. For tourists' descriptions of Rochester in the 1820s, see Dorothy S. Truesdale, ed., "American Travel Accounts of Early Rochester," *Rochester History* 16 (April 1954), 1-24; and Pat M. Ryan, ed., "Rochester Recollected: A Miscellany of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Descriptions," *Rochester History* 41 (January and April 1979), 1-48. Paving at Four Corners: *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 7 January 1829. (The name State Street is used throughout the text for purposes of clarity, although the streets Carroll section had yet to be renamed in Sam Patch's day.) See also Blake McKelvey, "The Physical Growth of Rochester," *Rochester History* 13 (October 1951), 1-24; McKelvey, "Rochester and the Erie



- Canal," *Rochester History* 11 (July 1949), 1-24; and Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York, 1978), 15-21.
3. Mills obscure both ends: *The Gem* (Rochester, N.Y.), 13 November 1830. Aqueeduct quotes: [Theodore Dwight], *The Northern Traveller, and Northern Tour, with the Routes to the Springs, Niagara, and Quebec, and the Coal Mines of Pennsylvania; also, the Tour of New-England* (New York, 1830), 74; Isabella Hope Wilson (1833), cited in Ryan, "Rochester Recollected," 36; Anne Royall, *The Black Book; or, a Continuation of Travels in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1828), 1:59; A. Levasseur, *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825; or, Journal of a Voyage to the United States* (Philadelphia, 1829), 2:193. Lafayette quote: *Rochester Telegraph*, 14 June 1825.
4. William Leete Stone, "From New York to Niagara: Journal of a Tour, in Part by the Erie Canal, in the Year 1829," *Buffalo Historical Society Publications* 14 (1910), 254-55; Basil Hall, *Travels in North America, in the Years 1827 and 1828* (Edinburgh and London, 1829), 1:153, 160; E. T. Coke, *A Subaltern's Furlough: Descriptive of Scenes in Various Parts of the United States, Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, during the Summer and Autumn of 1832* (London, 1833), 2:18.
5. The literature on respectability, entrepreneurialism, and middle-class self-fashioning in these years is immense. Substantial recent contributions include Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York, 1992); Daniel Walker Howe, *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997); Joyce Appleby, *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).
6. On Rochester's culture wars in the 1820s, see Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*.
7. Recess: *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 17 July 1829; *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, 20 October 1829; Jenny Marsh Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical* (Rochester, N.Y., 1884), 184-85.
8. See *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 29-31 October and 2 November 1829.
9. Partnerships: *Rochester Telegraph*, 12 July 1825, 28 June 1828; Edwin Scramton, "Old Citizen Letters," newspaper scrapbook, Rochester Public Library, Letters Nos. 4 and 8; Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical*, 184-85; Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr., J. L. D. Mathies: Western New York State Artist," *New York History* 39 (1958),

- 133-50; Paul E. Johnson and Sean Wilentz, *The Kingdom of Matthias: A Story of Sex and Salvation in 19th-Century America* (New York, 1994), 84-87. Practice at Recess: *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 30 January 1829.
10. Band roster and stories: Scramton, "Old Citizen Letters," Letters Nos. 2-10. They are identified (once) as the Clinton Band in *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 30 January 1829. Celebrations: *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, N.Y.), 11 October 1823; *Rochester Telegraph*, 14 June 1825. Concerts: *Rochester Album*, 14 March 1826; "Diary of E. Maria Ward," 3 January 1819, in *Rochester Historical Society Publications* 11 (1932), 49; *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, 24 March 1832.
11. Scramton, "Old Citizen Letters," Letters Nos. 2-10. Monroe Garden: *Rochester Telegraph*, 21 June 1825; *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 15 July 1828. Utica trip: *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 28 September 1829. Band occupations and anecdotes: Scramton, "Old Citizen Letters"; Sylvester J. H. Clark, *Early Rochesterians Index* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1969).
12. Drinking episode: Scramton, "Old Citizen Letters," Letter No. 4. Monroe Garden: *Rochester Telegraph*, 21 June 1825; *People's Press* (Batavia, N.Y.), 9 July 1825. Saturday practice: *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 30 January 1830. Buffalo and Niagara trips: *Rochester Telegraph*, 11 September 1827; *Rochester Gem*, 25 September 1830.
13. Utica trip: *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 28 September 1829. Band occupations and stories: Clark, *Early Rochesterians Index*; Scramton, "Old Citizen Letters," Letters Nos. 1-10.
14. Joe Cochrane and O'Donohue: Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical*, 184-88.
15. Drake is identified as having been personally acquainted with Sam Patch in *Rochester Evening Times*, 13 November 1909 (Sam Patch Scrapbook, Local History Division, Rochester Public Library, cited hereafter as SPSB). Bible: Scramton, "Old Citizen Letters," Letters Nos. 129-30; relation to Peck, Letter No. 51. On Peck, see Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*, 43-44, 45, 98.
16. Scramton, "Old Citizen Letters," Letter No. 52.
17. See Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1988), 77-96. Pluck's tour: *Albany Argus and Daily City Advertiser*, 19 March 1827 (elephant); *Wayne Sentinel* (Palmyra, N.Y.), 10 August 1826; *Manufac-*

- turner's and Farmer's Journal (Providence), 28 August 1826; *Livingston Register* (Geneseo, N.Y.), 12 September 1826.
18. Parker, *Rochester*, 133-34; Mrs. Elizabeth J. Varney, "Panorama of Rochester in Its Early Days," *Rochester Historical Society Publications* 8 (1929), 222; [Lyman B. Langworthy], *Desultory Notes and Reminiscences of the City of Rochester: Its Early History, Remarkable Men and Events, Strange Revelations of the Murders, Mysteries, and Miseries, Casualties, Curiosities and Progress of the Young and Growing City for the Last 50 Years* (Rochester, N.Y., 1868), 33-35. Langworthy and Parker both claim that the Fantastical farces in New York State began in Rochester, though exact dates are provided in none of the sources. Leaders' occupations: Clark, *Early Rochesterians Index*. Robinson's barbershop: *Rochester Telegraph*, 2 April 1822, 12 August 1823, 3 September 1828; *Rochester Republican*, 29 December 1829; Landlords Appendix to Clark, *Early Rochesterians Index*.
19. Scrantom, "Old Citizen Letters"; Parker and Varney, note 18; Stone, "From New York to Niagara," 220. The literature on working-class and sporting male social life, amusements, and organizations in antebellum America places Sam Patch's Rochester friends somewhere between the rough and respectable extremes. On the rough, see Richard B. Stott, ed., *History of My Own Times: or, the Life and Adventures of William Otter, Sen., Comprising a Series of Events, and Musical Incidents Altogether Original* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), especially the editor's "Commentary," 181-223; and Elliott J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986). On the respectable: Warren Goldstein, *Playing for Keeps: A History of Early Baseball* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989), 17-63; Amy S. Greenberg, *Cause for Alarm: The Volunteer Fire Department in the Nineteenth-Century City* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), esp. 41-79.
20. Of the nine men identified as ringleaders of the militia Fantasticals, only the master saddler C. G. Lathrop was a church member (St. Luke's Episcopal Church, admitted in 1827). The fifteen who formed the traveling squad of the band in 1829 included the housepainter Jerry Selking (First Presbyterian Church, 1824, transferred to St. Paul's Episcopal, which became a haven for anti-evangelical churchgoers during Charles Finney's revival). The newsman Edwin Scrantom joined the Second Presbyterian Church during that revival in December 1830, and thereafter sold his newspaper to become a merchant and miller. The printer's apprentice E. O. Hall converted under Finney and became a missionary to Hawaii. Sources for church mem-
- bership: Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*, 152-58. Drake's toast: *Rochester Republican*, 12 July 1831. Free-thought advertisers: *The World as It Is* (Rochester, N.Y.), 2 April 1836; *Liberal Advocate* (Rochester, N.Y.), 13 October 1832.
21. This section has been shaped by Walter Benjamin, "A Berlin Chronicle," in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Peter Demetz (New York, 1978), 3-60, and Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984), 91-110.
22. Stuart Thayer, *Annals of the American Circus, 1793-1829* (Manchester, Mich., 1976), 135-36, 144-45, 224-25. George M. Elwood, "Some Earlier Public Amusements in Rochester," *Rochester Historical Society Publications* 1 (1922), 19-20. Bernard and Page advertisements: *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, 21-24 November 1828; 27-28 November 1828, 19-23 December 1828; *Rochester Telegraph*, 26 November 1828; *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, 24 November 1829 (fullest description). Village restrictions: *Records of the Doings of the Trustees of the Village of Rochester* (typescript, Rochester Public Library), entries for 15 April 1828, 2 December 1828, 14 April 1829, 24 November 1829. Anti-circus editorials: *Rochester Observer*, 8 May 1829, 20 June 1829, 26 June 1829.
23. Riots and murders: *Spirit of the Times* (Batavia, N.Y.), 3 January 1823; *Ontario Repository* (Canandaigua, N.Y.), 7 January 1823, 14 January 1823; *Sandusky Clarion* (Ohio), 26 February 1823, 28 August 1824; *Lyons Advertiser* (Lyons, N.Y.), 24 August 1825; *Rochester Telegraph*, 17 May 1825. Bearcup: *Rochester Album*, 19 September 1826. Peddlers, etc.: *Rochester Genl.*, 18 July 1830. Celtic airs: William Lyon Mackenzie, *Sketches of Canada and the United States* (London, 1833), 6. On Erie Canal disorder, see Blake McKelvey, "Rochester and the Erie Canal," *Rochester History* 11 (July 1949), 10-11; Roger E. Carp, "The Limits of Reform: Labor and Discipline on the Erie Canal," *Journal of the Early Republic* 10 (Summer 1990), 191-219; Carol Sheriff, *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817-1862* (New York, 1996), 138-71, and Peter Way, *Common Labour: Workers & the Digging of North American Canals, 1780-1860* (New York, 1993), esp. 163-99.
24. *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 23 September 1829. Reprinted in *Rochester Observer*, 25 September 1829; *Onondaga Standard* (Syracuse, N.Y.), 7 October 1829; *Western Intelligencer* (Hudson, Ohio), 20 October 1829; *Cherry-Valley Gazette* (Cherry

- Valley, N.Y.), 29 September 1829; *Paterson Intelligencer*, 7 October 1829; *New-Jersey Journal* (Elizabeth Town), 6 October 1829; *United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), 29 September 1829; *Manufacturer's and Farmer's Journal* (Providence), 4 October 1829; *Boston Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser*, 1 October 1829; *Albany Daily Advertiser*, 28 September 1829.
25. Quotes: *Rochester Observer*, 15 November 1829; *Rochester Album*, 8 January 1828 and 6 June 1826; *Records of the Doings of the Trustees*, 16 September 1828. Trustees' attack on first company: *ibid.*, May-July 1826. On early Rochester theater, see Elwood, "Some Earlier Public Amusements in Rochester," 23-25; McKelvey, *Rochester: The Water-Power City*, 144-45.
26. Hill: *Rochester Telegraph*, 24 October 1828. Viallave: *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 1-11 September 1829. Theater companies seldom advertised in newspapers after 1826, but they were licensed regularly in 1826 and 1827: *Records of the Doings of the Trustees*, 1826-29. Restrictions: entries for 12 December 1826, 26 December 1826, 4 January 1827, 9 January 1827, 27 March 1827, 15 May 1827, 29 May 1827. Peace officers and closing time: 18 September 1827. The trustees granted no theater licenses from late 1827 through the end of 1829, but theater companies clearly played in Rochester. Hooting and howling: *Rochester Album*, 8 January 1828. Batavia: *Rochester Observer*, 29 January 1828.
27. Fights: *Rochester Post-Express*, 20 August 1892, in Ashley Samson Scrapbook, 52:14-15 (Rochester Public Library); Harriet A. Weed, comp., *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1884), 30-31; *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, 14 April 1829; *The Craftsman* (Rochester, N.Y.), 8 September 1829, 13 October 1829, 20 October 1829. On Whitley, see Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*, 24, 74, 76, 78, 91, 128. His wife and Female Charitable Society: [Elisha Ely], *A Directory of the Village of Rochester . . . to which is added a Sketch of the History of the Village from 1822 to 1827* (Rochester, N.Y., 1827), 105. His theater poem was published in the *Rochester Album*, 23 May 1826. Whitley's Antimasonic colleagues Thurlow Weed and Henry B. Stanton (who soon dropped such frivolities to become a Presbyterian, an abolitionist, and the husband of Elizabeth Cady) also supported the theater. See Weed, *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed*, 206-7; Henry B. Stanton, *Random Recollections* (New York, 1887), 26-27.
28. On Frankfort: Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*, 63-64; Howard L. Osgood, "The Struggle for Monroe County," *Rochester Historical Society Publications* 3 (1924), 127-36; Ruth Rosenberg-Naparsieck, "Frankfort: Birthplace of Rochester's Industry," *Rochester History* 50 (July 1968), 1-23. Militia quote: Langworthy, *Desultery Notes and Reminiscences*, 34. McCracken's Tavern: references in *Rochester Historical Society Publications* 6 (1927), 343-44; 4 (1925), 237; Charles Hastings Wiltse, "Reminiscences of McCrackenville as Related by Mrs. Hiram Lavira Blanchard," *Rochester Historical Society Publications* 6 (1927), 129-34. Horse races: *Liberal Advocate* (Rochester, N.Y.), 22 March 1834.
29. A. J. Langworthy reminiscences, *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 31 March 1898 (SPSB).
30. Henry O'Reilly, *Settlement of the West: Sketches of Rochester* (Rochester, N.Y., 1838), 381; Catherine Josephine Dowling, "Dublin," *Rochester Historical Society Publications* 2 (1923), 233-49.
31. Journal of Mary O'Brien (1828), in Ryan, "Rochester Recollected," 21; Stone, "From New York to Niagara," 254-55.
32. Fanny Kemble, *Journal of a Young Actress*, ed. Monica Gough (New York, 1990), 192; Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Rochester," in *Tales, Sketches and Other Papers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1883), 17; Nathaniel P. Willis, *American Scenery; or Land, Lake, and River. Illustrations of Transatlantic Nature* (London, 1840), 1:89.
33. *Farmer's Journal and Welland Canal Intelligencer* (St. Catharines, Upper Canada), 7 February 1827 (original story in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*); *Rochester Album*, 13 May 1828 and 17 June 1828; *Republican Advocate* (Batavia, N.Y.), 17 March 1826 (original in the *Rochester Telegraph*) and 13 January 1826 (from the *Monroe Republican*); boys and raceway: Scrantom, "Old Citizen Letters," Letter No. 108.
34. Bunnell: Scrantom, "Old Citizen Letters," Letters Nos. 129-30 (rattlesnake); Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical*, 134 (Famastical).
35. "Tinselled theatricals": *Rochester Republican*, 4 January 1830. Clinton portrait: *Rochester Album*, 8 July 1828; *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 31 July 1829; Julius Catlin, *Rochester Observer*, 26 September 1828; Henry O'Reilly, *Settlement of the West*, 384; Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical*, 115-16. On the Franklin Institute in Rochester (which failed for lack of membership soon after 1830), see McKelvey, *Rochester: The Water-Power City*, 124-25; notice in *Rochester Historical Society Publications* 16 (1937), 26-29; *Directory of the Village of Rochester*, 110-11; *Rochester Republican*, 1 June 1830.



36. Quote: Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 333.
37. Crowd: *Albany Evening Advertiser*, 10 November 1829; *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 7 November 1829; *Farmer's Journal and Welland Canal Advertiser* (St. Catharines, Upper Canada), 18 November 1829 (reprint from the *Auburn Free Press*).
38. *Albany Daily Advertiser*, 10 November 1829.
39. *Albany Daily Advertiser*, 10 November 1829. Langworthy reminiscence: *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 31 March 1898; *Rochester Post Express*, 11 April 1903; unidentified clipping dated 14 November 1909 (all in SPSB); Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical*, 186-87, recounts this as a dubious but enduring part of the local Patch legend.
40. *Albany Daily Advertiser*, 10 November 1829; *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 7 November 1829 ("Large as was the concourse"); *Farmer's Journal and Welland Canal Advertiser* (St. Catharines, Upper Canada), 18 November 1829 ("No Mistake").
41. *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 12-13 November 1829. The advertisement appeared in far fewer papers than did the notice of Sam's first Rochester leap, but the handbills circulated widely. Sam and his friends were learning that handbills were the cheapest and most effective way to advertise shows.
42. Schooners: Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical*, 187. Bets: *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, 2 March 1833 (SPSB).
43. Crowd estimate: *Colonial Advocate* (York, Upper Canada), 19 November 1829. Five-year-old: John Haywood reminiscences, *Rochester Evening Times*, 13 November 1909 (SPSB), identified as the son of village trustee John Haywood in Anah B. Yates, "Early Records of St. Luke's Church: Marriages, Baptisms and Deaths, 1821-1847," *Rochester Historical Society Publications* 5 (1926), 167. Other crowd descriptions: *The Gem* (Rochester, N.Y.) 14 November 1829; Weed, *Autobiography*, 357; *Rochester Gem and Ladies' Amulet*, 23 January 1841 (SPSB); *Manufacturer's and Farmer's Journal* (Providence), 10 December 1829 (quote "romantic station," from the *Boston Evening Gazette*).
44. Pebbles: *The Gem* (Rochester, N.Y.), 7 January 1837 (SPSB). Collections in the crowd: A. J. Langworthy reminiscences in *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 31 March 1898, in Ashley Samson Scrapbook 64:50 (SPSB), and an account written in pencil, dated 1879, in Samson Scrapbook 2:94-95 (SPSB).
45. Sam's jumping suit: Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical*, 188.
46. Procession: Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical*, 188; *Rochester*

- Daily Advertiser*, 2 March 1833 (SPSB). Cheers: *Rochester Gem*, 14 November 1829 and 7 January 1837; *Rochester Gem and Ladies' Amulet*, 23 January 1841 (all in SPSB). Journalists: Stanton, *Random Recollections*, 27; *Manufacturer's and Farmer's Journal* (Providence), 10 December 1829.
47. Woman in window: John Haywood reminiscences, *Rochester Evening Times*, 13 November 1913 (SPSB). Baby: *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 3 January 1923 (SPSB). Citizen and old woman: Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical*, 188.
48. Joe's story: Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical*, 188. Gim: John Haywood reminiscences in *Rochester Evening Times*, 13 November 1913 (SPSB), which follows Cochrane's story closely in all other respects. Quotes: Ashley Samson reminiscences, *Rochester Daily Union*, 13 April 1855 (SPSB); Stanton, *Random Recollections*, 27; A. J. Langworthy reminiscences in *Rochester Democrat & Chronicle*, 31 March 1898; handwritten account dated 1879, in Samson Scrapbooks, 2:94-95 (all in SPSB).
49. Langworthy, *Desulory Notes*, 18; Weed, *Autobiography of Thurlow Weed*, 357; Stanton, *Random Recollections*, 27; Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical*, 188.
50. *Albany Daily Advertiser*, 17 November 1829. Most eyewitnesses agree that Sam was clearly out of control in the air. But the correspondent of the *Boston Evening Gazette* watched Sam's descent from the island and insisted that "he appeared to rush thro' the air with the straightness of an arrow, and his white costume contrasted finely with the dark precipice behind." (Reprinted in the Providence *Manufacturer's and Farmer's Journal*, 10 December 1829.) The Englishman James Boardman, who unwittingly disembarked from a canal boat on the day of the last leap, also recorded that Patch "kept himself perfectly upright" in the descent. [James Boardman], *America, and the Americans* (New York, 1974; orig. 1833), 166.
51. Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical*, 189. Once again, there is disagreement on how long the crowd stayed. Most agreed that they left after "several minutes," after "some time," or "in less than five minutes." But the eyewitness Henry Stanton remembered that the crowd waited "for hours," while a later reminiscence insisted that they "waited until dark." In order: *Rochester Daily Union*, 13 April 1855 (SPSB); *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, 14 November 1829; Langworthy, *Desulory Notes*, 18; Stanton, *Random Recollections*, 27; *Rochester Post Express*, 11 April 1903 (SPSB).

## V. Celebrity

1. Patch alive: *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 28 November 1829. Sightings: *Albany Daily Advertiser*, 1 December 1829; Jenny Marsh Parker, *Rochester: A Story Historical* (Rochester, N.Y., 1884), 189. Jacob Graves: [Lyman B. Langworthy], *Desultory Notes and Reminiscences of the City of Rochester: Its Early History, Remarkable Men and Events, Strange Revelations of the Murders, Mysteries, and Miseries, Casualties, Curiosities and Progress of the Young and Growing City for the Last 50 Years* (Rochester, N.Y., 1868), 18; Edwin Scrantom, "Old Citizen Letters," Scrapbook, Local History Division, Rochester Public Library, Letter No. 8. Boston: *American Traveler*, 24 November 1829. (All of these stories were widely reprinted in northeastern newspapers.) Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Rochester," in *Tales, Sketches, and Other Papers* (Boston, 1883), 17-18. Hawthorne's tour of western New York is dated 1832 in Elizabeth McKinsey, *Niagara Falls: Icon of the American Sublime* (New York, 1983), 308n.
2. *Geneva Chronicle*, cited in *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 27 November 1829; *New-York Evening Post*, 28 November 1829; *Connecticut Courant*, 1 December 1829; *Providence Daily Advertiser*, 1 December 1829; *Manufacturer's and Farmer's Journal* (Providence), 26 November 1829; *Albany Daily Advertiser*, 30 November 1829; *Boston Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser*, 1 December 1829. Second rumor: *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 16 February 1830.
3. Details in this and the following paragraph are from *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 18 March and 19 March 1830; *The Gem* (Rochester, N.Y.), 20 March 1830; *Rochester Republican*, 22 March 1830. Alcohol: *Painesville Telegraph* (Painesville, Ohio), 30 March 1830. Charlotte reminiscences: *Rochester Post-Express*, 11 April 1903 (Sam Patch Scrapbook, Local History Division, Rochester Public Library, cited hereafter as SPSB).
4. Much of this material is presented and cited in Richard M. Dorson, "Sam Patch, Jumping Hero," *New York Folklore Quarterly* 1 (August 1945), 133-51, and in the pages below. Sentoro: F. Calvin Parker, *The Japanese Sam Patch: Saga of a Servant* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2001). Dream book: *The Dreamer's Sure Guide, or the Interpretation of Dreams, Faithfully Revealed* (Baltimore, 1831) 27-30, which tells us that Patch dreamed that he was a huge frog before his last leap. (Thanks to Karen Halttunen.) Minstrel song: "Jim Crow Complete in

- 150 Verses" (n.p., n.d.), Nineteenth-Century Song Sheets, Library of Congress, Making of America Web site: [memory.loc.gov](http://memory.loc.gov) (The Patch verse went like this: "Dar was one Sam Patch / Who took de ugly leap / He'd better stay in New-York / And be a chimney sweep.") Cigar box (label copyrighted 1886) in author's collection.
5. See Leo Brandy, *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History* (New York, 1986). On the Founders, the seminal treatment is the title essay in Douglass Adair, *Fame and the Founding Fathers* (New York, 1974). Well-wrought examples are strewn throughout Joseph J. Ellis, *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation* (New York, 2000), and Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven, Conn., 2001).
6. John William Ward, *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (New York, 1953), is the classic rendering of Jackson's mythical-celebrity status.
7. On the origins and preconditions of modern celebrity, see P. David Marshall, *Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture* (Minneapolis, 1997), 3-50; Richard Dyer, *Stars* (London, 1979), 7-32; Brandy, *The Frenzy of Renown*, 315-598; Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London, 2001), esp. 101-41. On the folklore/fakelore controversy as it applies to Sam Patch, see Gerald Parsons, "Second Thoughts on a 'Folk Hero': or, Sam Patch Falls Again," *New York Folklore Quarterly* 25 (June 1969), 83-92; Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr., "Reply to Gerald Parsons' 'Sam Patch,'" *New York Folklore Quarterly* 26 (March 1970), 78-80; Kathleen M. Kavanagh, "The Limited Fame of Sam Patch," *New York Folklore Quarterly* 28 (June 1972), 118-34. There is a useful discussion of such matters in Robin D. G. Kelley, "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Folk,'" *American Historical Review* 97 (December 1992), 1400-8.
8. *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia), 14 November 1829; *The Constellation* (New York), 21 November 1829. Some patricians, in their bemused way, shared the popular interest in Sam Patch. The genial New Yorker Philip Hone, for instance, recorded Sam's death and copied the *Albany Daily Advertiser's* account of the last leap (with commentary that was neither positive nor negative) in his diary. See Allan Nevins, ed., *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851* (New York, 1927), 1:17-18 (entry for 18 November 1829).
9. "A Monody" appeared in the *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 2 December 1829. It reappeared in Robert C. Sands, *The Writings of Robert C. Sands, in Prose and Verse. With a Memoir of the Author. In Two Volumes* (New York, 1834), 2:347-52. Review: *American Trav-*

- eler (Boston), 8 December 1829. "Columbia man": Van Wyck Brooks, *The World of Washington Irving* (New York, 1944), 192.
10. Flaccus, "The Great Descender," *Knickerbocker Magazine*, January-February 1840, reprinted in [Thomas Ward], *Passaic, A Group of Poems Touching that River: with other Musings: by Flaccus* (New York, 1842), 17-41. Reviews: *The North American Review* 51 (July 1840), 231-32; Edgar Allan Poe, "Thomas Ward" and "William Ellery Channing," in *Essays and Reviews*, ed. G. R. Thompson (New York: Library of America, 1984), 994, 459. On the Knickerbocker Circle, see Perry Miller, *The Raven and the Whale: The War of Words and Wits in the Era of Poe and Melville* (New York, 1956), 9-68.
11. Review of Mr. Green, *The Work of Aerostation*, in the *International Monthly Magazine of Literature, Science, and Art* 2 (December-March, 1850-51), 17; Senex, "The Corinne, or Italy, of Madame De Staël," *Southern Literary Messenger* 15 (July 1849), 380-81; "My Lost Darling," *Continental Monthly* 4 (August 1863), 160; "General Grant and the President," *The Living Age* 95 (12 October 1867), 126; "The Imperial Sam Patch," *Appleton's Journal: A Magazine of General Literature* 4 (22 October 1870), 504; "Popular Lectures," *New Englander and Yale Review* 8 (May 1850), 193-94. (These and subsequent citations from nineteenth-century magazines were collected from the Making of America Web site: <http://cdlib.library.cornell.edu/>.)
12. Lloyd McKim Garrison, "Robert Habersham, A Young Harvard Poet," *The New England Magazine* 17 (September 1894), 57; "Editorial Notes—American Literature," *Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science, and Art* 4 (October 1854), 450. Mark Hopkins, *Baccalaureate Sermons, and Occasional Discourses* (Boston, 1862), 16. (Address delivered in 1850.)
13. Some sample anti-entertainment and anticrowd editorials: *Rochester Telegraph*, 26 November 1828 (shooting matches). *Rochester Album*, 6 June 1826; *Rochester Observer*, 4 July 1828, 11 July 1828, 19 June 1829 (July 4 and militia parades); 8 January 1828, 11 January 1828, 15 November 1829 (theater). *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph*, 15 October 1829; *Rochester Republican*, 29 November 1829; *Rochester Observer*, 7 November 1828, 31 July 1829 (public executions). Joseph Penney, *The House of Mirth: A Discourse Preached in the First Presbyterian Church in Rochester, December 20, 1829* (Rochester, N.Y., 1830). On Rochester's culture wars of the 1820s and 1830s, see Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York, 1978).

- Guiltily audience: Mary B. A. King, *Looking Backward, or, Memories of the Past* (New York, 1870), 118; *Rochester Observer*, 20 November 1829; *Anti-Masonic Enquirer*, 17 November 1829; *Albany Daily Advertiser*, 17 November 1829; *Freeman's Journal* (Cooperstown, N.Y.), 23 November 1829 (quote); *New-York Commercial Advertiser*, 18 November 1829; *Providence Daily Advertiser*, 21 November 1829.
14. *Providence Daily Advertiser*, 21 November 1829. Englishman: *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, 2 March 1833 (SPSB). "Loafers": *Rochester Daily Union*, 11 November 1852 (SPSB). Robert B. Thomas, *The Farmer's Almanack . . . 1836* (Boston, 1835), unpaginated, but the Patch reference is for October 1836.
15. *Portland Courier*, 13 October 1829 (no lotteries); 21 December 1829 and 1 January 1830 (museum). On Seba Smith and Jack Downing, see Mary Alice Wyman, *Two American Pioneers: Seba Smith and Elizabeth Oakes Smith* (New York, 1927), and Milton Rickels and Patricia Rickels, *Seba Smith* (Boston, 1977).
16. The issue of the *Courier* in which the poem appeared has not survived, but the piece was picked up by other papers. For instance, *United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), 9 February 1830. Major Downing is revealed as the author in [Seba Smith], *The Life and Times of Major Jack Downing, of Downingville, Away Down East in the State of Maine. Written by Himself* (Boston, 1835), 261-67.
17. Henry J. Finn, ed., *American Comic Annual* (Boston, 1831), 216-20.
18. [William Halburton], *The Clockmaker; or the Sayings and Doings of Sam Slick, of Shickville* (Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1836), 39-40; anon., *The American Joe Miller* (Philadelphia, 1839), 49-50.
19. Falconbridge [Jonathan Kelly], *Dan Marble: A Biographical Sketch of that Famous and Diverting Humorist, with Reminiscences, Comicalities, Anecdotes, etc., etc.* (New York, 1851), 77-79 (Canada).
20. Unless otherwise cited, information on Dan Marble's Sam Patch is from Frances Hodge, *Yankee Theatre: The Image of America on Stage* (Austin, Tex., 1964), 221-39. Uncle Sam: Joseph Jefferson, cited in Richard Moody, *America Takes the Stage: Romanticism in American Drama and Theater, 1750-1900* (Bloomington, Ind., 1955), 112-13. The first announcement of the play that I have found is in the *Rochester Daily Democrat*, 13 December 1836 (SPSB). On the enduring popularity of Marble's portrayal, see Dorson, "Sam Patch: Jumping Hero," and Constance Roake, *American Humor: A Study of the National Character* (New York, 1931), 74.
21. Kelly, *Dan Marble*, 89, 90-94.



22. George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1928), 4:321. Kelly, *Dan Marble*, 109. The conversation between Sam Patch and Frances Trollope has not survived, but Kelly (22-27) tells of a (staged) conversation on a steamboat between Trollope and Dan Marble. Marble overwhelms the Englishwoman with western tall tales about the "big slantendicular puddle" of Niagara Falls, and the fountain of brandy hidden in Kentucky's Mammoth Cave. He concludes: "You should have been born in America, my dear Ma'am: but as you were not, you may possibly die here, and that's some consolation for you."
23. Anon., "Sam Patch, the Jumper," Plays Submitted to the Lord Chamberlain, Catalogue (Add. Mss.) No. 42979 (2), the British Library, London (microfiche). "Monseurs": *Working-Man's Advocate* (Rochester, N.Y., 14 March 1840 (SPSB). Marble's combination of the Yankee and Western characters is central to Hodge, *Yankee Theatre*, which includes a chapter entitled "Dan Marble and the Western Hybrid." The hybrid, transregional democratic hero was a source of some concern (as well as fundamental misunderstanding) for critics who thought that the vernacular speech of Yankees, frontiersmen, and other regional types should be rendered with ethnographic precision. A New York critic had this to say about "Down East," a Yankee farce that appeared in 1830: "In order to depict local manners the author would have been bred on the spot; or at least should have spent some years among the people whom he attempts to represent. That the author of Down East is not well acquainted with New-England peculiarities of language, is very evident from the fact of his putting into the mouth of his Yankee hero, Major Joe Bunker, such words and phrases as 'corn-cob,' 'I reckon,' 'rowing up Salt River,' &c. which everybody knows are Southernisms." *The Constellation* (New York), 24 April 1830.
24. Composition Book of Charles C. Brown, 1835-38, Chautauqua County Historical Society, McClurg Mansion, Westfield, New York. Spelling and punctuation in the original. (Thanks to Katherine Martinez.)
25. "The Nicaraguan Question," *United States Democratic Review* 41 (February 1858), 117; "Gossip of the Month," *Ibid.* 20 (January 1847), 96. On the *Democratic Review*, see Miller, *The Raven and the Whale*, 104-17.
26. Hawthorne, "Rochester," 18. The sketch first appeared in the *New England Magazine* 9 (December 1835).
27. Herman Melville, *Redburn, His First Voyage* (1849), Chapters 15, 24. (Thanks to Sean Wilentz.)
28. "Andrew Jackson at Home. Reminiscences by his Granddaughter Rachel Jackson Lawrence," *McClure's Magazine* 9 (July 1897), 793. Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson: Volume Three: The Course of American Democracy, 1833-1845* (New York, 1984), 432. Quote: John Dizikes, *Sportsmen & Gansmen* (Columbia, Mo., 2002; orig. 1981), 10. Phone conversation with the Research Department at the Hermitage, 20 September 2001. We cannot know whether Jackson named the horse himself, or whether the horse was named Sam Patch when Jackson received him. If the latter is true, it is interesting to note that Jackson did not change the name.
29. Anon., *The Wonderful Leaps of Sam Patch* (New York, ca. 1875); William Dean Howells, *Their Wedding Journey* (Bloomington, Ind., 1968), 68. Howells's novel was originally serialized in *Atlantic Monthly* 28 (1871).
30. Richard Dorson's first (annotated) Sam Patch essay appeared in the *New York Folklore Quarterly* 1 (August 1945). He revised this for a series of popular accounts: "The Story of Sam Patch," *American Mercury* (June 1947), 741-47; "Sam Patch: The American Mock Hero," in John A. Garraty, *The Unforgettable Americans* (New York, 1960), 183-89; "The Wonderful Leaps of Sam Patch," *American Heritage* 18 (December 1966), 12-18; "Sam Patch the Mill Hand," in Dorson, *America in Legend: Folklore from the Colonial Period to the Present* (New York, 1973), 92-98. Children's books: Anna Bontemps and Jack Conroy, *Sam Patch, the High, Wide, and Handsome Jumper* (Eau Claire, Wis., 1951); Irwin Shapiro, *Sam Patch, Champion Jumper* (Champaign, Ill., 1972); Carol Beach York, *Sam Patch, the Big Time Jumper* (Malwah, N.J., 1980). Sam is also featured in a reader intended for home schoolers: Morrie Greenberg, *American Adventures: True Stories from America's Past, 1770-1870* (Northridge, Calif., 1991), 30-35. Novel: William Getz, *Sam Patch. Ballad of a Jumping Man* (New York, 1986). A recent privately published novel is built around Sam's undying love for an Indian maiden: David Trilling, *There's No Mistake in Sam Patch* (Xlibris, 2000).
31. Anon., *A Visitor's Guide to Passaic Falls* (Paterson, 1859), 32. Devlin: "One of Sam Patch's Scholars," typescript from a Providence paper dated October 2 (the year was not transcribed, but internal evidence suggests 1890), in SPSB.
32. The 1830 edition of one of the principal guidebooks included a hurried insertion about Sam's Niagara leaps: [Gideon Minor Davison], *The Fashionable Tour: A Guide to Travellers Visiting the Middle and Northern States, and the Provinces of Canada*, 4th ed. (Saratoga

Springs, N.Y., 1830), 272n. For later examples, see D. W. Clark, "Two Days at Niagara," *Ladies Repository* 16 (September 1856), 560; Mrs. S. S. Colt, "The Tourist's Guide through the Empire State. Embracing all Cities, Towns and Watering Places, by Hudson River and New York Central Route (Albany, N.Y., 1871), 194; J. Disturnell, comp., *Sailing on the Great Lakes and Rivers of America: embracing a description of lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan & Superior, and rivers St. Mary, St. Clair, Detroit, Niagara & St. Lawrence . . .* (Philadelphia, 1874), 306. Philip Mason, *Niagara and the Daredaills: The Story of the Niagara River and the Men and Women Who Defied It* (Niagara Falls, Ontario, 1969), n.p.

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