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THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

*Hudson • Fulton • Champlain
Quadricentennial
Commemorative Issue*



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HUDSON
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VALLEY
REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

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From the Publisher

Arguably the most important year in Hudson River Valley history since 1909, we are already in the midst of celebrations surrounding the Hudson-Fulton-Champlain Quadricentennial. This issue commemorates the accomplishments and legacies of all three honorees—Henry Hudson, Robert Fulton, and Samuel de Champlain—as well as the lasting contributions of the commission that planned events surrounding the 1909 Hudson-Fulton Tercentenary.

We open with a review of the 1909 festivities and follow with a brief survey of Dutch archival history from the preeminent historian and translator of New Netherland manuscripts. For the complete story on Robert Fulton, readers should reference our Autumn 2007 issue, which contained a lengthy biography of the inventor. Here its author offers a brief summary of Fulton's steamboat voyage and how it revolutionized transportation, in America and around the world. Delving into the Champlain Valley for the first time, we begin at the beginning, with an article tracing the Native American presence there from prehistory to the American Revolution. We return to Hudson with an overview written by William T. Reynolds, the captain of the replica ship *Half Moon*, and an excerpt of Robert Juet's journal of the voyage. Joyce Goodfriend illustrates both the power of the Dutch cultural legacy and the tensions caused by the British control after 1664. Lastly, André Senecal explains Champlain and the circumstances that led to his actions in 1609. We conclude with two more articles exploring the signal contributions Hudson and Champlain made to local and world history.

Our Regional History Forums focus on the Hudson-Fulton-Champlain Quadricentennial Commission, which has organized the yearlong celebration, and Walkway Over the Hudson State Park, perhaps the greatest legacy of the 400th celebration. Finally, we close with one author's musings over the lasting mysteries surrounding Hudson's 1609 journey. As Executive Director Tara Sullivan and Roosevelt-Vanderbilt National Historic Sites Superintendent Sarah Olson note in their foreword, there are a plethora of once-in-a-lifetime events taking place throughout the state this year. We encourage you to take advantage of them.

Thomas S. Wermuth



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The Hudson River Valley Review is anxious to consider essays on all aspects of the Hudson Valley—its intellectual, political, economic, social, and cultural history, its prehistory, architecture, literature, art, and music—as well as essays on the ideas and ideologies of regionalism itself. All articles in *The Hudson River Valley Review* undergo peer analysis.

Submission of Essays and Other Materials

HRVR prefers that essays and other written materials be submitted as two double-spaced typescripts, generally no more than thirty pages long with endnotes, along with a computer disk with a clear indication of the operating system, the name and version of the word-processing program, and the names of documents on the disk. Illustrations or photographs that are germane to the writing should accompany the hard copy. Otherwise, the submission of visual materials should be cleared with the editors beforehand. Illustrations and photographs are the responsibility of the authors. No materials will be returned unless a stamped, self-addressed envelope is provided. No responsibility is assumed for their loss. An e-mail address should be included whenever possible.

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Since HRVR is interdisciplinary in its approach to the region and to regionalism, it will honor the forms of citation appropriate to a particular discipline, provided these are applied consistently and supply full information. Endnotes rather than footnotes are preferred. In matters of style and form, HRVR follows *The Chicago Manual of Style*.

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Cynthia Owen Philip, an independent historian, has written extensively on the Hudson River Valley. She is the author of *Robert Fulton: A Biography* and the prize winning *Wilderstein and the Suckleys: A Hudson River Legacy*. Her articles and essays have appeared in national and local magazines, and her history *Rhinecliff, N.Y., 1686-2007* was published this year by Block Dome Press.

Nicholas Westbrook, Executive Director Emeritus of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, was awarded the Katherine M. Coffey Award in 2006 by the Mid-Atlantic Association of Museums for more than forty years of “distinguished accomplishment in the museum field.” He has written on a range of topics in 18th- and 19th-century history, and has contributed articles to *American Indian Places: A Historical Guidebook*, *The Encyclopedia of New York State* and edited *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum (1991-2009)*.

Captain William T “Chip” Reynolds is director of the New Netherland Museum. He has researched, written and lectured on Henry Hudson and his explorations from his unique perspective as captain of the replica ship *Half Moon*.

Joyce D. Goodfriend teaches 17th and 18th century America, American immigration and ethnic groups, and New England in American historical memory at the University of Denver. She is the author of *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* and co-authored *Going Dutch: The Dutch Presence in America 1609-2009*.

Joseph-André Senécal teaches Québec culture and literature and served as director of University of Vermont’s Canadian Studies Program from 1998-2006. He is presently writing *Everyday Life at Point-à-la-Chevelure in New France*, a history of the first European community in the southern Champlain Valley.



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On the Cover: Hudson-Fulton Tercentenary Postcard. Courtesy of Hudson River Valley Heritage, HRVH.org, from the collection of Vivian Yess Wadlin

Introduction to the Quadricentennial Commemorative Edition

This is a momentous year in New York State and especially the Hudson River Valley. We are commemorating the 400th anniversary of the simultaneous explorations of Henry Hudson and Samuel de Champlain on the waterways that now bear their names, as well as the 200th anniversary of Robert Fulton's successful maiden steamboat voyage on the Hudson River. At the same time, we are celebrating the cultures that colonized this land—Native American, Dutch, and French—as well as the legacy of New York's Hudson-Fulton Tercentenary in 1909.

One important focus of the celebration 100 years ago was the protection of open space, including parkland in New York City, Bear Mountain, and, perhaps most important, the Palisades. In addition to its environmental legacy, the Tercentenary was marked by bridge and roadway improvements, parkways that facilitated transportation and recreation, and a strong cultural-preservation movement. We continue to benefit from all of these.

The completion of three Quadricentennial Legacy Projects will build upon the tremendous work accomplished by organizers a century ago. The Crown Point Lighthouse on Lake Champlain, dedicated in 1912 to commemorate Champlain's exploration, has been completely restored and relighted. In October, Walkway Over the Hudson will open, completing the stunning transformation of the historic Poughkeepsie-Highland Railroad Bridge into our newest state park—and the world's longest pedestrian walkway. In New York City, a new public promenade surrounding Governor's Island will provide thrilling views of Manhattan and New York Harbor.

Planning and implementing the Quadricentennial celebration has been a collaborative venture. Nowhere is this better illustrated than Walkway Over the Hudson, which began with a grassroots movement and has involved legislators on the federal, state, and local levels; state agencies (including the Bridge Authority; the Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation; and the Department of Environmental Conservation); the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area; the Governor's Office; and nonprofit organizations such as the Dyson Foundation and Scenic Hudson. Working together, each individual, agency, and organization has built upon their own mission to achieve something far greater than they could have accomplished alone. This and other efforts throughout the region have served to strengthen communication and cooperation—another important legacy of this celebration that we hope will benefit the region for generations.

Myriad communities, national and state parks, historic sites, and museums from Manhattan to the Adirondacks have planned exciting and educational events throughout the year. Festivities officially kicked off at the Knickerbocker Ice Festival at Rockland Lake in February and will continue throughout the year with parades, expos, demonstrations, concerts, lectures, exhibitions, and conferences. A complete listing of over 1,000 Quadricentennial events is available at www.exploreny400.com; www.hudson400.com; and www.Dutchess400.com.

We invite you to learn what the hoopla is all about by reading this commemorative issue of *The Hudson River Valley Review*.

Tara Sullivan
Sarah Olson

Henry Hudson: Mariner of His Time

William T. Reynolds

Entering the Hudson River from the sea and proceeding upstream is a dramatic experience. A mariner leaves the exposure of the open ocean, passes the narrow neck between Brooklyn's Bay Ridge and Staten Island, and settles in to the expansive but protected waters of New York Harbor. In short order, one passes the stark cliffs of the Palisades, then winds circuitously through the steep rise of the Highlands, with its cragged peaks sloping sharply down right to the water's edge.

Hudson's vision was to find a route from northern Europe to the East Indies, the discovery of which would bring riches and fame. Entering this River of the Mountains, every sign—the volume and depth of water, the significant tidal exchange, the steep cliffs so evocative of the Magellan Straits—reinforced the notion that it could be the way through America. He had just come from Europe, where even in the early seventeenth century many problems we associate with the modern world were already having an impact. Near-shore fisheries produced fewer, demand for timber thinned forest resources, and overcrowding in the cities had already led to social problems.

Imagine the feelings that must have stirred within Henry Hudson upon entering this new world. His own words refer to “as pleasant a land as one need tread upon,” and the log of the voyage marvels at the abundance of resources, from fish to mammals, and from forests to minerals. More important, native people familiar with these resources appeared eager to trade.

Northbound from the Highlands the waters widen and turn, becoming the Lange Rack, or Long Reach, a straight stretch of water that serves as a counterpoint to the twisting Highlands. In the Long Reach, the river is a seemingly interminable length of unvarying course, width, and depth. Fighting a current or a headwind is tedious work; even with a fair wind or current, one's spirits flag compared with the surge of excitement that accompanies the quick sail maneuvers and constant course changes demanded in the Highlands. Sailors face hours of routine that becomes monotonous—taking soundings, recording speed and distances traveled, tending the set of the sails, pumping the bilges, constantly looking out

for dangers that could destroy the ship and strand them. The sameness of the routine can dampen even the highest spirits.

Yet, Hudson continued; having come this far he must have felt compelled to sail until he could go no farther. Finally, at a slight dogleg, the Catskills emerge and the call of the lookout jolts the crew. Even in mid-September there is often a dusting of white snow on the peaks, and spirits soar once again. A passage through these new mountains could lead to the ocean on the other side.

North of the mountains, above Saugerties, the river narrows, and more shoals obstruct the way. The signs of a passage through the continent have now passed, and the signs of a river reaching its upper course become more and more distinct. Eventually, the *Half Moon* must simply anchor, and send its small boat ahead to verify what is already known—this water cannot carry ships. The river simply winds to its upper reaches. Little is left to do except turn homeward.

The end of the voyage dashed Hudson's hopes, but marked the beginning of major change in the Hudson Valley. Within three years, Dutch interests started the beaver trade between Europeans and the Indians of many different groups living in the region. Next was the rise of New Netherland that brought European settlement and unique Dutch customs to America. Over time followed changes in the ecology and geography of the Hudson River watershed, and in the people—Native and Dutch alike—as colonization proceeded.

Robert Juet's account of the *Half Moon's* voyage provides insightful and rare documentation of conditions in North America from a time when few firsthand descriptions exist. Reports about the geography of the Hudson Valley, the spread of forest resources, the extent of fisheries, the mineral deposits, the fur-bearing mammals, and the specific references to interactions with the resident Indians all serve to help illustrate what a bounty this valley provided in the early 1600s. These logs, with their detailed and objective reporting, provide value not only to historians, but also to geographers, scientists, and planners considering how to manage the resources of the Hudson River Valley to this day.¹

What Makes Henry Hudson Distinctive?

The epic voyages of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries concentrated on the middle latitudes and southern hemisphere, with Spain and Portugal leading the explorations. By the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, attention shifted to the Arctic as offering alternate routes to the riches of the Indies. For a variety of reasons, including changing dynamics of world commerce, geopolitical influences, and the rise of mapmaking and the science of geography in Northern Europe, leadership in exploration of the Arctic region shifted to England and the

Dutch Republic.²

Many notable explorers conducted voyages that pushed the envelope of exploration into some of the harshest sailing environments one could face. Predominantly English interests focused their attentions to the northwest, while Dutch interests focused their attention on attempts to the northeast. Hudson had to have viewed the universe of possible Arctic routes to the Indies comprehensively, and set out to test systematically each possible option.³ He pursued each of the four possible Arctic routes by organizing and conducting four pioneering voyages in as many years. Even by modern standards, raising the funds, recruiting the crew, provisioning the ship, and planning the route and navigation for these voyages in such a short time is astounding. Hudson cannot be solely credited for the results, yet his voyages did help open three major European expansions: the development of the shore-based whaling industry in the Spitzbergen Islands; the opening up of the Canadian interior to English expansion; and the development of the Dutch colony of New Netherland.⁴

Hudson's Encounters with Indians

The log of the *Half Moon* documents key interactions between its crew and Indians that range on both sides from warlike and hostile to friendly and mutually respectful. For example, at their landing in Maine, Hudson directed his crew to repair the foremast of the ship. As the *Half Moon* lay at anchor, the crew engaged in trade with the native people of the area, their attire and use of European tools indicating prior contact. This trade proceeded in a manner that was civil, but cautious. As Hudson prepared to depart, however, a group of his crew stole one of the Indians' European-style boats, then went ashore and destroyed an Indian village. In the words of Robert Juet, the crew of the *Half Moon* "took the spoyle off them, as they would have done of us."⁵

Upon entering Raritan Bay, the first interactions between the *Half Moon* and native people in the Hudson Valley were civil but cautious as they engaged in trade and the crew explored the resources of the area. Again, the Indian knowledge of trade items that would interest the Europeans is consistent with prior contact and earlier trade. But while exploring into the area we know today as Kill Van Kull above Staten Island, one of Hudson's crew was killed by an arrow through the neck, which intensified tensions on the *Half Moon*. Just days later, upon entering Mahican territory in the upper Hudson River, the log of the *Half Moon*, kept by Robert Juet, refers to meeting "the loving people." Hudson personally visited one village where the leaders noticed his concern and broke their arrows in a sign of peace. In a later meeting, the log refers to one of the local leaders who brought

his wife to the ship. In the words of Robert Juet, she “sate so modestly, as any of our Countrey women would doe in a strange place.”⁶ Returning downstream, the *Half Moon* engaged in open warfare, firing cannon and muskets at a large group of Indians launching volleys of arrows from a highland.

This dramatic shift in the crew’s attitude in such a short span of time is notable, and indicates a dynamic complexity that is difficult to interpret. No documentation exists to indicate the attitudes of the Indians Hudson encountered, but even filtered through the reports of Robert Juet, they seem to have had the same range of responses even within individual groups.

Cultural and Intellectual Context

Northern Europe during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries presented a dynamic environment for intellectual and material advance. Scientific and engineering advances ranged from astronomical to microscopic, and crossed disciplinary boundaries easily; the same instruments could be used for surveying, astronomy, navigation, and geography. Trade, travel, and communication expanded at a rapid pace. Business flourished, and even commoners could invest in and succeed with new enterprise. New technologies held great promise for the expansion of knowledge and the advance of humanity. And the horizon shifted, literally, with every voyage to unexplored parts of the globe. This was the world of Henry Hudson in the late 1500s—dynamic, ripe for those of an inquisitive mind, providing new opportunity for those of an entrepreneurial and ambitious character.⁷

The record shows that Henry Hudson was a disciplined practitioner of what today we would call the scientific method: (1) he developed a hypothesis based upon existing knowledge (that one could transit the north polar region in an alternate route to the Indies); (2) he set about to test the hypothesis (by systematically sailing the four possible routes to the Orient); (3) he repeatedly measured the world around him (geographical position, courses sailed by speed and direction, winds and speeds, compass variation, depth of water, height of celestial objects, location of geographical objects, tidal changes, presence of oceanic and riverine currents); (4) he recorded his measurements and observations (pertaining to acquired data, interactions with native people, presence of natural resources—fur bearing mammals, minerals, harbors, forest resources, fish and food sources); (5) he analyzed the data for repeatable patterns; and (6) he reported his findings to his financial backers and the academic community.

This approach was no accident. During Hudson’s time, a dramatic change in the acquisition and structure of knowledge swept through the learned world of

Europe. Throughout the late 1500s to the mid 1600s, leading intellectuals began to advocate for and adopt a methodology of knowledge—empiricism—that holds primacy to this day. This change was not just academic; indeed, it became deeply and broadly ingrained, whether implicitly or explicitly, in such disparate fields as natural science, surveying, philosophy, business, and the world of global explorers.⁸

Hudson's Legacy

Hudson's logs of the 1609 voyage eventually made their way to the Dutch East India Company and into the hands of a circle of influential cosmographers and businessmen. The first tangible response to his reports included trading voyages between about 1610 and 1614 to the Hudson River by Adriaen Block, Hendrick Christiaensen, Thijs Mossel, and other Dutch captains interested in the beaver trade. Soon came the establishment of the New Netherland Company, an attempt to set a monopoly on the beaver trade in the fecund area that Hudson explored.⁹ These trading voyages set the routes of sailing, expanded the knowledge of the area around Manhattan and into what we know as Long Island Sound, and led to the establishment of Fort Nassau, a trading post located on Castle Island, near the modern Port of Albany. Expanded interest led to the formation of the Dutch West India Company and the settlement of New Netherland.

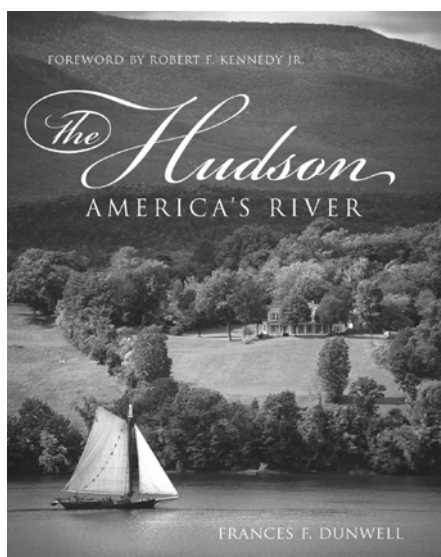
Hudson's impact on world geography remains today. Major geographic features recognized worldwide are named after him, and he continues to be known for his precedent-setting arctic voyages. The log of the *Half Moon* from 1609 continues to inform ecologists, geographers, and historians to this day with its accounts of natural resources and interactions with the Indians. Hudson's methods can still serve as an example for educational studies of the natural world. He remains an icon of early New York history, and the determination that was required for European explorers and traders to settle the Hudson River Valley.

This article is excerpted from an essay by William T. Reynolds entitled "Henry Hudson: New World, New World View," which appeared in Martha Dickinson Shattuck, ed., Explorers, Fortunes and Love Letters: A Window on New Netherland (Albany: New Netherland Institute and Mount Ida Press, 2009), distributed by SUNY Press, www.sunypress.edu.

Endnotes

1. Above, and throughout this essay, the principal source of information about the voyage of the *Half Moon* is the log of Robert Juet, one of the sailors (often erroneously identified as the mate) on the voyage. Hudson's logs of the voyage are not known to exist, and are assumed to

- have been lost in the purging of Dutch East India Company records in the early nineteenth century. Here I have entered the name of the log as See Samuel Purchas *Purchas His Pilgrimes, In Five Books*. (London: Henrie Fetherstone, 1625), the third part, Chapter XVI, pages 581-595, is Robert Juet's account of the voyage of the *Half Moon*; preceeding and following chapters in *Purchas* describe the other known voyages of Henry Hudson. A facsimile of Chapter XVI is available on-line at www.halfmoon.mus.ny.us, *Henry Hudson's Voyages by Samuel Purchas*, March of America Facsimile Series, Number 19 (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, Inc., 1966) contains the accounts of all four voyages. Nineteenth century sources of English translations of documents related to the voyage of the *Half Moon* are: Henry Cruse Murphy, *Henry Hudson in Holland: An Inquiry into the Origin and Objects of the Voyage which Led to the Discovery of the Hudson River*. (The Hague, 1859) Reprint. (New York: Burt Franklin, 1972); G. M. Asher, *Henry Hudson the Navigator: the Original Documents in which his Career is recorded*. (London: Hakluyt Society, 1860). Two early 20th century compilations provide additional related documents and comparative translations. Thomas A. Janvier, *Henry Hudson: A Brief Statement of His Aims and His Achievements* (New York and London, Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1909) addresses the final voyage of Henry Hudson and trial of the mutineers. *Narratives of New Netherland 1609-1664*. J. F. Jameson, ed. Reprint. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1937), includes excerpts from several authorities who reference Hudson, especially Emanuel van Meteren, 1610, and Johan de Laet, 1625. As Jameson noted in 1909, so must we today: earlier translations need to be considered with care as to their accuracy. A comprehensive popular source, with modernized accounts of the logs, is Donald S. Johnson, *Charting the Sea of Darkness: The Four Voyages of Henry Hudson* (Camden, ME: International Marine, 1993).
2. Jonathan I. Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press/Oxford University Press, 1990) provides a good treatment of the rise, eventual dominance, and decline of Dutch shipping and trade.
 3. Documentation of Hudson's thinking does not exist, but given the timeline of Hudson's voyages, it would have been necessary to hold a comprehensive view at the outset; it would have been a near impossibility both to develop the geographic concept of each voyage and also mount each voyage in four years. Exposure to the geographic concepts related to any one of the possible routes would also expose one to the concept of the other routes.
 4. The shore-based whaling industry was in its time the equivalent of finding a major new oil reserve. The demand for whale oil was so economically beneficial that by the latter 1600s the shore-based whale fishery of Spitzbergen was depleted and abandoned. In Canada, early English settlement had been eclipsed by the French and their explorations up the St. Lawrence River; Hudson's entry into the Hudson Bay, and subsequent English explorations into the region provided the opening that led to the Hudson Bay Company, and competition against the French in the fur trade and political control of Canada. Hudson's voyage also led directly to Dutch trade in beaver skins, and subsequently to the establishment of New Netherland, the Dutch West India Company enterprise, and its unique role in the American colonies. A comprehensive review of these matters, with sections on The Netherlands and New Netherland, and with access to comprehensive original sources is John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). Specific to The Netherlands is Audrey M. Lambert, *The Making of the Dutch Landscape: An Historical Geography of the Netherlands* (New York: Seminar Press, 1971). Somewhat dated, but still useful is Elspeth M. Veale, *The English Fur Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966). Carl O. Sauer, *Seventeenth Century North America*. (Berkeley: Turtle Island Press, 1977) provides general insight about the environment of North America immediately post contact, but suffers from minimal attention to the Dutch sources from the Hudson River Valley.
 5. Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Third Part, page 586, line 34.
 6. Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Third Part, page 593, line 58.
 7. Hart, *Prehistory*, pages 17-21, and 33-38.



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The Hudson River Valley Institute

The Hudson River Valley Institute at Marist College is the academic arm of the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area. Its mission is to study and to promote the Hudson River Valley and to provide educational resources for heritage tourists, scholars, elementary school educators, environmental organizations, the business community, and the general public. Its many projects include publication of the *Hudson River Valley Review* and the management of a dynamic digital library and leading regional portal site.

Patriots' Society

Help tell the story of the Hudson River Valley's rich history and culture by joining **The Patriots' Society** and supporting the exciting work of the **Hudson River Valley Institute** at Marist College. Contributions such as yours ensure that the scholarly research, electronic archive, public programming and educational initiatives of the Hudson River Valley Institute are carried on for generations to come. **The Patriots' Society** is the Hudson River Valley Institute's initiative to obtain philanthropic support from individuals, businesses and organizations committed to promoting our unique National Heritage Area to the country and the world. Please join us today in supporting this important work.

Each new contributor to **The Patriots' Society** will receive the following, as well as the specific gifts outlined below:

- **Monthly Electronic Newsletter**
- **Specially-commissioned poster by renowned Hudson Valley artist Don Nice**
- **Invitation to HRVI events**

I wish to support **The Patriots' Society of the Hudson River Valley Institute** with the following contribution:

- \$100 **Militia** (includes 1 issue of *The Hudson River Valley Review*)
- \$250 **Minute Man** (includes 1-Year Subscription to *The HRVR* and choice of Thomas Wermuth's *Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors* or James Johnson's *Militiamen, Rangers, and Redcoats*) Please circle choice.
- \$500 **Patriot** (Includes same as above and a 2-Year Subscription to *The HRVR*.)
- \$1,000 **Sybil Ludington Sponsor**
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- \$2,500 **Governor Clinton Patron**
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- \$5,000 **General Washington's Circle** (Includes all above with 5-year subscription to *The HRVR* and a copy of Myra Armstead's *Mighty Change, Tall Within: Black Identity in the Hudson Valley*)
- Enclosed is my check, made payable to Marist College/HRVI.
- Please charge my credit card: # _____
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Please fill out your contact information on the other side of this form.