

# ROCHESTER HISTORY

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## **Rennes & Rochester A Silver Anniversary**

By Joseph W. Barnes

For twenty-five years Rochester has enjoyed an active sister city relationship with Rennes, France. Rennes was Rochester's first sister city. In fact the Rennes-Rochester's "twinning" or "*jumelage*" was among the first achieved during the modern sister cities movement, which traces its origins to a White House conference on September 11-12, 1956.

As long ago as the colonial era some American cities enjoyed a kind of informal relationship with their counterparts abroad. The oldest example of a sister city relationship which has been cited is that of Bern, Switzerland and New Bern, North Carolina. New Bern, founded in 1710 principally by settlers from the Swiss canton, has maintained exchanges with Bern for over two centuries and a half. Other American towns have similarly formed or maintained ties with European cities either because their settlers were from the European locale or because of a similarity of name. An example of the latter phenomenon is the relationship between Toledo, Ohio, and Toledo, Spain, which began in the 1930s. Rochester itself exchanged at least formal communications with Rochester, England as long ago as 1884 (then in connection with our semi-centennial).

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The sister cities movement of the past quarter century demands a greater degree of involvement on the part of twinned cities that was generally the case with these early examples. In the years immediately following World War II, American cities organized aid programs for Europe. A notable example was Dunkirk in western New York which "adopted" Dunkerque, France. The publicity generated by Dunkirk's efforts very nearly launched a town affiliation program in 1948. Success in this endeavor, however, awaited the White House conference in the fall of 1956. The purpose of the conference was to develop means to implement President Eisenhower's concept of "People-to-People" diplomacy. The major result was the formal sister cities program. Encouraged by the American government, the program has flourished. Today it is administered by Sister Cities International, headquartered in Washington, D.C., the principal program of the nonprofit Town Affiliation Association of the United States, Inc. At present 718 American towns and cities participate in sister city relationships with 1,073 foreign places in 77 nations.

Thanks to Rennes, Rochester was a pioneer and has been a most active participant in the sister cities movement. In 1956 the Honorable Henri Fréville, then Mayor of Rennes, traveled to the United States with fellow citizens at the invitation of the Government Affairs Institute. Mayor Peter Barry and other Rochester leaders greeted the delegation and arranged tours. A year later Mayor Barry named a committee, headed by Sol M. Linowitz, to plan for future exchanges. The sister city relationship was formally begun. A Charter of Twinning was ceremoniously signed in late 1958 when an official Rochester delegation traveled to Rennes. Mayors Fréville and Barry were of course the principals at the signing. Also present on the occasion were Ambassador to France Amory Houghton, University of Rochester President Cornelius deKiewet, Eastman Kodak executive Edward P. Curtis, and Gannett executive Paul Miller. On hand also were Sol Linowitz in his capacity as chairman of the Rennes-Rochester committee and Vice-Mayor

(*Maire-Adjoint*) Victor Janton, who had been named his counterpart.

In 1959 there began a series of personal and cultural exchanges between the two cities which have been so numerous it is, as one long term participant has observed, difficult to count or keep track of them. Listed chronologically below are some highlights of the Rennes-Rochester *jumelage*:

1958

Formal Charter of Twinning signed October 8, to seal the relationship acknowledged in both cities the year before.

1959

Calvin Mayne of the Rochester *Times-Union* visited Rennes to spend four weeks on the staff of *Ouest-France* and *Ouest-France*, the major daily newspaper of Brittany, sent one of its editors to Rochester. This became the first of a number of journalist exchanges. Dr. Robert Swart as a representative of the Rochester Dental Society visited the College of Dental Surgery of the University of Rennes. The Rochester Public Library and the Memorial Art Gallery shipped materials on loan to Rennes.

1960

Representatives of Eastman Kodak attended an opening of a processing plant by the affiliate Kodak-Pathe in Rennes.

1961

Lawyers Cooperative Publishing Company gave a 66 volume set of *American Jurisprudence* to the Rennes law library.

1962

After years of planning and preparation, the Franco-American Institute (*L'Institut Franco-Americain*) of Rennes was officially opened on December 6. The Institute, the first of its

kind in France, was the result of initiatives from the two sister cities and the support of the United States Information Agency. The Eastman School Philharmonic was enthusiastically received in Rennes during a European tour stop. City Historian Blake McKelvey, in cooperation with Eastman Kodak, prepared a slide presentation on Rochester for William Weiss, first director of the Franco-American Institute. Mrs. Charles Payne, as Vice-President of the Association for Teen Age Diplomats, arranged for the first summertime exchange of youngsters from Rochester and Rennes. Several hundred young people have since benefited from this program.

1963

Twenty-three young graduates of the National Agronomy School of Rennes spent seven weeks on Rochester area farms besides visiting Niagara Falls and Cornell. Regular exchange of copies of the *Times-Union* and *Ouest-France* to counterpart libraries was begun. Faculty exchanges between the Universities of Rochester and Rennes began assuming a regular character.

1964

A collection of Iroquois artifacts from the Rochester Museum and Science Center was displayed at the municipal museum in Rennes. Dr. Jean Castel, President of the French national Federation of General Practitioners, visited Rochester. Madison High School and L'Etat l'Ecole de Jeune Filler, a Rennes girls' school, participated in a Junior Red Cross exchange program. Dr. Marcel-Constant Houalet, director of the Rennes dental school, reciprocated Dr. Robert Swart's earlier visit. Mrs. Charles Payne succeeded Sol Linowitz as chairman of the Rennes-Rochester Committee. Rennes conducted a "Franco-American Week," at which Museum Director W. Stephen Thomas and Mayor Frank Lamb were the Rochester representatives.

1965

During a period of sometimes sharp tension between the national governments owing to Gaullist policies and the Viet Nam war, friendliness between Rochester and Rennes increased. Victor Janton's "Rennes: Its Past, Its Present, Its Future" was published in *Rochester History* [Vol. 27 (April, 1965) No. 2]. Victor Janton; Charles Lecotteley, English professor at the University of Rennes; and Roger Duzer, representative of the Ambassador from France, visited Rochester to participate in the city's celebration of "French Week," May 14-21. Festivities, museum displays, a film travelogue in the Eastman Theatre, and concerts were among the features of that event. Rochester Mayor Frank Lamb sponsored a *Sister Cities* tour which resulted not only in another exchange of greetings with Rennes but also concluded the signing of new charters with Wurzburg, Germany and Caltanissetta, Italy. Mayor Lamb served as an incorporating director of the Town Affiliation Association.

1966

Students at Monroe High School cooperated in translating into French a brochure on Rochester prepared by the Chamber of Commerce. The Reader's Digest Foundation granted an award to Rochester for maintaining the best sister cities program in its population bracket, a distinction the city would again achieve.

1967

A large group of Rennais headed by Messrs. Janton and Joseph Peroski, new head of the Franco-American Institute, made a week's visit to Rochester.

1968

Lions Clubs in Rochester and Rennes exchanged flags. A record number of students, 13 Rennais at the university level and 24 "teenage diplomats," were exchanged.

1969

A Rochester Sister Cities tour led by Mayor Lamb besides visiting Rennes and Wurzburg stopped at Krakow, Poland to explore the possibility of establishing the first relationship with a city in a Soviet bloc nation. Thirty members of the Rennes Chamber of Commerce visited Rochester. The Franco-American Institute received financial help from a private Rochester fund drive.

1971

Twenty-three Rochesterians traveled in a Sister Cities Tour and were warmly received in Rennes. Thirty dental students from Rennes made a vacation visit to Rochester.

1972

Rennes celebrated the Tenth Anniversary of the Franco-American Institute. Rochester consummated a sister city relationship with a fourth city, Rehovot, Israel. Dr. Robert Swart became chairman of the Rennes-Rochester committee.

1973

Three Rochester companies, Eastman Kodak, Xerox, and Ritter Division of Sybron, displayed their products at the 49th annual International Trade Fair of Rennes. Nineteen Nazareth College students studying at the University of Rennes served as guides for the Rochester section of the fair. Mayor Stephen May led a Sister Cities Tour which visited Krakow to sign a formal charter with that city. Mayor Henri Fréville along with two other old friends of Rochester, Vice-mayor Victor Janton and Councilman Charles Lecotteley, paid a brief semi-official visit. International Sister Cities of Rochester (ISCOR), a non-profit organization designed to help coordinate and assist the efforts of Rochester's five sister city committees, was chartered.

1974

A selection committee headed by Dr. Walter Cooper chose Bamako, Mali to become Rochester's sixth sister city.

1975

The national Town Affiliation Association held its 17th annual conference in Rochester, August 6-9. All six of Rochester's sister cities sent delegates to be on hand for this major event, which was international in character. Some 115 foreign delegates representing 17 nations attended. The total attendance was nearly 500. Sister Cities Bridge, the pedestrian walkway over the Genesee River, was dedicated, and a parade through downtown Rochester saluted our sister cities. In addition to the by-now routine exchanges of students between Rochester and Rennes (and the newer sister cities) large parties of vacation visitors from Rennes and Wurzburg were hosted. The Rochester-Bamako sister city relationship was officially established. Rochester assisted Rennes in preparing an exhibit for the American bicentennial.

1976

About 75 Rennais, the largest contingent ever to visit Rochester, came to help celebrate its bicentennial Fourth of July. Dr. Virginia Otto of Nazareth College was Rochester's official representative at the Rennes International Fair; Kodak mounted a major display. Rochester again won a best overall program award for its sister cities activities in the Reader's Digest competition. Its entry in the contest, and that of other award-winning cities in the bicentennial year, was deposited in the Library of Congress.

1977

Dr. Yves Courteville, new Director of the Franco-American Institute, visited Rochester in part to urge greater participation in the Rennes International Fair. He also brought greetings

from the new Mayor of Rennes, Edmond Hervé. In 1977 Xerox Corporation established a two-way telecopier link with the International Fair, and Kodak supplied photographs of the Rochester area.

1978

A special exchange of East and Monroe High School students with students from Rennes was arranged. Mayor Thomas Ryan designated Professor Otto as representative to the 15th anniversary observances at the Franco-American Institute.

1979

The Rennes Committee conducted a wine auction (both French and New York wines) to help pay for travel and shipping of a display at the International Fair of works by the School of American Craftsmen. Fourteen *lycee* students attended East and Monroe High Schools.

1980

An official delegation of nearly 25 Rennais headed by Mayor Edmond Herve spent a week in Rochester, not merely as tourists but as students of the city's cultural and civic institutions. Antonio Guzman, new head of the Franco-American Institute, accompanied the group.

1981

A significant change in ongoing Rennes-Rochester activities this year was the decision by the Rochester Chamber of Commerce to fully exploit the opportunities presented by the Rennes International Fair held April 26 - May 23. Under the guidance of Charles Goodwin, the Chamber's economic development representative, a major effort was made to promote French trade with — and possible economic development in — the Rochester area. The list of Rochester industries represented at the fair expanded to include Kodak, Gleason

Works, Xerox, Champion Products, Essence of Rochester, Legris, Inc. (in fact a Rennes-based manufacturer), and affiliates of the National Tooling and Machining Association.

The preceding chronology only describes some highlights of the Rennes-Rochester relationship — and the formation of Rochester's other sister city ties which in some respects were developments from the first. It would be tedious, if not impossible, to briefly recount the hundreds of personal and cultural exchanges that have taken place between the two cities during the past quarter century. The continuous programs of student exchanges which have benefited young people of different academic levels alone constitute a substantial success story. At least 300 students have been exchanged in each direction, not including about 150 who participated in special cooperative programs of Nazareth College and the University of Rennes. A few instances of the hosting of tour groups (generally when these tours took on at least a semi-official color) have been mentioned here, but not the numerous occasions when informal hospitality has been offered by families to visitors from each sister city. Solid personal relationships have often been the result of such activities, which fulfill in a primary way the goal of promoting international understanding. So, too, does the exchange of cultural understanding through the cooperative efforts of museums, libraries, musical organizations, and the like. In recent years Rennes and Rochester seem to have shown greater interest in using their relationship to further economic development and to exchange ideas in the area of civic administration. This is an exciting development. During the twenty-five years of *jumelage* the twinned cities have enjoyed mutual benefits which both are pledged to build upon.

## Historical Sketch of Rennes and Rochester

The histories of the two cities, placed side by side, present many contrasts. However, there are several points of similarity between the two which are of more than passing interest.

Limited space forbids touching on more than a few selected aspects in the story of Rennes and Rochester. With a view toward presenting material on each city of interest to readers in the other, these paragraphs deal mainly with early history, economic transformations, and contemporary description of the respective cities. Included are brief accounts of the educational and cultural features in which each city takes pride, and a brief description of each city's governmental system.

### Rennes

Rennes shares with Rochester a number of geographical features. Each city is moderate in size and located in the northern part of its nation. Historically, both Rochester and Rennes benefited from strategic location within productive agricultural regions. Both cities are divided by rivers.

Rennes is divided not by one, but by two, rivers. The Ille and the Villaine join within the city. One of the ancient Celtic names of Rennes was Condate, which means "confluence." Rennes acquired some importance as a trade center at the confluence even before Roman times. In the third century Roman legions fortified the place with granite and red brick walls, giving rise to the surname *La Ville Rouge* (the Red City). The modern name evolved from that of the local inhabitants of the Roman era, who were known as the Redones.

The Roman walls were rebuilt more than once, and remnants of them are still visible, a graphic reminder of the two sister cities' disparity in age. Rochester celebrates its sesqui-centennial, the 150th anniversary of its city charter. The Rennais reflect backward on thousands of years of history interwoven with the successive migrations, conquests, and efforts at

nation-building that make up the story of western Europe.

As the principal urban center of Brittany, for many years Rennes enjoyed official status as "capital" of the region, and the fortunes of the region and the city have been inseparable.

The Gauls are said to have entered the region now called Brittany during the sixth century B.C. Julius Caesar and his legions conquered Gaul in 56 B.C. The Roman era lasted until the barbarian invasions of the fourth century A.D.

Next, the protracted Anglo-Saxon invasions or migrations into Britain produced a secondary southward migration of the older British population, the Celts. As Germanic peoples crossed the Channel northward, many Celts escaped in the opposite direction. They settled the Brittany peninsula, and brought with them the language known as *Breton*, which is similar to Welsh. During the middle ages the histories of Brittany and of England were intertwined. In the French language the peninsular region became "little Britain," shortened to *Bretagne*, the nation across the Channel, *Grand Bretagne*.

During the first half of the past millenium Brittany's leaders resisted incorporation with the rest of France. Charlemagne conquered Brittany in 799. One of his successors, Louis the Pious, chose a Breton named Nominoe to be Duke of Brittany in 826. Duke Nominoe, in turn, led an uprising against Charles the Bald and erected an independent Brittany in 845. During the ensuing centuries, while feudal struggles for sovereignty occasionally drew Brittany under the influence of Norman dukes, Frankish kings, and rival claimants to the English throne, the region stubbornly clung to the idea and some of the forms of independence. At last, following the defeat of a Breton army in 1490, the marriage of Duchess Ann de Bretagne to King Charles VIII guaranteed the unity of Brittany with France.

About this time modern Rennes began to grow on the site of the ancient town. A treaty concluded in 1532 reinforced Brittany's ties to France, but also established certain liberties. Among these was the creation of a regional *Parlement*. In 1561 the Parliament of Brittany was settled in Rennes, by then a prospering center of trade and crafts. In the eighteenth century the parliament

was housed in a splendid building which in modern Rennes contains the Law Courts.

That great watershed in the history of Europe and the world, the Revolution, altered France profoundly. Brittany and Rennes played a significant role. The Parliament of Brittany, which enjoyed a reputation for rebellion against royal authority, in 1788 wrote up a book of complaints to send to Paris; Breton deputies were among the most staunch reformers sent to the *Estates General*. However, one result of the swift-moving events of 1789 was the permanent abolition of regional parliaments by the National Assembly.

The parliament building remains in the center of Rennes, a reminder of centuries of local (and national ) history.

Among the most significant of activities in modern Rennes is higher education. Pre-revolutionary Rennes contained both a School of Laws and a medical school. Both were abolished in the Revolution but were restored in the nineteenth century.

Rennes now educates some 27,000 students in *Grandes Ecoles* and in the Universities of Rennes and Haute Bretagne. Included are schools for applied science, agronomy, chemistry, architecture, fine arts, public health, and education, besides traditional faculties in Law, Literature and Humanities, and Sciences.

One authority on Rennes has declared that it is no exaggeration to describe higher education as the principal activity of the city. The industrial and commercial development of Rennes and its region are relatively recent. However, like its American sister city, Rennes has, during the past century, become an important center for technologically sophisticated enterprises.

Like Rochester, Rennes has enjoyed a traditional role as a trading and transportation center for a valuable agricultural region. Nineteenth century canal and railroad building served similar ends for both places. Today, Rennes is considered the transportation "hub" for the entire Brittany peninsula.

There are interesting similarities in the industrial makeup of Rochester and Rennes. Citroen, the French carmaker, is the largest industrial employer in Rennes. Printing and publishing

are also important; *Ouest France* is the leading regional newspaper and *Oberthur* is a major printing concern. Other principal sectors of activity are electronics, food processing, and construction and public works.

The economic vitality of Rennes in recent times is reflected in its population growth, from 145,000 twenty years ago, to more than 206,000 today. The population of "Greater Rennes" is figured as 270,000. (The population of Rochester is 245,000; of its metropolitan area, Monroe County, 705,000.)

The recent growth and prosperity of Rennes is a source of satisfaction to a place which suffered significant loss in the two great wars of our century. Although Brittany was far from the trenches of World War I, some 240,000 of its soldiers were lost (compared to 130,000 from the entire United States). In World War II Rennes was an active center of the Resistance. Nevertheless the city was damaged by Allied bombing, and in liberation battles; about a fourth of the town was destroyed. Allied forces led by General Patton entered Rennes on August 4, 1944. The first Free French radio broadcast from liberated territory was issued by Radio-Bretagne from an American truck. These events served to reinforce the sense of friendship held by the Rennais toward the United States.

One dimension in the life of Rennes perhaps most alien to the American observer is its political structure. The administration of localities in France reflects that country's parliamentary and centralized forms, rather than the tiered jurisdictional arrangements which prevail in the United States. The people of Rennes periodically elect a large municipal council, members of which stand for election along party lines. The Councillors, in turn, choose a mayor and a number of mayoral assistants who form his cabinet. These selections are made in conformity with the success or failure of the respective parties. Nothing in the constitutional order discourages public figures from holding multiple office. The present Mayor of Rennes, Edmond Hervé is, in fact, a minister in the Mitterrand government. Perhaps most foreign to those familiar with the American system is the degree of power wielded over local affairs by the national government. The day-to-day administration of Rennes is handled by the Mayor and the Councillors, but important decisions, including the budget, must be approved by the Departmental Prefect, who represents the nation.

## Rochester

Rochester is an infant in comparison with its French sister city. In the fifteenth century, while Rennes, already an ancient city, was becoming a part of the French nation, western New York was still the domain of Iroquois, who were then forging their famed confederation. The penetration of the Iroquois domain by European explorers and missionaries — the first of them French-speaking — awaited the 1600s. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century, at a time when France was convulsed in its Revolution, that events paved the way toward the founding of Rochester.

Though much younger than Rennes, Rochester is not so young in comparison with many other places in the United States. In 1984 Rochester celebrates its official Sesquicentennial, the 150th anniversary of its city charter. Brooklyn, once an independent city, also received its city charter in 1834. While Rochester is not as old as the great colonial cities, *e.g.* New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, it is significantly older than several of the large American cities further west.

A paradox is contained in one of Rochester's earliest nicknames: "The Young Lion of the West." In the early national period Rochester was looked upon as an interesting upstart on the frontier of western expansion. Later observers characterized the city as *America's first western boom town*. So compressed is American history (from the point of view say, of a citizen of Rennes), that Rochester can be regarded simultaneously as a recent outpost and as one of the older American cities of the Northeast.

Rochester was in part a product of the American Revolution. Besides establishing the independence of the United States, the Revolution threw open to settlement western lands formerly acknowledged to be the special preserve of native people, in this case the Iroquois Six Nations. The military efforts of the Iroquois — many of whom allied themselves with British authority during the Revolution — helped bring them disastrous consequences. In the postwar 1780s New York and Massachusetts

resolved their conflicting claims over the region now called western New York. Demoralized leaders of the Seneca, westernmost nation of the Iroquois League, sold much of their land shortly afterwards.

The Phelps and Gorham Purchase encompassed some 2.6 million acres, including the future site of Rochester. Most of the Purchase was agriculturally valuable and amenable to transportation improvements. It contained useful water power sites, among them several sizable falls on the lower Genesee River. The "Genesee Country," as western New York was called during the first decades of settlement, took its name from the northward-flowing river which bisected the territory and drained much of it into Lake Ontario.

In the spring and summer of 1789, while conventions in each of the former American colonies debated ratification of the United States Constitution, a rough frontiersman named Ebenezer Allan built a crude grist mill at the falls of the Genesee. In exchange Oliver Phelps promised him a 100 acre tract surrounding the mill. Allan's early mill failed for a variety of reasons, and he soon moved on to Canada, but the One Hundred Acre Tract was destined to become the nucleus of Rochester.

Almost as quickly as control of the millsite slipped from Ebenezer Allan's hands, so, too, did the original Phelps and Gorham syndicate lose its influence over developments in the Genesee Country. The interesting story of the successive large landholders of western New York is too complex to outline here. It may pass as sufficiently strange to record that the next land transaction paving the way towards the founding of Rochester was the sale of the One Hundred Acre Tract, now held by an English partnership whose American agent was Scottish, to three partners from Maryland!

Col. Nathaniel Rochester and his partners were established gentlemen who, like other Southerners of their station in the post-revolutionary era, were attracted by opportunities to acquire new land. Many men in the situation looked toward Kentucky and Tennessee, but Rochester and his associates

were attracted to the Genesee Country. Its opportunities were widely propagandized in the 1790s by Charles Williamson, agent for the British Pulteney Associates. In the course of several northern trips, the Marylanders contracted for several parcels of land in the Genesee Valley, among them the One Hundred Acre Tract. Purchased by them in 1803, the tract remained largely undisturbed until Nathaniel Rochester surveyed and platted it in 1811.

By that time the village nucleus was ripe for development. The Genesee Country was rapidly filling up with settlers who required commercial and milling centers. "Rochesterville," as it was first officially named in 1817, possessed special advantages. It had abundant water power in the several falls of the lower Genesee. It was strategically located in a rich countryside and could intercept river and lake traffic as well as east-west commerce, carried first in primitive roads, but soon by canal and by railroads. Rochester grew rapidly.

During its first economic era, Rochester became among other things the *Flour City*. An abundance of wheat produced in the Genesee Country, and later in more western fields, was carried to Rochester, ground in its mills, and shipped by canal and railroad to markets in the eastern United States and abroad. The nickname "Flour City," which found its way into the city seal, was no idle boast. Before the Civil War it was claimed that Rochester led the United States (and the world) in the annual export of flour.

But at the same time that Rochester became the flour milling capital of the world it also began exhibiting a propensity towards economic diversification. Fortunately, in no era of Rochester's history has a single industry been in complete domination; as one or another industry has declined, others have always emerged. Rochester's earliest diversification was dramatic, and literally colorful. Its second great industry was the plant nursery and seed business.

Rochester's *Flower City* era began before the Civil War, when flour milling was still growing rapidly. When the nursery and seed industry reached its peak in the decades after the

war, milling was still vigorous. It's fair to say that, for a time, Rochester was both a flower city and a flour city.

In 1834, Rochester's charter year, the Rochester Seed Store and Horticultural Repository, predecessor of the great Mt. Hope Garden and Nurseries, appeared. An experienced nurseryman from Germany, George Ellwanger, took over the properties by decade's end. He joined forces with an immigrant from Ireland, Patrick Barry, another knowledgeable horticulturalist. The business grew rapidly, and less than twenty years later Ellwanger & Barry commissioned a pamphlet titled "The Greatest Nursery in the World."

Their claim was no idle boast. Ellwanger & Barry conducted a world-wide mail order business from their grounds, which occupied some 500 acres on the city's south side. About 350 acres were devoted to fruit trees: pears, apples, cherries, and plums, among other varieties. Ornamental trees occupied 90 acres, including 24 acres of evergreens. There were 8 acres of roses. The Mt. Hope Nurseries also contained experimental plant varieties and exotics, among them, 5,000 young giant sequoias grown from seeds sent east by a California gold seeker!

If the Mt. Hope Nurseries had been Rochester's only such enterprise, it might have adequately justified the city's adoption of the title "Flower City." But Rochester was able to boast of another half dozen major nursery and seed businesses as well as scores of minor ones.

The city's soil and its climate were agreeable to young trees. Rochester's winters were harsh enough to toughen plants, but, because of the moderating influence of Lake Ontario, they were rarely cold enough to kill the fruit trees which were the nurserymen's major product. Growers in other parts of the country appreciated Rochester trees for their hardiness. According to the *Genesee Farmer*, an important horticultural journal also produced in the city, in 1856 one-half of the new fruit trees in the United States were raised in and near Rochester.

When the city charter was secured in 1834, Rochester contained 12,252 people, a startling increase over the initial village population of 1,000 in 1817. The figure grew to nearly 50,000 in 1860. Large numbers of foreign immigrants, principally from Germany and Ireland, swelled the total. These newcomers were attracted, not by opportunities in the flouring or nursery industries, neither of which was particularly labor-intensive, but by the city's overall vitality. By the beginning of the Civil War, Rochester was a center for the manufacture of tools, machinery, furniture, clothing and shoes, and iron fabrications.

If pre-Civil War Rochester was fruitful with industries, it was also nurturing ground for ideas. Two of America's most noted nineteenth century reformers, Frederick Douglass and Susan B. Anthony, made Rochester their home. Douglass, the famed escaped slave and abolitionist spokesman, found hospitality within Rochester's community of ardent anti-slavery men and women. Anthony herself was an abolitionist in the first instance, before turning to decades of struggle in the cause of women's rights.

Abolitionism, women's rights, and other causes such as temperance all drew part of their strength from a religious enthusiasm which was characteristic of Rochester in the first half of the century. So numerous were the "revivals of religion" (usually of an orthodox Protestant variety) that spiritual leaders and later historians termed western New York "the burned-over district."

If the Civil War did not entirely extinguish Rochester's capacity for embracing social reform, it did seem to herald (here, as elsewhere in the nation) an era conservative in social reconstruction and energetic in the creation of new technologies and industries. It has been justifiably said that Rochester's industries *flowered* between 1865 and 1917. Each new industry was typically the product of technical invention or innovations, guarded by patents and trademarks, and of dogged enterprise. A few Rochester concerns fitting this description made their appearance even before the Civil War. The Taylor Instrument Company (thermometers and barometers), Bausch and Lomb

(optical goods), and Western Union (the telegraph monopoly) are notable examples. But Kodak, the city's famous industrial giant, was incorporated as the Eastman Dry Plate Company in 1880.

George Eastman, who is counted with Anthony and Douglass among Rochester's most famous citizens, was an unassuming bank clerk and avid amateur photographer before he became a captain of industry. His introduction of the Kodak camera with roll film in the '80s vastly expanded the market for photographic goods. By "creating" demand for his company's products through technical innovations he set a pattern that was usefully copied by other Rochester manufacturers. There is space to cite only a few notable examples: Northeast Electric company (automobile selfstarters); Gleason Works (gear-cutting machinery); Pfaudler Company (glass-lined tanks); G.W. Todd & Co. (check writers, business machines). These industries, and dozens of others which emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, contributed to the development of an enviable economic base. In the midst of so much diversity, the city's Chamber of Commerce may have been perplexed by the challenge of summarizing the business of Rochester. In 1908 it settled on the slogan, "Rochester Made Means Quality."

Rochester experienced dramatic new growth in the period 1880-1925. Population expanded from about 90,000 to over 315,000. Like the population boom before the Civil War, this one was fed in part by immigrants, who now represented a half dozen major nationalities. If the social fabric was not strained by so many new people, it is true the city was challenged to supply adequate housing, hygienic conditions, and good public education.

In time, Rochester's educational leaders produced an outstanding system of public schools. The city's remarkable institutions of higher education began developing in 1850, with the founding of the University of Rochester. Although it remained little more than a men's college for over fifty years, in the twentieth century it grew rapidly into a major university

with special strengths in music, medicine, and the natural sciences. George Eastman's gifts to the University paid for much of this growth, as similar gifts by other local philanthropists assisted in the gradual creation of the Rochester Institute of Technology. Today there are six collegiate institutions within Rochester's metropolitan area.

Rochester takes pride in several facets of its cultural life, notably its music and museums. The Rochester Philharmonic Orchestra presents a full season at the Eastman Theatre, which is also visited by ballet and opera companies. Student performances at the Eastman School of Music, an internationally recognized conservatory, number several hundred annually. Rochester is an extraordinary museum center, for a city its size. It contains a respectable university Art Gallery, a regional Museum and Science Center, and the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, as well as the new Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum (devoted to popular culture 1820-1920). The nearby Genesee Country Village is an outdoor museum of several dozen restored buildings.

Since 1928, Rochester has been governed by a council-manager charter, adopted under special provisions of the New York State Constitution which permit local jurisdictions some autonomy in choosing municipal arrangements. Nine city councilpersons serve four-year terms in office. Five are elected "at large" from the entire city electorate; the balance of the council are elected from four large districts. The city council chooses the mayor, traditionally but not necessarily from among its own membership, approves budgets, and appoints the city manager, who possesses broad appointive and executive authority.