

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST



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From the Editors

The Hudson River Valley has an illustrious but ironic past. It was the key to our young nation's fight for independence, yet as a region it has never achieved independence from the political and economic influences that surround it. Our first two articles examine the role that the region played during and after the Revolutionary War in encapsulating and disseminating a national consciousness. The third article looks at how the valley was later shaped, both physically and economically, by the business interests of out-of-state corporations and New York City investors. We present a case study in how historical research can solve centuries-old mysteries in our Notes and Documents, then visit the Madam Brett Homestead, the Group Camps of the Palisades Interstate Park, and revisit the founding and legacy of Scenic Hudson in our Regional History Forum. Teaching the Hudson River Valley features an adapted panel conversation on teaching future teachers about our state's history. In other words, it's a full issue.

Our cover illustration, Robert Weir's 1863 *View of the Hudson River*, was chosen to represent the legendary landscape and history of the region. Its appearance here coincides with the exhibit at Boscobel House & Gardens, *Robert W. Weir and the Poetry of Art*, which will run through November 30. Learn more at www.boscobel.org. The cover article, David Schuyler's "The American Revolution Remembered in the Hudson River Valley," was initially delivered as the Handel-Krom Lecture in Hudson River Valley History in October 2012.

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On the cover: Robert W. Weir, *View of the Hudson River*, 1864.
Oil on canvas, 32 x 48 inches.
West Point Museum Collection, United States Military Academy.

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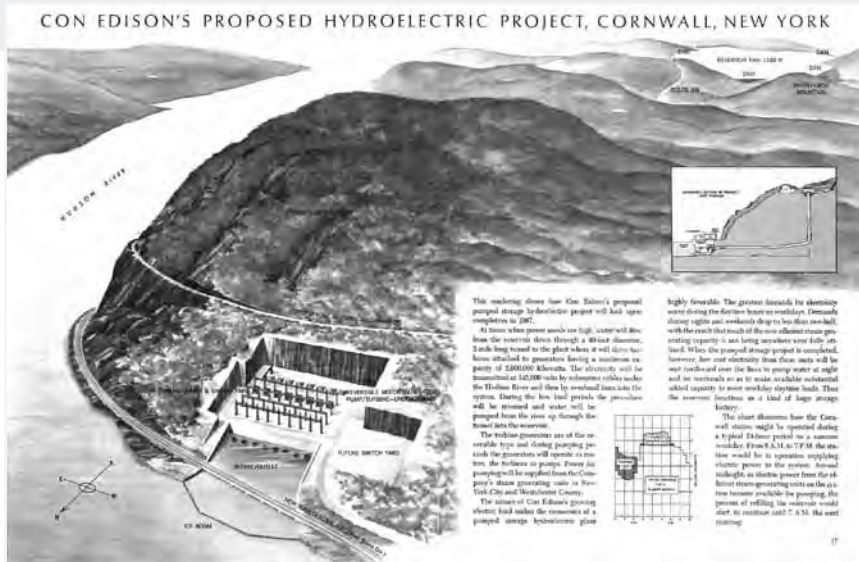
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Regional History Forum

Each issue of The Hudson River Valley Review includes the Regional History Forum. This section highlights historic sites in the Valley, exploring their historical significance as well as information for visitors today. Although due attention is paid to sites of national visibility, HRVR also highlights sites of regional significance.



Consolidated Edison promotion for proposed hydroelectric plant on Storm King Mountain

"Care Enough to Take Some Action"

Storm King, Scenic Hudson, and the Local Citizens Who Saved a Mountain and Started a Movement, 1963-2013

Alex Patrick Gobright, Marist '13

In the shadow of the mountain it once fought tirelessly to protect, Scenic Hudson has cast a similarly impressive legacy along the banks of the Hudson River as a stalwart environmental advocate. Storm King, that majestic domed-summit of the Hudson

Highlands, loomed large in the Poughkeepsie-based organization's formative years. It was there, in the towns surrounding the mountain, that the story of Scenic Hudson began in 1963, and where it continues in part today as the environmental group celebrates its fiftieth anniversary this year. The relative calm of the river's political waters at present can serve to mask the turbulent battles of the past, when the river's vistas and ecosystems came under threat from an unregulated push for development and laws enabling citizens to enforce the protection of the environment had not yet been enacted. Sitting around one Irvington resident's kitchen table, six concerned Hudson Valley residents from disparate backgrounds pledged to fight Consolidated Edison's proposed hydroelectric plant atop Storm King Mountain. They called themselves the Scenic Hudson Preservation Conference. The irony of this semi-centennial year, though, is that while the tangible results of the organization's seventeen-year legal crusade against Con Ed can be seen by anyone who has hiked the Highlands or glanced westward while travelling along the Metro-North Hudson line, the seminal stories of Scenic Hudson's eclectic founders have all but been forgotten.

Yet in truth the remarkable contributions of these individuals extended well beyond Storm King and the Hudson Valley. Whether they knew it at the time or not, Scenic Hudson's actions sounded the first battle cry of the modern environmental movement. In pursuing its fight against Con Ed, Scenic Hudson decided to take the Federal Power Commission (FPC) to court in July 1965. That October, New York City was plunged into one the longest blackouts in its history, and while Con Ed and Scenic Hudson threw the blame at each other, it was rumored that the federal Court of Appeals deliberated by candlelight. In December of that year, the judges handed down their decision, which remanded the FPC to further review and, more importantly, granted Scenic Hudson standing in court. For the first time, a court held that citizens had the right to argue in a courtroom on behalf of the environment. Scenic Hudson, the judges explained, qualified as an aggrieved party because the "project is to be physically located in a general area of our nation steeped in the history of the American Revolution ... It is also an area of great scenic beauty."¹

By placing aesthetics and culture on the same level as economics, the court opened the floodgates for citizen groups everywhere to achieve standing. The "Scenic Hudson Decision," as it became known, is often the first case mentioned in environmental law textbooks and has been credited as an impetus for the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969, which included provisions for citizen suits. Over the next two decades, during the height of the modern grass-roots environmental movement, courts became *the* place where environmental issues played out, and litigation-focused environmental groups such as the Natural Resources Defense Council and the Center for Biological Diversity gained national prominence. This presentist legacy of Scenic Hudson, however, was wholly unforeseeable for the organization's founders; they were in it to save the mountain.

They were fishermen and lawyers, businessmen and birdwatchers, hikers and writ-

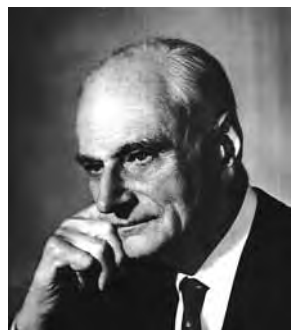
ers—and even one antiques dealer. As the environmental lawyer Oliver Houck once remarked about the improbability of Scenic Hudson's early days, "That those . . . parties got together at all was something of an only-in-America miracle. That they could win was unthinkable."²

But win Scenic Hudson did, and dig Con Ed did not. The road to that eventual victory was long and arduous, however, and in fact the 1965 Court of Appeals decision was just one victory in a fight that would last another fifteen years. From the beginning, the odds were stacked against Scenic Hudson. Consolidated Edison was the biggest utility company in America at the time, and a veteran at the game of amalgamating political and electrical power in the public sphere. In 1962, the company announced plans to build the world's largest pumped-storage hydroelectric plant on and around Storm King Mountain in Cornwall. During the nighttime and on weekends, when demand for electricity was low, the plant would suck six million gallons of Hudson River water more than 1,000 feet above the river into an eight-billion-gallon storage reservoir atop the mountain. Then, at peak hours of energy consumption in New York City, the stored water would be released down a two-mile shaft to six electricity-generating turbines at the base of the mountain on the Hudson before finally returning to its source. Harland C. Forbes, the chairman of Con Ed, announced at a 1962 press conference that "no delays were expected."³

Little did Forbes know, but the battle over Storm King Mountain was about to become a cause célèbre for an entire nation. Preservationists decried the defacement of the mountain; fishermen objected to the slaughtering of fish—especially striped bass—through the intake of Hudson River water; and local residents opposed the plant's displacement of existing residents and longstanding town land. On the other end, Con Ed declared—in the midst of its mismanagement of the 1965 blackout—that more supply was needed. The company ran a marketing campaign with the slogan "Dig We Must." The Federal Power Commission, which then acted less as a regulatory watchdog and more like an industry lapdog, licensed the plant twice; the federal Court of Appeals, after handing down its initial 1965 decision, refused to overturn the commission's 1970 relicensing. Still, as Robert Boyle wrote, "If anything distinguished the early members of Scenic Hudson, it was their determination not to give in to the utility, no matter how much it goaded, bullied, or twisted the facts."⁴

Perhaps the best way to tell the story of Scenic Hudson's inchoate founding is to weave a narrative of the various figures who initially organized the group with the contributions of those later actors who sustained the movement. Certain names turned up more frequently in the archives of Scenic Hudson—located at Marist College—which, along with the research and interviews compiled by Robert Boyle, Allan Talbot, Francis Milton Wright, and Robert D. Lifset, led to a more nuanced appreciation of Scenic Hudson's nascent days. While some tertiary members came and went, and the committed held on, it is important to remember that all of Scenic Hudson's supporters "contributed to the cause in their own way, by raising hell or money," as Boyle noted.⁵

The idea of Scenic Hudson was born in the mind of Leo O. Rothschild, a New York City lawyer and an avid hiker. In fact, he served as the conservation chairman of the New York-New Jersey Trail Conference, an organization whose 5,000 members often traversed the Hudson Highlands. Rothschild also had a prior record of preservation “crusades.” The first was an effort to protect the Palisades in the 1930s. Rothschild understood that with the opening of the George Washington Bridge, the lands surrounding it would be sought after for development, jeopardizing the Palisades’ awe-inspiring natural beauty.



Leo Rothschild

In the midst of the Great Depression, he successfully lobbied John D. Rockefeller Jr. to acquire the lands above the cliffs. Rockefeller committed over twenty million dollars to the effort and donated the land to the Palisades Interstate Park Commission for the purpose of creating new trails and other recreational amenities. Rothschild’s second crusade entailed an effort to prevent the New York Trap Rock Company from blasting away at Mount Taurus and Breakneck Ridge, between Beacon and Cold Spring. While he was ultimately unsuccessful, the quarrying lasted only a few years until it ceased for economic reasons during World War II. In each of these campaigns, Rothschild worked closely with The Nature Conservancy. So it came as no surprise when, in September of 1962, that organization asked him to head a subcommittee with the purpose of acquiring the lands encompassing Mount Beacon, Breakneck Ridge, and Mount Taurus.⁶

Four days later—on September 27, 1962—Rothschild was reading *The New York Times* when he noticed a story that would draw him into his third and final crusade. The front-page article was headlined, “3d Largest Hydroelectric Plant in U.S. Is Planned on Hudson.” The announcement took Rothschild by surprise and he decided to bring up the issue at the next NY-NJ Trail Conference meeting. As the story goes, Rothschild stood up holding a copy of the *Times* article, and condemned the expected degradation of Storm King by the Con Ed plant. Harry Nees, president of the organization, responded, “Well, Leo, we can’t have that happen.” Rothschild received the go-ahead to take on Con Ed; it was a project to which he would devote the rest of his life.⁷

Almost simultaneously, a dissident storm began brewing within the ranks of another local environmental organization, the Hudson River Conservation Society (HRCS). Years later, Robert Boyle remarked on the group’s lack of teeth, writing, “There are some excellent people, concerned people in HRCS, but the thrust of that organization has as much punch as Edith Wharton running against the Green Bay line.”⁸ The society soon would prove just how inept it could be. By 1963, it was already in contact with Con Ed about its plans to build on Storm King, and in June the society announced that a compromise had been reached. Con Ed promised to place its transmission lines under the river rather than above and across it, and also agreed to place the plant on three tiered levels rather than one unsightly, “quarry-like” cliff. In return, the society

would agree not to interfere further in Con Ed's Storm King scheme.⁹

Three individuals, all of whom later became highly influential in Scenic Hudson, objected to this perceived sell-out. Carl Carmer, vice chair of the HRCS, was one of them. He was known in his day as a prominent and popular author; his works included a colorful history of the Hudson River. In response to the society's compromise, he wrote to the HRCS board: "It is my conviction that those who would destroy the beauty of our landscape should be fought off—not appeased. Appeasement is a postponement and if we are to preserve the landscape of the America we have come to love, postponement is the equivalent of complete surrender."¹⁰ He also wrote letters to New York politicians and officials, arguing for the need to save Storm King. When in return he received what can be described as "form letters," Carmer became even more determined to rededicate his life to environmental activism. In an interview with Tarrytown's *Daily News*, Carmer remarked, "Actually, all this fighting is contrary to my nature. But I had to do this ... I felt I owed it to the river."¹¹

Standing with Carmer in this splinter group were Benjamin Frazier, executive director of the HRCS, and Alexander Saunders, another board member of the society. Frazier had previously been involved in the effort to save the Federal-style Boscobel mansion and move it to its current location just outside Cold Spring. He saw himself as a preservationist of historical landmarks, and in his mind, Storm King fit exactly that mold. Saunders also was well connected in the Hudson River Valley and belonged to many conservation groups, including the Garden Club of America, the Audubon Society, and the Sierra Club. He became concerned over the project when Con Ed published an artist's rendering of the proposed plant in 1962. The depiction exaggerated the size of the facility for visual purposes, but its effect was such that the plant looked like a monstrous intrusion on the face of the mountain. It was during this time, in early 1963, that Frazier and Saunders mostly worked with local town groups to come out in opposition to the plant.¹² Soon, however, they would have a much wider constituency.

One of Leo Rothschild's colleagues in the NY-NJ Trail Conference was Robert Burnap, also a hiker and member of The Nature Conservancy. Together, the men appealed to the executive director of the conservancy, Dr. Walter S. Boardman (formerly a school superintendent on Long Island), concerning the protection of Storm King. He advised that Rothschild form a new organization dedicated to these ends. Together, Boardman, Rothschild, and Burnap envisioned this new environmental-interest group and named it the Scenic Hudson Preservation Conference. It was meant to be an inclusive group that would "provide an opportunity for cooperation by the many other organizations and individuals who had a vital stake in the preservation of the Scenic Hudson."¹³ Just such a confluence of diverse interests was about to take place.

In the then-small world of Hudson Valley environmentalism, Rothschild was familiar with Carl Carmer's forthrightness about Con Ed's plans, as well as his disenfranchisement with the HRCS. They organized a meeting at Carmer's famous Octagon House in Irvington for November 10, 1963. Four familiar Nature Conservancy/NY-NJ

Trail Conference members—Boardman, Rothschild, Burnap, and Nees—attended the meeting, as did Carmer and Virginia Guthrie, an antiques dealer and close friend of the author. After discussing proposals for the new organization, Carmer was invited to serve as its chairman, with Rothschild as president and Burnap executive secretary. These six individuals, making up a “coalition of conservation groups,” became the founding members of Scenic Hudson.¹⁴

Soon, more members would follow, as Carmer incorporated the remaining, like-minded faction of the HRCS board—Saunders and Frazier—into the group. They quickly took up roles on the executive board and represented the Scenic Hudson Preservation Conference at various hearings and meetings. Saunders would assume the role of president after Rothschild passed away in 1968.

Stephen and “Smokey” Duggan, “mountain residents” in Cornwall, joined shortly thereafter, having been outraged at Con Ed’s plans to eliminate a town pond that Smokey’s ancestors had built. Being well-connected to townspeople (and well-to-do themselves), the Duggans took on the role of financiers for Scenic Hudson’s operations. They later went on to help create the Natural Resources Defense Council.

Smokey Duggan also was responsible for recruiting Frances “Franny” Reese, who to this day is revered by Scenic Hudson as the organization’s “guiding spirit.” Reese served as Scenic Hudson’s board chair in the 1970s and ’80s, and is credited with the



On behalf of Scenic Hudson, Frances Reese signs the Hudson River Settlement Agreement, ensuring Storm King’s protection, on December 19, 1980. Standing behind her is mediator Russell Train; sitting to her right is Robert Boyle, founder of the Hudson River Fishermen’s Association.

quote that has become the group's unofficial credo: "Care enough to take some action, do your research so you don't have to backtrack from a position, and don't give up!" Her dedication was put to the test in the "dark days" of the organization, after it had lost a second court appeal in 1971. It was during this time that she was solely responsible for raising the funds to sustain the movement. At its high-water mark during the Storm King campaign, Scenic Hudson boasted 22,000 contributors from forty-eight states and fourteen foreign countries. Hudson River historian Frances Dunwell noted, "Reese took particular pleasure in the donations she received from Con Ed stakeholders who gave dividend checks to help fund the lawsuits."¹⁵ Franny Reese remained on Scenic Hudson's board until her death in 2003.

Robert Boyle, a *Sports Illustrated* writer and founder of the Hudson River Fishermen's Association, entered the fray early on and added an entirely new dimension to Scenic Hudson's mission. One Scenic Hudson member who had heard about Boyle's work at *Sports Illustrated* covering fish kills at a power plant downriver from Storm King recalled that he seemed like someone "who is more interested in trout than people, but who can be counted on for support." In early 1964, Boyle walked into the offices of Scenic Hudson, which at the time was sharing space with the Audubon Society in Manhattan, and spoke with Benjamin Frazier and Smokey Duggan. He retold the story of this meeting and how he pointed out that they were overlooking the impact that the plant would have on the Hudson's fish populations. At the end of Boyle's miniature lesson, Duggan reportedly rose to her feet with delight in her eyes, exclaiming, "They're going to kill the fish! They're going to kill the fish!" It was, Boyle later said, like "Churchill hearing that Pearl Harbor was bombed."¹⁶

The birth of Scenic Hudson, however, was less a celebratory occasion than it was a baptism by fire. Allan Talbot wrote about the organization's precarious path forward in 1963. Having exhausted all recourse with politicians, "They discovered that there was no 'right person' to talk to about blocking the plant, and now began examining the various bureaucratic checkpoints that Con Ed's plant would have to pass."¹⁷ To this end, Boardman retained Dale Doty, a former commissioner of the Federal Power Commission, as Scenic Hudson's legal representation, and Stephen Duggan, himself a prominent attorney, brought in Mike Kitzmiller, of the New York City public relations firm Salvage & Lee. Kitzmiller jumped right in, later remarking that his job was "to piss in Con Ed's soup. And I liked it!" When he came to Scenic Hudson, he saw a small group of dedicated individuals, but he knew that something was missing. Regarding Rothschild, Kitzmiller once said, "he genuinely believed that right would win, a lot of these people did. I believed we could win, but only if we played rough and dirty."¹⁸ The opportunity soon arose for such a take-no-prisoners tussle.

"All told," Boyle remembered, "it might be fairly said that Scenic Hudson went after Con Ed with such gusto that the company found itself questioned every which way." *The New York Times* editorial board was an early supporter of Scenic Hudson, and soon other publications piled on to object to Con Ed's plans, including *Life* magazine,

The Nation, *The New Republic*, *Outdoor Life*, and *Forbes*, which published a memorable article in 1966 entitled, “Con Edison: The Company You Love to Hate.”

The reason for this groundswell of anti-Con Ed press had to be the publicity generated by Scenic Hudson’s participation at various hearings and meetings from 1964 to 1966. Such public venues portrayed Con Ed in a decidedly bad light. After the company distributed a newsletter describing Con Ed’s opponents as “misinformed birdwatchers, nature fakers, land grabbers, and militant adversaries of progress,” an early member of Scenic Hudson, Pierre Ledoux, rose at a public meeting to announce, “Yes I am a birdwatcher, and I have been watching buzzards and vultures.” Rothschild spoke eloquently at a Federal Power Commission hearing in 1964 on the need to protect sacred land, and pulled out all of the stops in quoting famous Hudson Valley visitors:

Is it too close to home to appreciate? “This is very good land to fall with and a pleasant land to see,” said one of Henry Hudson’s officers, going up the river under these high blue hills. That great traveler Baedeker found the Hudson’s scenery “grander and more inspiring” than the Rhine’s . . . I know of nothing more important than to preserve all wilderness areas in the metropolitan region which is rapidly becoming a complex of highways and housing developments. Some place must be left where people can, to quote Walt Whitman, “invite our souls.”¹⁹

Perhaps the most memorable testimony came from Vincent Scully, an architecture historian at Yale University. He testified,

But Storm King is the central issue, and it is a mountain which should be left alone. It rises like a brown bear out of the river, a dome of living granite, swelling with animal power. It is not picturesque in the softer sense of the word, but awesome, a primitive embodiment of the energies of the earth. It makes the character of wild nature physically visible in monumental form.²⁰

In reality, these eloquent statements from Scenic Hudson members and supporters did little more than exhibit sentiment and attempt to drum up public support. The road ahead would be laden with even more hearings, trials, injunctions, and protests—a cycle that seemed to renew itself over the course of the seventeen-year legal battle. But actions of Scenic Hudson, even if they did not immediately result in policy change, had equally important discursive effects on the morale of emerging activists of the 1960s. As Boyle recalled, “The controversy also has made people aware that they ‘can do something’ to meet those problems. There is no need to fall back on the old defeatist slogan that ‘you can’t beat City Hall’ or Con Ed.” Talbot also saw how Scenic Hudson’s impact reached farther than the hearing room. He wrote:

Aside from dramatizing the conflicts between urban power needs and natural beauty, the battle over Storm King Mountain created new interest in and appreciation of the Hudson River, which like most American rivers has been badly mistreated. Before Con Edison’s Storm King proposal, there had never been any widespread interest in the river’s ecology or its future as a wildlife resource. The suggestion that fish could be sucked into the plant was doubly startling since few people were aware that fish still swam in the Hudson.



Frances "Franny" Reese with Storm King Mountain in the background

The work of Scenic Hudson reminded people that victories are possible, but battles are tough, and defending those victories is a long-term commitment. The organization's early supporters were a living affirmation of Franny Reese's ethos. "Ultimately," Dunwell noted, "it was the story of people rallying to protect their spiritual connections with the land. The Highlands became an inviolable, sacred landscape."²¹

And eventually victory did come for Scenic Hudson. On December 19, 1980, representatives from eleven environmental, governmental, and utility groups gathered at the Hotel Roosevelt in Manhattan to sign a settlement agreement. Con Ed agreed to drop its Storm King plans and donate the land to the state. In return, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency allowed them to renege on building cooling towers at their other power plants along the river. The mediator for the negotiations, Russell Train, nervously opened up the session by saying, to some laughter, that he was not going to allow anyone to speak until the agreement was signed. Robert Lifset noted, "[Train] would later comment that he wasn't being funny; that the agreement was so fragile that a fiery speech or an angry word might have blown it apart right there at the signing ceremony." Nevertheless, all of the parties (Scenic Hudson was represented by Franny Reese) signed the agreement. *The New York Times* later dubbed it "a peace treaty for the Hudson."²² The Storm King battle had finally come to a close, but the future of Scenic Hudson had already been discussed.

In a 1968 letter to Rod Vandivert, who was then executive director of Scenic Hudson, Robert Boyle wrote, "I don't think Scenic Hudson should be an ad hoc committee just to save Storm King or the Highlands. I think Scenic Hudson should be the

permanent watchdog of the Hudson... Sure, let's go ahead and beat the hell out of Con Ed at Storm King. But don't disband after that. The Hudson is simply too important."

To date, Scenic Hudson has preserved more than 31,000 acres of land—including 6,200 acres in the Hudson Highlands, 700 acres visible from the Franklin D. Roosevelt National Historic Site, and 1,500 acres surrounding Olana State Historic Site. It has created or enhanced sixty-five parks or preserves—providing public access to 6,000 acres featuring more than seventy-five miles of trails. The organization has conserved more than 10,000 acres of high-quality working farmland on 65 farms in five counties. It campaigned actively and successfully against two cement plants along the Hudson River, and continues to be involved in land use advocacy regarding nearly every proposed new development along the river. Scenic Hudson played a critical role in the restoration of Walkway Over the Hudson, Dia:Beacon, and the "daylighted" Saw Mill River in Yonkers.²³ Clearly, this is not the same Scenic Hudson whose fundraising operations were once headquartered in Franny Reese's basement.

It was Robert Boyle who wrote, "To those who know it, the Hudson River is the most beautiful, messed up, productive, ignored, and surprising piece of water on the face of the earth. There is no other river quite like it, and for some persons, myself included, no other river will do. The Hudson is *the* river." In the half-century since Scenic Hudson took the stage on the banks of the river beside Storm King Mountain, it has become *the* preeminent protector of the Hudson and its shores. In 1963, six concerned citizens gathered around a table in Carl Carmer's home, and in the process of the next seventeen years, they laid the groundwork for a group that would go on to save Storm King Mountain and spark the next wave of the environmental movement. As for the permanence of their legacy, only the next half-century can tell, but for now it appears that Scenic Hudson, and the majestic Storm King, are here to stay.

For more information on Scenic Hudson's 50th anniversary visit www.sh50.org.

Endnotes

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22. Lifset, 535-539.
23. *Scenic Hudson 2012 Annual Report and 50th Anniversary Priorities*.



The Madam Brett Homestead in Beacon. All photographs courtesy of the Melzingah Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

Madam Brett: Her Legacy and Her Homestead

Marygrace Navarra, Marist '14

The story of Catheryna Rombout Brett is little-known. However, it exemplifies how a focus on women's history can enrich the national historic narrative. The case of Catheryna, respectfully called Madam Brett, applies perfectly: Her inheritance, ability to overcome obstacles, wise business tactics, and courage shaped the history of Beacon and Fishkill, and enhance our understanding of Dutch colonial women. This history has been preserved at the oldest house in Dutchess County: the Madam Brett Homestead in Beacon.

Francis Rombout, Catheryna's father, arrived in New Amsterdam in 1653 at eighteen years of age. He was a Walloon, a French-speaking Protestant who fled from Belgium to the Netherlands to escape the Spanish Inquisition and then sailed to Manhattan through the Dutch West India Company. Rombout arrived as a clerk in charge of freight on his ship; he returned to Europe briefly once before settling permanently in New Amsterdam. Rombout set himself up for prosperity by entering the fur trade and pledging beaver pelts to the city. He was granted recognition as a small burgher; this move represented his ascension into the merchant middle class. It was a favorable time

to do so, for the British, to win over the merchant class, dropped several duties and tariffs; as a result, business boomed. By 1674, having found success in the fur trade, Rombout was one of the richest men in the city, with an estimated worth of \$2,000. In 1679, he was appointed mayor.

Rombout unwittingly set the stage for his daughter's business ventures soon after he married Helena Teller Van Ball in 1683. Helena brought seven children into the new family from previous marriages. The same year, Francis and his partners, Gulian Verplanck and Stephanus Van Cortlandt, purchased 85,000 acres of land that included present-day southern Dutchess County. It was the first patent issued by the British for land on the Hudson River and included what would become today's Beacon, Fishkill, East Fishkill, Wappinger, a portion of LaGrange, and the southern limits of Poughkeepsie. The partners purchased it from Wappinger Native Americans with rum, powder, cloth, hatchets, shirts, knives, bottles, wampum, jugs, and tobacco at a current value of \$1,250.

Until Helena gave birth to Catheryna in 1687 (she was baptized on May 25), Rombout lacked an heir. The couple's first-born child, a son, had died, as did a subsequent son, leaving Catheryna as her father's sole heir. Rombout's will, commissioned in 1691, bequeathed all of his wealth to Catheryna, with the exception of 800 guilders. It also appointed four socially prominent guardians—the mayor of New York, a doctor, a wealthy wine merchant, and her maternal grandfather—to oversee her affairs in the event of his death. Francis Rombout died when Catheryna was only four years old.

Catheryna continued to live in her father's stone house on the west side of Broadway, half a mile above the lower tip of Manhattan, with her half-siblings. Her education was in the Dutch style, which required that boys and girls be taught identically. Influenced by Dutch trade, her education was classical and included math and business skills. By the time Catheryna was thirteen, New York was a busy port containing 4,500 European inhabitants and 750 slaves. When she was sixteen, Catheryna married Robert Brett, a lieutenant in the British Navy. He moved into the house on Broadway with Catheryna.

Catheryna's mother Helena set an example of independence and perseverance for her daughter. When Francis died, she emerged as a business leader herself. In July 1702, she imported 2,647 gallons of rum from the West Indies and exported hundreds of pelts to London, including 419 deerskins and 270 raccoon furs.

When Helena died in 1707, Catheryna inherited her father's Broadway house and Dutchess county property, all 28,000 acres. Helena's will, however, bequeathed only one pence to her daughter; the remainder of her estate was divided between her other children. Despite their vast inheritance, the Bretts were land-poor and struggling to keep up their house on Broadway. They decided to move to their Hudson River Valley property, an economic decision considering that the family had grown to include two sons by 1707 and still had no source of income. The land presented new challenges for the Bretts. Francis's land, as Catheryna probably knew, was intended as a fur-trading post; Roger had never dealt with the region's Native Americans besides the occasional transaction he conducted with them. Catheryna was the only European woman on



The homestead's drawing room (above) and dining room (below)



her new homeland, which had no homes or stores and possessed none of the amenities to which she was accustomed. To make the move, the Bretts gave up their life in New York society.

The couple mortgaged the stone house on Broadway in order to afford the supplies needed for their upriver move. Their land was divided from that belonging to Francis Rombout's other partners in 1708. The first land partition of its kind in New York, it signified the beginning of the breakup of the Crown grants. Before officially switching residences, however, the Bretts expanded a gristmill and a house, setting aside 300 acres of land with the new buildings. Between June 1708 and April 1713, they also sold or rented five farms. Catheryna and her sons—three-year-old Thomas and one-year-old Francis—sailed to their new, small new home in the fall of 1708 to meet Roger, who had made several trips between New York City and Fishkill to bring supplies during Catheryna's third pregnancy. Roger sought tenants and was successful in finding six who leased portions of the property until 1713. These leases did not bring cash to the Bretts, however; eventually, they would resort to selling their land.

The Bretts settled in their new home, located near their gristmill, in December 1709. While residing there, carpenter Robert Dengee expanded the house now known as the Madam Brett Homestead between October 1714 and June 1716. The Bretts had a small but unreliable income derived from poor farmers and Native Americans who had their wheat and corn ground at the gristmill. The couple mortgaged more land, and their debts mounted.

In 1714, after the birth of Catheryna's fourth son, Rivery, the Bretts' first son Robert died at the age of nine. Tragically, in June 1718, Roger Brett also succumbed when he was knocked unconscious and fell off his sloop into the Hudson River near Fishkill Creek. Catheryna did not have much time to grieve, for she had to care for her three sons and now was solely responsible for her family, finances, and land. By July, Catheryna filed deeds with the court in Dutchess County to sell 2,000 acres to Dirck Brinckerhoff of Flushing, Queens. The slow but steady and calculated sale of her property became an important source of financial stability for her family. While this decision makes sense to twenty-first century New Yorkers, it was highly uncommon for patroons and lords to sell their patented lands. Patroons like the Livingstons ran their lands in a feudal system, living on the rents paid by their tenants; Madam Brett, though, believed that the most efficient way of obtaining cash was to sell her inherited land.

Madam Brett's striking independence begs the timely question: Why didn't she seek a husband to stabilize her finances and ensure the well-being of her family? It certainly would have been the common, traditional move for a woman in her situation. British common law, while allowing her to carry on with business, would transfer her wealth to a new husband. Her own parents married three times each, reflecting the frequency and encouragement of marriage at the time. For whatever reason, Madam Brett defied tradition and carried on alone. Furthermore, her independence from men exceeded her avoidance of remarriage: After a good friend co-signed a deed and cheated her on



The second-floor Slocum Bedroom, with furnishings provided through the generous support of the Slocum Family of Beacon. Its main feature, an 18th-century rope bed made of tiger maple, is surrounded by period pieces.

the interest, she refused to have men co-sign documents.

The new head of the family faced the dangers of wilderness and harsh winters while supporting her sons and running her gristmill, farmstead, and household. Madam Brett had between three to nine slaves at any given time and was helped by her sons; however, she often was alone in managing her land holdings, business dealings, and family.

After the land sale to the Brinkerhoffs, Madam Brett had cash on hand. Soon, her mill, which she managed daily, became a hub of industry in southern Dutchess County. Settlers came from Orange and Ulster counties to use the mill, and Native Americans traded furs for meal. With the mill in full swing, she started to sell off smaller tracts of land, about 100 acres each in size, to augment her cash flow. Her business dealings made her not only a successful businesswoman, but also America's first female real estate tycoon.

After her youngest son, Rivery, died in 1729 at the age of seventeen, Madam Brett continued to manage her lands, often on horseback, and also continued to sell off her property. Now these transactions were no longer to ensure cash flow, but to create a community. She attracted settlers from New York City and Long Island—farmers, storekeepers, boatmen, blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, wheelwrights, saddlers, shoemakers, weavers, and tailors. Through these transactions, the county became populated with people whose names continue to resonate—Swarthout, DePeyster, Teller, DuBois, Schenck, Van Voorhis, Southard, Mesier, Van Vliet and Wiltse. Many of these men, once friends or associates of her father, became her equal partners. When Thomas Storm sought to purchase land that would support and be passed down to his seven

sons, he acquired it from Madam Brett. In subsequent generations, this land would become known as Stormville.

Since Madam Brett sold her land as opposed to leasing it, her inherited portion of the patent became the commercial center of southern Dutchess County; comparatively, Gulian Verplanck's descendants leased their portions of the patent for farming, and so their lands remained agricultural. Catheryna's successors continued her economic logic: The villages of Fishkill Landing, Matteawan, Glenham, Fishkill, Johnsville, and Hopewell all grew up on lands that she had inherited. Their success as communities is owed directly to the sale of this acreage.

Madam Brett's importance does not lie merely in her being an eighteenth-century businesswoman, but that she was a smart one. In the majority of her real estate transactions, she retained the property's water resources and prohibited competing mills from being built. Her cunning and thoroughness were further reflected in other facets of her business deals: She was unafraid to borrow on credit or enter into lawsuits.

The Frankfort Storehouse was incorporated on August 6, 1743, and Madam Brett's name, the only female, headed the list of farmers who bought twelve acres of land on the Hudson River near the landing at Fishkill. While each stockholder's vote held equal merit, and each shareholder had one room in the storehouse for his or her produce, Madam Brett owned the sloop that brought much of the farmers' produce to New York City markets. Her business capabilities shone through. In addition to shipping flour, pork, beef, wheat or grain, and salt, the company charged for freight and passengers. It continued in operation for almost a century, until 1840.

Surviving the death of her husband and three sons, operating a farmers' cooperative and gristmill, trading with neighbors with whom she often fought in court, and practicing innovative business methods to utilize her land effectively, Madam Brett not only assured the stability and security of her family. Her perseverance resulted in the entire settlement of southern Dutchess County. That is her greatest legacy.

Madam Brett died at the age of 80 and is said to be buried in the glebe of the Fishkill Reformed Church. Her will divided and bestowed her remaining property among her sole surviving son, Francis, and her son Robert's children. She also stipulated that her slaves should be sold, with each choosing their new masters.

The Madam Brett Homestead reflects Catheryna's self-determination and true American spirit. After her death, seven generations of Brett descendants lived in her house, resulting in structural additions over time. Major Henry Schenck served as quartermaster to the Continental Army during the American Revolution; as a result, Washington, von Steuben, and the Marquis de Lafayette visited the home. During the war soldiers slept on the floor and supplies were stored there. In 1852, President Millard Fillmore stayed in the house as a guest of Judge Isaac Teller and his wife, Alice, Catheryna Brett's great-granddaughter. Throughout, the homestead remained a working farm, with Brett descendants retaining ownership of the house until 1954. The local chapter of The National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution



Catheryna Brett's personal copy of a book of sermons by Reverend Thomas Prince of The Old South Church in Boston

purchased the structure and has operated it as a museum ever since. The building was named to the National Register of Historic Places during the 1976 Bicentennial and celebrated its 300th anniversary in 2009.

Operated by the Melzingah Chapter of the DAR, the Madam Brett Homestead is located at 50 Van Nydeck Avenue in Beacon. It is open for tours on the second Saturday of each month from April to December. For hours and additional information, visit www.melzingah.awardspace.com/id5.htm or phone 845-831-6533.

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Boys at Group Camps health check

A Brief Photo History of Group Camping and Nature Study in Palisades Interstate Park

Edwin McGowan

“Here within actual sight of our great throbbing City, is a little world of almost virgin nature, which has been rescued for the people.... Man can do no more than preserve its natural grandeur and make the park accessible to one and all...” —*George W. Perkins, 1909*

Palisades Interstate Park, a sprawling, 110,000-acre assemblage of diabase cliffs, mature oak forests, granite-capped peaks, and sapphire lakes remains an important natural touchstone in the lower Hudson River Valley and New York metropolitan region. Chartered in 1900 under Governors Theodore Roosevelt of New York and Foster M. Voorhies of New Jersey, the park is a model of interstate cooperation for land conservation and the promotion of outdoor pursuits. It grew exponentially in land area and attendance in its early years, propelled by the unwavering philanthropy and vision of prominent families—Rockefeller, Perkins, Harriman, Morgan, and others. By 1917, park attendance exceeded one million visitors. This number reached five million by 1924 with the advent of automobile travel. Today, an estimated nine million people



Campfire Girls at Lake Stahahe Group Camp in Harriman Park, 1920s

experience the park annually, more visitors than Yellowstone and Yosemite combined.

This year marks the 100th anniversary of the park's summer Group Camps, the nation's oldest system of organized group camping. Conceived to serve social, charitable, and philanthropic organizations, these rustic lakeshore retreats in Harriman State Park have hosted countless children from organizations as diverse as the Boy Scouts and Brooklyn Home for Destitute Children. The camps include the very first Boy Scout camp at Carr Pond/Lake Stahahe and Camp Fire Girls camp at Twin Lakes. At their peak in the 1930s, the park supported 102 active camps run by nearly 500 organizations. Though still vibrant summer destinations, just over a third of these camps remain in operation today.



Clockwise from top: Two screech owls and Trailside visitors; Princess Te Ata, park interpreter of Native American life, ca. 1929; “Uncle Bennie” displaying a local black snake, ca. 1920



While the public benefits of the camps are manifest, their seminal role as an early testing ground for the nascent field of nature education is less well known. In collaboration with the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), early park educators experimented with ways to inform and engage the growing visitor population about local natural history. In 1920 at the Kanawauke Boy Scout Camp in Harriman, Dr. Benjamin Talbot Babbitt Hyde, or “Uncle Bennie,” developed the first park nature museum replete with locally collected live animals (especially snakes) and botanical specimens. Considered the founder of nature education in the park, Uncle Bennie



Above: Public outcry over the destruction of the Palisades cliffs spurred the formation of the PIPC; boating at the group camps (below).





Above: Boy Scouts with snakes at early nature study museum in the park;
Camp Ranachqua dinning-hall, Harriman State Park (below).





A captive barred owl and educator entertain Trailside visitors

encouraged young campers to experience and understand nature, not fear it. Nearby at Southfields on the western margin of the park, Dr. Frank Lutz, Curator of Insect Life at the AMNH, was busy designing the nation's first self-guided nature trail, which he refined through careful studies of user reaction and retention. These pioneering approaches caught on rapidly. By 1925, four more nature museums were constructed to serve the Group Camps, while many camps installed their own self-guided nature trails.

Nature education in the early park years reached its pinnacle with the development of the Trailside Museums and Nature Trail at Bear Mountain in 1927 under the direction of William H. Carr, a disciple of Uncle Bennie. The location chosen was along the Appalachian Trail on bluffs overlooking the Hudson River at the park's most popular entry point. This picturesque complex of natural stone museums, outdoor wildlife exhibits, and hand-painted trail signs effectively married the foundational work of Hyde and Lutz at one site. The Trailside model was so successful that it was widely emulated across the nation and abroad.

Today, the legacy of these early educators has proved as durable as the stone museums themselves. The Trailside complex, in its eighty-sixth year, welcomes an increasingly diverse public to marvel about the natural history of the park. Meanwhile, nature education at the Group Camp nature museums continues to delight young campers as it did in Uncle Bennie's day, snakes and all.

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Trailside Museums & Zoo is open from 10 a.m. – 4:30 p.m. daily except Christmas and Thanksgiving. For more information, visit www.trailsidezoo.org or call (845) 786-2701, ext 265. For more information about PIPC parks and historic sites, visit www.palisadesparks-conservancy.org.

Teaching the Hudson River Valley

This article is adapted from a panel on Teaching New York State History that took place on November 16, 2012, at the Researching New York conference at the State University of New York at Albany. The panel was organized and chaired by Susan Ingalls Lewis, from SUNY New Paltz, who dedicated it to her retired colleague Don Roper. It included Lauren Kozakiewicz from SUNY Albany, Jocelyn Wills from Brooklyn College CUNY, and Jane Ladouceur from the College of Saint Rose. Each professor spoke about the classes and students they teach, provided a sample of what works well in their classes, and shared one of their challenges. Afterward, audience members shared other strategies and projects for engaging students by making history local and personal.

Teaching New York State History

We all teach in New York, the majority of our students are from the state, we all face the same challenge to find ways of making history connect, but they are not the same for each student. So we develop a multiplicity of ways of trying to connect and hope that something reaches out and grabs them. It can be the connection with place, like Brooklyn. I teach the integration of baseball using the Brooklyn Dodgers, and that gets a lot of connection from students. It might be taking topics that we think belong in another place and applying them here, such as slavery in New York State history; this changes students' appreciation of the topic because it makes it personal, or local. I use a slave narrative from a New York slave. Solomon Northrop lived just outside of Saratoga. He was kidnapped and sold into slavery in lower Mississippi. The common theme that all of us are articulating in our own ways is trying to get a New York-ism, or something New York is the bridge to make that connection. —Jane Ladouceur

Professor Susan Lewis teaches three classes that are specifically focused on New York history: “Empire State” is geared toward future elementary school teachers; “The History of New York City” attracts history majors, secondary education majors, and students who are simply interested in New York City; and “Metropolis to Megalopolis: New York Culture from 1870 to 1929” is an Honors Seminar that is team taught with a professor from the Theatre Department, in which the students are seldom history majors.

One of Lewis's successful projects requires the students to visit an historical society, historic site, museum, or historical reenactment; analyze their visit in a paper; then form groups depending on which site students have visited to facilitate a discussion over the course of the class that explores the strong and weak points of each venue in terms of learning about New York State history. Students are anxious over the project at the start, but their enthusiasm grows as the project develops. They discuss what made the trip great, or what aspects of it were terrible, and why. According to Lewis, the class gets to:

talk about the fact that, let's face it, people in museums lie to you, right? I mean, how many times have [you] been in a tour in a museum where somebody has told

you something that you just knew wasn't true. And it's important for [students] to know that. This is one of the major ways that people learn about local and state history, and if they're future teachers they may be taking their students on trips and this is a great way to share experiences in different kinds of sites and also to show them what to look out for in terms of critical thinking when you go to a historic site or museum.

Lewis's biggest challenge is trying to cover an area outside of New York City, the Hudson Valley, and the North Country due in part to a lack of materials about the western portion of the state. One title of note that extends all the way out to Buffalo is Laurance Hauptman's, *Conspiracy of Interest*, which is about the displacement of the Iroquois by the Erie Canal. This book is easily dividable because part is about the Seneca and part about the Oneida, so half the class can read one section and the rest the other. Then they all read a chapter from Peter Bernstein's *Wedding of the Waters* and compare the celebratory story of the Erie Canal to the displacement story. This leads to a conversation about what should be taught; would you teach one story or the other?

Another example of this level of inquiry is Sojourner Truth's "Ain't I a Woman" speech. (Truth was born enslaved in Rifton, near New Paltz where Lewis teaches and lived in New York State for more than half her life.) Everyone is familiar with this version, but in fact historians have demonstrated that Truth never gave a speech with this refrain. The "Ain't I a Woman" version was published twelve years after the 1851 convention where Truth spoke. So would you teach the speech in words she never used, because it's famous, or would you teach the original version of the speech as reported at the time, or would you teach both and have the students understand that history is not just about facts and also there's also the whole story and mythology of history?

I use *The Encyclopedia of New York State* and assign the entries according to certain themes. There are nice, bite-size entries as well as very good long essays on general topics like slavery in New York State and biographies of major characters. I use that in combination with Thompson's *Geography of New York State* and John Mineck's *Historical Geography*, even though it's 1965, it still stands up well. —Edward Knoblauch

Lauren Kozakiewicz teaches a variety of courses that include New York in some way. Her American survey course integrates New York topics into the generalized survey of United States history from settlement to 1865 and then from 1865 to the current day. The course attracts a variety of majors because it is required, unless a student has passed the New York State Regents exam in high school at a certain level or has taken an American history course as part of general education core curriculum at Albany. Students in the class range from those with a slight interest in history and others who have absolutely no interest in history whatsoever.

She has designed the course for that student who invariably says, "I hate history; it's all facts and dates; I never did well in history in high school; it was my worst subject." Since they are sitting in her class for a semester, Kozakiewicz doesn't just aim to teach them the larger narrative, she also strives to diminish their hostility toward

history. Toward that end, she has developed, and continues to refine, two sets of bound booklets, five units each that go along with the survey. The first booklet is for the first half of the class; the second for the second half. Each student takes a topic, a theme that's something more broadly played out in the general narrative of American history, and Kozakiewicz either illustrates it with a New York example or leads the class on an exploration of it in a way that they hadn't thought of before.

She uses a mix of primary and secondary sources. The first unit in the first half of the survey is "captivity narratives as cultural history." The class explores the dynamic of intersecting with the frontier: what it means for cultural transmission; what it means for cultural adaptation. They read an excerpt from a captivity narrative, and Kozakiewicz discusses the narratives—why they were constructed when they were and the purpose behind them. One narrative that the students examine is the captivity excerpt from the story of Mariah Kiddle, which takes place in Schghaticoke, in Rensselaer County. Does the idea of the captivity narrative, the purpose often hiding behind the construction, suggest conquering the frontier, and that the settlers will triumph inevitably? Does that message come through to the reader clearly? Does it come through partially? Does a history student today buy into that message at all? Exercises such as this expose students to larger concepts and primary sources, and require them to engage and evaluate the material. She teaches this as the first unit, and it often works.

This course also examines early American political culture by looking at an excerpt of Ron Chernow's biography of Alexander Hamilton, about "the affairs of honor." Students have to evaluate the affair of honor. They speculate on how it might relate to the politics of the early republic. They like the idea of the duel, and they like the idea that Hamilton and Aaron Burr had to leave New York and go to New Jersey because it was illegal to fight a duel in New York but not across the Hudson River. The political culture theme recurs throughout the course. The class looks at political corruption in the Gilded Age, and then at modern political culture and new media in the middle of the twentieth century.

One secondary source that Kozakiewicz uses in class first appeared in *New York History* and was presented at the Conference on New York State History. It appraises Franklin Delano Roosevelt's use of the radio and how he perfected his political style using station WGY, based in Schenectady, to reach upstate New Yorkers while he was governor. Through this study, Kozakiewicz illustrates how the tools that politicians use to mold their images change over time. Students make the connections and they appreciate that "History happened here, and here in New York, and here where we live." In this way, she tries to personalize it, at least a bit.

The ten units are still a work in progress, and Kozakiewicz would like to develop twenty units that could be alternated to cover more of the state. She would like to develop one for the Second Great Awakening in upstate New York for instance. One of the more challenging aspects of the course is finding the breadth of material. It is easiest to find materials about New York City, but that does not represent the entire

state. The next biggest challenge is finding accessible pieces, both primary and secondary material. Readings in a survey course can't be too general or non-scholarly but if they are too scholarly they don't work either. And they can't be too long, or they have to be able to be condensed or excerpted in a way that still gives the flavor of the whole—without, for example, reading the entire forty pages of Mariah Kiddle's narrative. (Kozakiewicz's students read only twelve to fifteen pages.) But these challenges are worthwhile, especially for the non-history major for whom this is probably going to be their only exposure to history while in college. This is her way of trying to make the experience memorable.

Faculty create relationships with the historical societies with whom we partner, and those students who wish to maintain those relationships can do so as well. These projects have also developed lasting institutional relationships between the college and these partners, and that has resulted in placing more student interns at those historical societies and sites. So there are multiple benefits to incorporating local history into your classes. —*Jocelyn Wills*

Jocelyn Wills doesn't actually teach New York State history at Brooklyn College; she teaches New York City history, but her methods could be applied elsewhere at the level of local history. She is an economic, social, and urban historian who began using the local history of Brooklyn and New York City because she wanted her students to have better depth of content, to build critical skills, and to become "history detectives." She feels that these skills are important regardless of whether or not they decide to go to graduate school for history.

Aside from her "Brooklyn History" and "Peopling of New York City" classes, she does not assign a narrative that is totally focused on New York. But she does use local history and the power of place to lead to global and American history. She also identified the theme of immigration as another key component to engage the class. Each year, Wills's students represent approximately 140 nations at graduation, and she felt that their immigrant stories were also very important. After all, she argues, they are making American history, as are their families.

Wills had already begun her own research on Brooklyn before deciding to try using local history with her students, and most of her colleagues said it wouldn't work. The fear is that students don't have the time and resources to undertake research that requires travel and access to primary documents, so she tested their theory. In 2003, Wills was teaching a course called "American Dreams and Realities," with a heavy emphasis on the reality, that examined the experience of everyday Americans and how their reality bumps up against the mythologies and dreams of American life. She designed a research project that incorporated a visit to Greenwood Cemetery, which contains more than 600,000 stories of ordinary people buried within its gates. Her students read a wide variety of material, with just one focused on Brooklyn, but they also were assigned to visit Greenwood and to pick five different graves that seemed to tell a different story. She also provided a list of resources around the city and online

where they could research the people they chose.

After selecting the names of people buried in different grave sites, the students had to research censuses, city directories, and historic newspapers such as the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, which is online. Wills didn't just want them to learn about five local people, some of whom had moved away; "I wanted them to think about the critical skills that go into becoming a historical researcher, to take ownership." Those students took ownership of their five people and their families' long-term stories. As undergraduates, they proved that you don't need to wait until graduate school to undertake serious research; that both teachers and students can get more out of a challenging research experience. This project began to teach students what it really means to be a researcher, so those of us who teach local, regional, and state history are not being parochial. In addition to their intrinsic value, such projects help develop critical skills in how our young citizens approach the world.

One of the students in Wills' class had introduced himself by telling her "I hate social history; I will never like social history. I do only political history; I only want to know about presidents." Ten years later, he is still following the people he chose in that class. He also promotes himself as a genealogical expert and researcher.

Soon after, Wills was asked to teach "Brooklyn History." She assigned typical textbooks such as Richard Haw's cultural history of the Brooklyn Bridge and Linder and Zacharias's *From Cabbages to Kings County*, but realized that the last comprehensive history of Brooklyn was *The Civil, Political, Professional and Ecclesiastical History, and Commercial and Industrial Record of the County of Kings and the City of Brooklyn, N.Y. from 1683 to 1884*, edited by Henry Stiles in 1898. However, while searching for other titles, she stumbled across material about the 1876 theater fire in Brooklyn that could be used to replicate the Greenwood Cemetery project. There was a published list of all the fire victims that each student chose five names from, and they could use the same set of resources to research them. The class then shared and discussed their findings to develop a narrative about the crises that people who live on the margins face when they lose somebody in their family. Even though many of the people who died were only fifteen to seventeen years old, they had helped to sustain their families.

Since that class, Wills has found more documents that could be used in this way at the Brooklyn Historical Society and other regional archives. There was a trolley strike that took place in Brooklyn in 1895 and a 400-page volume of testimonies surrounding it. These testimonies provide different perspectives on the strike—from the standpoint of the government, employers, the union, the workers, and consumers. It allowed the students to examine the different perspectives that people have on history, and to think critically about their place as historical actors on the world stage by using something local.

The strategy worked twice, so Wills was asked to teach "The Peopling of New York City," for which Jill Lepore's *New York Burning* could be used similarly as the resources above. At the end of the book, there is a list of slave owners, but no further

information. Half the students researched the slave owners and shared their results on a wiki. The other half of the class read David Von Drehle's *Triangle*, about the 1911 shirtwaist factory fire, and researched the list of the victims of that tragedy to get at the larger narratives of those people's lives.

Each of these projects suggests that there are more opportunities for students to undertake really serious research using primary sources and learning how to become their own historical detectives. They have an endless supply of energy to dig deeply into their research. The challenge is that teachers must read the material first, and have to know the background so that they can provide direction to the research. Additionally, Wills suggests they are plagiarism-proof assignments, because the final project includes a discussion of the process they went through and every archival stop they made.

Lessons learned about what doesn't work so well include not allowing students to pick their own topics (it can take too long and result in topics too far afield to manage), and that it is best to design courses this involved for four credits, not three. Teachers need to determine what their students can handle over the course of a semester. It can be difficult to find times outside of class that work for students who have jobs, and it may require some flexibility to allow them to participate. The Institutional Research Board (IRB) also poses a challenge to sharing past student work with future students. Wills was finally able to share many of the wonderful final projects from previous years by getting students to sign a consent form that the work could be made available at an archive.

I've always found it challenging to adequately cover political and social history. Then I developed an assignment that I successfully used for years. I called it the birthday assignment; students picked the birthday of a grandparent, a parent, and their own birthday, then read *The New York Times* for those days. I had them prepare an analysis of want ads, obituaries, and wedding announcements, which was a great way of getting at some of the social changes that had occurred in these periods. The students responded really positively to it; many said it was the favorite assignment that they got in college. I think that was because of the personal connection to it. —Jane Ladouceur

Jane Ladouceur teaches a survey-level course on New York State history at the College of Saint Rose that is designed for elementary and secondary school teachers. In New York State, elementary school teachers are required to teach New York State history in the fourth grade; secondary teachers have questions on New York State history on their certification exam, although they don't explicitly have to teach a New York curriculum, so the class is oriented to those content areas.

Trying to prepare future teachers to be able to think about the topics and techniques that they will need to teach New York State history in their classrooms can be difficult. There is always a struggle to cover content and get them to think critically as historians. In setting her example, Ladouceur always incorporates two overarching topics, usually race and slavery in New York (because many people do not understand the history of slavery in the North), and the growth of state government from its founding. Examining the development of the state as a sort of "call and response" process is

a compelling way to investigate why it looks and works the way it does, by identifying the events that molded it.

To teach about race and slavery, Ladouceur also recommends Lepore's *New York Burning* and *Jim Crow New York: A Documentary History of Race and Citizenship, 1777-1877* by Peter Hudis and Kevin B. Anderson as a very good book that gets students to think critically about the debates surrounding emancipation. To teach about the growth of the state, she begins by using Carol Sherriff's *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817-1862*, combined with primary sources. This discussion incorporates party politics, how political parties responded to the needs at the time, the Great Depression, Franklin Roosevelt's Second New Deal, and the ways in which the state finally organized itself to address social issues. Ladouceur was interested to hear about Lewis's sources for teaching the Iroquois as another method for providing "through lines" that connect otherwise divergent topics.

Ladouceur also teaches a "first year experience" class that is designed to engage freshmen in the work of college-level study and critical thinking. She designed this course around a Capital Region murder that occurred in 1827; while dedicated to one specific local event, the murder of John Wipple, she incorporated aspects of national-level and nineteenth-century history. The course revolved around the market revolution in New York from 1820 to 1840, using the murder story as a lens to focus on it. Students read general New York State history and primary documents, and had to conduct some of their own research similar to what Wills's students did in order to learn how a singular event can open a window onto wider historical truths.

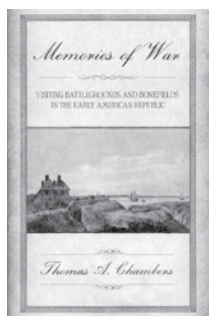
The great thing about teaching New York State history is that students know nothing about it. It's all new, it's all fresh. They're so excited." I never knew there was any slavery in New York;"—I can't tell you how many times they say that. "I never knew who Sojourner Truth was. I never heard of Al Smith." It's fresh ground. It's just great. —*Susan Lewis*

Magiccada 2013

After seventeen years underground
 Sucking glumly on tree roots
 Alone in the dark, the nymphs
of Brood Two have choreographed
 a mass emergence, abandoning
 solitary burrows to bore
their exit tunnels, making
 a precisely timed debut
 into light of day. They creep
up tree trunks, fasten tight
 to twigs and undersides of leaves,
 prepare to molt. Slowly
they shed their plain brown skins,
 outgrown exoskeletal shells,
 exulting in the fierce new beauty
of adulthood: charcoal bodies, bright red eyes,
 translucent, orange-veined wings.
 By the thousands, in glossy flight
they head for the tree-tops, hauling
 with them their tambourines
 and washboards, their rattles
and little brass bells, aiming to enthrall
 the whole Hudson Valley
 with lusty tintinnabulation.

Judith Saunders, Marist College

Book Reviews



***Memories of War: Visiting Battlegrounds and Bonefields in the Early American Republic*, Thomas A. Chambers. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2012. (232 pp.)**

As a career officer in the United States Army and former assistant professor of military history at the United States Military Academy at West Point, I have trudged across more than my fair share of battlefields. I have not been alone. Rarely have I visited even the most obscure military historical site in the United States without encountering numerous other visitors. Their reasons for visiting have always intrigued me. Military professionals like me usually tour battlefields to analyze tactics and terrain or to garner some deep leadership lesson from the actions of our predecessors. Most battlefield tourists seem to be trying to develop some broader understanding of the past by visiting the place where historic events occurred. Sometimes, visitors simply take advantage of the open space to enjoy the outdoors. In most cases, though, visiting a battlefield allows people to connect with history in a way that reading about the past cannot. For this reason, I was eager to review Professor Thomas A. Chambers' new offering, *Memories of War: Visiting Battlegrounds and Bonefields in the Early American Republic*.

In this book, Chambers, who currently serves as chair and associate professor of history at Niagara University, explores the relationship between historic or "sacred" places, peoples' responses to history through their encounters with these places, and how these places shaped memories of the past. He focuses on the early American republic, examining select battlefields from the French and Indian War, American War for Independence, and War of 1812, and the subsequent visitation and commemoration of these sites through the antebellum period. Chambers relies heavily on both early tourist guidebooks and travelers' firsthand accounts in completing this study.

While Chambers would readily agree that Americans today are avid battlefield tourists—he opens his book stating as much and goes on to express his own interest in visiting battlefields—he argues that this was not always the case. At least initially, battlefield visitation was driven by tourism more generally. Wealthy Americans, seeking to emulate their European social peers, travelled to view the scenic landscapes of the North American continent. As travel infrastructure in the early republic was limited, most tourists were forced to confine their adventures to what Chambers describes as the "Northern Tour." Steamships allowed access to the Hudson River Valley north to the Lake Champlain–Richelieu River Corridor or west through the Mohawk River Valley and Erie Canal to Lakes Erie and Ontario. These routes were the same that armies had used throughout the imperial wars between Britain and France as well as the American

Revolution and War of 1812. Consequently, while tourists may not have set out to visit the battlefields and fortifications along these routes, they frequently visited these sites as part of their broader travels. For this reason, places like Fort Ticonderoga, Saratoga, and the 1812 battlefields near Niagara Falls experienced much greater visitation than Southern battlefields like Cowpens, Kings Mountain, and Guilford Courthouse, which possessed limited nearby transportation networks and infrastructure.

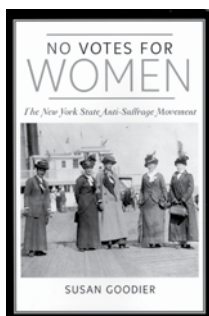
A few visitors to early battlefields did go against this trend. One notable exception was President George Washington, who during his 1791 visit to Southern states not only visited battlefields but actively sought out Revolutionary War sites to analyze the military actions that had occurred upon them. Washington's efforts to understand accurately the history of the sites he visited also was not typical. As early battlefield visitation was frequently accidental, or at least of secondary importance to the viewing of scenic landscapes, tourists typically possessed an incomplete or even inaccurate understanding of the history associated with the sites they were visiting. This is not to say that the history was irrelevant to these visitors, but their flawed perceptions allowed them to have emotional responses to these sites that drew on broader conceptions of patriotism or sacrifice and created memories that reinforced their pre-existing notions of what it meant to be an American. Emotional responses could be even more profound when visitors encountered relics such as unburied bones, military artifacts, and the occasional old veteran willing to provide a tour. As time went on, monuments and memorials replaced relics as triggers of emotional response and memory-creation.

Over time, as Americans made greater efforts to deliberately memorialize and commemorate battlefields, they simultaneously sought to co-opt the emotional responses to these sites and the shared memories surrounding the events that occurred there to advance their own political and cultural agendas. During the antebellum period, some advocates of secession used Revolutionary War battlefield visitation and commemoration as a means of emphasizing regionalism at the expense of national unity. The 1780 Battle of Kings Mountain, for example, saw patriots from Virginia, the Carolinas, and what would become Tennessee joining together to defeat a loyalist army under British Major Patrick Ferguson in the South Carolina backcountry. Antebellum commemorations of Kings Mountain subsequently emphasized this battle as a Southern victory over tyranny, thus attaching the memory of this fight to the brewing sectional discord between North and South. Pro-Union advocates were just as eager to use memories of the past as shaped through Revolutionary War battlefields to bolster their own views on the need for national harmony.

Overall, *Memories of War* is a well-written and thought-provoking book. Professor Chambers makes a compelling argument about the emotional responses that people have to historical places. Given the violence, heroism, and tragedy associated with battlefields, it stands to reason that these historic places would engender even more poignant responses than visits to other hallowed sites. While I thoroughly enjoyed this book, it is, in my opinion, written by a professional historian for other historians.

That being said, Chambers very effectively weaves together numerous historical specialties into this study. Consequently, it is a valuable addition to the historiography of American military history, cultural history, the history of art and literature, as well as the history of tourism. I would strongly recommend this book to serious students of early America, particularly those wishing to obtain a deeper understanding of how Americans remember their past and how those memories influence the creation of American cultural identity.

Thomas A. Rider II, *United States Military Academy*



***No Votes for Women: The New York Anti-Suffrage Movement*, Susan Goodier. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013. (272 pp.)**

For nearly seven decades, a devoted group of women fought tirelessly for the vote in their home state of New York, delivering speeches, petitioning legislators, and holding extravagant street parades. At different moments, this group included some of the nation's foremost suffrage leaders—Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Carrie Chapman Catt, among them. From Buffalo to Long Island, they encountered apathy, ridicule, and resistance. Despite a spectacular campaign in 1915, they failed to achieve victory until 1917, in the middle of World War I. A handful of biographies, dissertations, and articles have traced this state campaign. In *No Votes for Women: The New York State Anti-Suffrage Movement*, historian Susan Goodier provides a welcome new addition to this field. By analyzing the other half of the struggle, anti-suffragism in New York, she demonstrates that historians cannot fully understand the former campaign without also taking into account the latter.

One of Goodier's central arguments is that anti-suffragists did not fight the vote in an effort to limit women's power. Instead, they resisted the ballot to protect women's special position in society. More specifically, for conservative women the nineteenth-century ideology of "separate spheres" guaranteed their influence within the private realm. By making men and women political equals, enfranchisement threatened to undermine this special influence. Led by prominent individuals like Abby Hamlin Abbott (wife of Lyman Abbott, editor of the *Outlook* and pastor at Brooklyn's Plymouth Congregational Church) and Helena de Kay Gilder (wife of Richard Watson Gilder, editor of *Century* magazine), they countered suffragists' arguments during the 1894 New York State Constitutional Convention by contending, in part, that women did not want the additional duty of voting.

While 1894 marked the beginning of an organized anti-suffrage campaign in New York State, the founding associations were temporary, according to Goodier. Between 1895 and 1911, opponents of the franchise worked to develop stronger groups and build a national organization. In the process, anti-suffragists became politicized, increasingly

entered the public sphere, and began imitating suffragists' strategies. Even though men were welcomed into some of the organizations, overall this was a movement led by elite women. The election of Alice Hill Chittenden to president of the New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in 1912 (she served until 1917) helped to further politicize their campaign. During her tenure, opponents of the ballot sold anti-suffrage paraphernalia during the 1913 suffrage parade, debated the franchise at the Colony Club, held fundraisers, and organized at least one dance. For Goodier, their successful effort to convince New York men to vote against a suffrage amendment in November 1915 marked the "high point of female anti-suffrage activism in New York" (91). This "high point" was brief, however; anti-suffragists would lose during a second referendum two years later.

Instead of concentrating on how suffragists won the vote in New York State in 1917, Goodier innovatively explores why anti-suffragists failed in that year. World War I provides an answer. As early as 1914, anti-suffragists began to focus on war preparedness. As a result, suffragists encountered much less resistance when they pushed for their rights in 1917. Thus it was not, as other historians have suggested, that New York enfranchised women to thank them for their efforts during wartime. Indeed, Goodier persuasively proves that it was anti-suffragists, more than suffragists, who deserved the state's gratitude. Ultimately, it was their devotion to war work that led to anti-suffragists' defeat in 1917.

Fortunately, Goodier does not conclude her account there. Instead, she moves the narrative through the 1920s. Beginning in 1917, the capital of the anti-suffrage campaign shifted from New York to Washington, D.C, a new group of activists took control, and men, rather than women, became the guiding forces. The new leadership fought the federal suffrage amendment and later equal rights and children's rights measures, including a child-labor amendment, by stressing the importance of states' rights and embracing, in Goodier's words, an "almost hysterical tone, linking feminism and socialism to woman suffrage in an evil triumvirate" (119). By then, anti-suffragists had lost sight of their central argument—men and women inhabited separate spheres and thus had different responsibilities to and relationships with the government.

Meanwhile, the majority of more moderate New York State anti-suffragists slowly came to embrace their new position as voters. Chittenden, for one, committed herself to helping others learn how to use the ballot. Like Chittenden, many joined the Republican Party. Other former anti-suffragists participated in the non-partisan League of Women Voters, the successor to the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

In total, Goodier has written a thorough analysis of the anti-suffrage movement in New York State. Unlike much of the previous scholarship that has depended on suffrage publications when discussing anti-suffrage positions, Goodier delves into the papers and publications of anti-suffrage leaders themselves. By doing so, she is able to view these organizers through a sensitive lens and demonstrate that their resistance was more than just about opposing the vote; it was about preserving ideals of womanhood.

Anti-suffragists were individuals who truly believed that enfranchisement would hurt, not help, them. As Goodier astutely points out, “[w]hether for or against women’s suffrage, each group wholeheartedly believed in some form of women’s rights” (7).

This is not a static or homogenous movement for Goodier, however. She is careful to point out the changing nature of and divisions within anti-suffrage organizations. By paying attention to internal gender dynamics within the campaign, she proves that male and female anti-suffragists can hardly be considered identical. Moreover, Goodier has an acute awareness of class privilege, weaving a thread throughout the narrative noting the elite status of most of the anti-suffragists. Anti-suffragists did make efforts to attract self-supporting women, but overall Goodier finds them to be half-hearted gestures, especially when it came to working-class women.

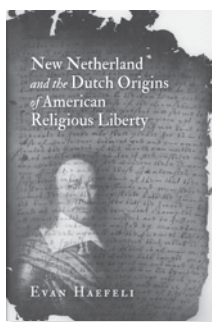
Importantly, Goodier realizes that in order to understand anti-suffragists she must also take into account the movement that caused them to organize in the first place. Indeed, she consistently suggests that anti-suffragists and suffragists responded to one another’s ideas. In one strategic maneuver, for instance, suffragists embraced the separate sphere’s argument and made it their own, contending that the government needed women’s refinement. Inversely, anti-suffragists increasingly came to adopt some of the publicity tactics that suffragists used.

Despite the thoroughness of the account and Goodier’s keen sense of divisions within the anti-suffrage movement, there are moments when further analysis might deepen the narrative. For example, Goodier thoughtfully discusses the limitations of anti-suffrage organizations in terms of working-class women. Since it was working-class men who would ultimately determine the fate of the suffrage amendment though, it seems plausible that anti-suffragists might have spent time courting their support. Was this the case? Goodier does mention that anti-suffragists spoke at the Central Electric Company in Schenectady and the Snow Steam Pump Works in Buffalo, but it is not clear if this was part of a larger strategy to gain the endorsement of working-class men. Similarly, what was the anti-suffragist relationship to New York’s diverse immigrant communities? With advocates of the ballot convinced that immigrants in New York City would cling to patriarchal customs and thus oppose women voting, immigrants seem like a potential source of support for anti-suffragists. Did anti-suffragists share this assumption and make use of this opportunity, or did xenophobia prevent them from working with immigrant men and women? There is also a potential risk in treating the New York suffrage movement as one unified campaign; indeed, there were important divisions that at times resulted in bitter disagreements within it. Were anti-suffragists aware of these divisions? Was one organization considered more threatening than another? Finally, at different points, Goodier briefly compares New York to other states, especially Massachusetts, Maryland, and Virginia. While beyond the scope of the project, these comparisons raise questions about whether or not New York’s anti-suffrage campaign was representative of other conservative battles across the nation.

That the account suggests these further lines of inquiry only serves to underscore

the significant contribution Goodier has made to the field. In detailing the anti-suffrage movement in the nation's most complicated and (in suffragists' minds) most important state, she has recovered fleeting organizations and largely forgotten individuals. In the process, Goodier has demonstrated the important role the Great War played in affecting domestic political campaigns. Any scholar interested in woman's rights, conservatism, or New York history will learn a tremendous amount from the work. And no future scholar studying either the suffrage movement or the anti-suffrage campaign will be able to think about the subject without first taking Goodier's analysis into full consideration.

Lauren Santangelo, City University of New York



***New Netherland and the Dutch Origins of American Religious Liberty*, Evan Haefeli. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. (355 pp.)**

Based on its title, readers of Evan Haefeli's new book might be expecting a bold and triumphalist account of the Dutch colony's critical contribution to the evolution and embrace of one of our nation's most cherished values, religious freedom. They might imagine his work following the lead of Russell Shorto's popular *Island at the Center of the World* in championing New Netherland's vital importance for the future character of the American republic. In many respects, Haefeli is no less bold than Shorto in what he claims. But his arguments head in a very different direction, one that emphasizes the Dutchness (as opposed to the proto-Americanness) of what happened in the colony with respect to religious tolerance and liberty, and consequently, one that asserts New Netherland's comparative insignificance for what would later take shape in the Middle Colonies and the United States. Haefeli eventually points in his final two chapters to the policies of New York's new English rulers in the 1660s and 1670s as vital for paving the way for American religious pluralism. But his primary concern is with reassessing the nature and impact of the Dutch colony's experience with tolerance. Here, then, is a strikingly revisionist portrait, especially in comparison with popular accounts of the Dutch contribution to American religious freedom. All future students of the subject will need to wrestle with its thoroughly researched and carefully crafted conclusions.

What Haefeli says about Dutch tolerance in New Netherland does not come out of the blue. Rather it builds upon the increasingly nuanced understanding of Dutch religious toleration offered by historians on both sides of the Atlantic during the past two decades. Drawing particularly upon the work of Jaap Jacobs, Willem Frijhoff, Benjamin Kaplan, and Joyce Goodfriend (none of whom are likely to agree with everything this book claims), Haefeli rigorously situates New Netherland's story in a host of broader contexts, most especially the Dutch Republic in Europe and its colonial ventures across the globe. Only in that way can he illuminate how, where, and why New Netherland's

experience both conformed with and deviated from larger Dutch patterns. In the process, his book adds substantially to the growing literature on the Dutch Atlantic world and, even more broadly, to Dutch imperial history. In fact, it is in bringing New Netherland into comparative perspective with Dutch colonies in Brazil, the Caribbean, and Asia that Haefeli makes some of his most original observations.

Wherever they went in the seventeenth century, the Dutch insisted on protecting liberty of conscience. For them, that meant the individual's right to hold privately whatever beliefs he or she chose. It did not mean the right to practice publicly some form of organized religion. Therein lay the rub, for on the one hand Dutch territorial entities seemed open to persons of whatever faith. But on the other hand, Dutch authorities typically placed considerable limits on any institutional expressions of religion other than the one "public church," the Dutch Reformed. Just how much religious diversity existed and how tightly it was monitored varied widely in the seventeenth-century Dutch world. Haefeli makes much of this variety, insisting that there was neither some type of universal notion of tolerance nor a uniform policy or practice. The de-centralized character of Dutch Republic governance; the competing interests of religious, economic, and political communities; the ever-changing character of imperial contests; the development of new religious and philosophical movements; the up and down fortunes of theological factions; and the particular circumstances of each Dutch province and colony all conspired to ensure that no two situations were ever the same. The genius of Dutch tolerance, in his view, lay in its ability to adapt to these many different settings, to make "specific adjustments to accommodate certain groups at precise times and places" (17). But even those accommodations were "designed from the beginning to cope with religious diversity, not to foster it" (17).

In comparison with most Dutch enclaves, New Netherland's political and religious leaders made fewer adjustments across its history. In part that was because the colony's much vaunted pluralism was in fact not that great. At least that is how Haefeli sees it. New Netherland, he writes, featured a greater ethnic and religious mix than New England or New France, but much less than Amsterdam or other Dutch provinces and colonies. He downplays contemporary descriptions of the colony as especially plural and ultimately concludes that "compared to everywhere else in the Dutch world, the New Netherland experience was distinctive because it was almost exclusively a Protestant one" (279). Here Haefeli's comparative perspective is particularly helpful in reminding us that elsewhere the Dutch found themselves side-by-side with a host of non-Christian peoples including Buddhists, Muslims, and Hindus, and had to figure how best to apply their notions of tolerance within more complex religious landscapes. He notes that New Netherland had its own non-Christian elements, including Native Americans and Africans, but devotes surprisingly little attention to how contact with those peoples might have affected colonial Dutch thought or practice. Instead, he focuses on how New Netherland's almost exclusively Protestant population fit reasonably comfortably into the one authorized religious entity, the Dutch Reformed Church, at least up until the

1650s. For example, English Puritan settlers who arrived on Long Island in the 1640s were sufficiently Calvinist to be granted the “free exercise of religion.” In so doing, as Haefeli sees it, colony Director Willem Kieft aimed to promote “the Reformed religion, not religious freedom” (95). Lutheran newcomers had similarly been seen as relatively natural fits within the public church. They might retain a few Lutheran scruples in private but could join with their Reformed neighbors in corporate worship in one of the seven Dutch Reformed congregations that dotted the colony prior to the English conquest. The public church’s goal was not to coerce Lutherans or other residents into an unwanted uniformity but instead to win them over through a gradual process of assimilation as they participated in the life of the Reformed community.

All that got more complicated when an influx of Lutherans prompted calls in the early 1650s for a Lutheran pastor and the right to hold their own services. More perplexing yet were the arrival in that decade of radical Protestants, particularly Quakers and Baptists, Jews from Brazil, and occasional Catholics from bordering colonies. Haefeli closely examines each of these “religious diversity” challenges to Dutch policy in the colony. He finds no coordinated effort among the non-Reformed groups to bring about a more general religious toleration. Only the Dutch Reformed ministers laid out a vision of a more religiously plural colony (in terms of public practice) and for them such a prospect was always something to be opposed. That placed them squarely behind the decisions of colony Director Petrus Stuyvesant in the 1650s and 1660s. Stuyvesant held firmly to the view, in theory and practice, that while liberty of conscience should be afforded to all, only the public church had the right to carry on organized religious activity. As a result, he made sure that no Lutheran pastor started exercising ministerial duties and no fledgling Lutheran congregation took form. For those and other actions, Stuyvesant has long been labeled (and usually condemned) as a persecutor. But Haefeli is not so sure. He sees the director-general’s actions as consistent with the dominant strand of Dutch thinking on tolerance in the first half of the seventeenth century. Moreover, he believes that Stuyvesant’s policies had wider support in the colony than is usually imagined, and not just from the Dutch Reformed clergy. Contrary to depictions of the director as an overbearing authoritarian who callously imposed his will on all New Netherlanders, Stuyvesant emerges in Haefeli’s telling as a more nuanced figure who embodied the complex set of beliefs that allow us today to “characterize the Dutch as both tolerant and intolerant” (285).

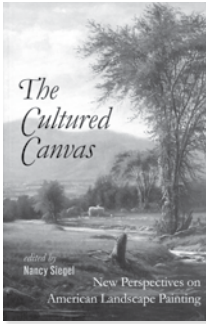
Throughout his account, Haefeli insists on the “differentness” of New Netherland and Amsterdam and most other Dutch places. Amsterdam’s more cosmopolitan character inclined it to embrace “connivance,” a sort of “informal tolerance of religious dissent” (34) that in essence entailed turning a blind eye to the religious activities of some non-Reformed groups. New Netherland’s Lutherans hoped something like that might be possible for them but the Reformed community there would have none of it. The best they could get was a change in the language of the service of baptism, more or less imposed by the directors of the West India Company on the colony’s churches

in 1660, that made Lutheran participation in the public church a bit more palatable. Quakers didn't have any greater success in gaining some type of legal recognition; their famous Flushing Remonstrance, though "an important source of ideas about religious liberty circulating in New Netherland" (170), had no effect on Dutch colonial policy.

All this changed dramatically when the English took over in 1664. They quickly extended the right to hold public services to most Protestant groups and ended the Dutch Reformed Church's privileged status. Those actions make clear that "English policy in New York did not build on the precedent of New Netherland's religious policies. On the contrary, the English rulers encouraged the pluralism the Dutch had struggled to suppress" (256). The contrast in imperial approaches became even plainer when the Dutch regained control of New York in 1673 and re-instituted their earlier policies, only to have the English return a year later and pay no attention to what the Dutch had tried to do. English military conquest, then, played a decisive role in laying the foundations for religious liberty in America. If the Dutch made a contribution, Haefeli concludes, it was only an indirect one; they helped to delay the English takeover of the Mid-Atlantic until the Restoration period (1660-1689), during which more lenient attitudes and policies about Protestant pluralism held sway among English rulers compared to earlier or later English regimes.

New Netherland and the Dutch Origins of American Religious Liberty may be read as a large deconstruction project. Haefeli clearly wants to overturn or at least seriously question standard claims about the nature of Dutch tolerance, the character of Dutch contributions to American religious freedom and pluralism, the scope of the colony's religious diversity, the quality of Petrus Stuyvesant's rule, and the extent to which later English policy was indebted to the Dutch example. But it would be a mistake to see this work as merely an exercise in contrariness. It is instead an ambitious attempt to do justice to all the subtleties and nuances of Dutch thought and practice regarding tolerance and then to pull them together into a coherent narrative and compelling argument about the New Netherland colony. Some contemporary readers will perhaps find all of the seventeenth-century subtleties and hairsplitting much ado about nothing. Others may be reluctant to give up all of what Haefeli seeks to overturn. I am not persuaded, for example, that New Netherland's religious composition was quite as limited as he suggests or that eyewitness descriptions of it are as unreliable as he proposes. Nevertheless, Evan Haefeli is to be applauded for giving us a splendid work of scholarship that greatly enhances understanding of New Netherland and the broader Dutch world.

Richard Pointer, Westmont College



***The Cultured Canvas: New Perspectives on American Landscape Painting*, edited by Nancy Siegel.
Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2011. (305 pp.)**

For scholars of American studies, the issue of exceptionalism—the notion that the American experience is significantly different from the rest of the world’s—has long been debated. As the United States emerged as a global superpower during and after World War II, American exceptionalism loomed large. For example, architectural historian Talbot Hamlin argued in 1944 that the Greek Revival architectural style, popular beginning in the 1820s in the United States, was uniquely American, despite its obvious reliance on ancient Greek prototypes. However, recent scholarship has challenged the notion that American architecture is somehow distinctly American and therefore not part of a larger Euro-American culture. Indeed, W. Barksdale Maynard’s book on the period, *Architecture in the United States, 1800-1850* (Yale University Press, 2002), places American cultural production into a wider transatlantic context, arguing against Hamlin’s interpretation of the Greek Revival.

A number of the essays in the collection *The Cultured Canvas: New Perspectives on American Landscape Painting*, edited by Nancy Siegel, address the issue of American exceptionalism, beginning with Tim Barringer’s significant essay “The Englishness of Thomas Cole.” With his paintings of upstate New York scenery in the 1820s, Cole instigated a landscape phenomenon, which later came to be known as the Hudson River School. Barringer notes that in both Cole’s lifetime, and in the numerous scholarly discussions that have followed, Cole has been viewed as primarily, even uniquely, American. Barringer rejects this nationalistic view and argues that Cole’s youth in Lancashire, England, shaped his *oeuvre* in profound ways. He situates Cole’s early training and life in the context of the gritty, industrial region of Lancashire, and shows how British landscape art influenced Cole’s artistic production.

In his essay “*Above the Clouds at Sunrise*: Frederic Church’s Memorial to Thomas Cole,” Kenneth John Myers examines the relationship between Cole and his only pupil, Frederic Church. Church’s painting *Above the Clouds at Sunrise* (1849) is a memorial to Cole, who died unexpectedly in 1848, but Myers also sees the painting as a statement of Church’s independence from Cole. Church chooses a view from the Catskill Mountain House early in the morning when a sea of clouds envelops the valley. Myers points out that Cole had failed to paint this particular cloud-filled vista. In successfully combining the naturalistic and the transcendent in *Above the Clouds*, Church departs from the teachings of Cole while securing his place at the forefront of the Hudson River School, according to Myers.

Rebecca Bedell’s essay “Andrew Jackson Downing and the Sentimental Landscape” does not address landscape painting but instead explores the work of the Hudson Valley

horticulturist and theorist. While Barringer's article on Cole argued against American exceptionalism, Bedell's essay argues for it. She demonstrates that the sentimentalism suffusing Downing's writings does not derive from British pattern books but is an American attribute. She also argues that sentimentalism and femininity are not inextricably linked, as men such as Downing engaged in sentimental language and ideas in their treatises, while women such as Catherine Beecher, author of *Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841), did not.

Alan Wallach's essay "Rethinking 'Luminism': Taste, Class, and Aestheticizing Tendencies in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Painting" is part historiography and part sociocultural history. He interrogates the history of the term "luminism," coined by art historian John Bauer in the nationalistic period after World War II for landscape paintings featuring mirror-like expanses of water and a quiet aesthetic. In place of "luminism" (a term he rejects as "worthless"), Wallach introduces "aestheticizing tendencies." He reviews the history of New York City museums in order to reveal the rise of "aestheticizing tendencies," which he links to the hegemony of the bourgeoisie cementing their status through the creation of cultural institutions such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Whether the term "luminism" will now disappear from the lexicon is yet to be seen, but Wallach's provocative essay is sure to engender discussions amongst Americanists.

In her essay "'We the Petticoated Ones': Women of the Hudson River School," Nancy Siegel presents an overview discussion of women landscape artists, including Harriet Cary Peale, Louisa Davis Minot, Jane Stuart, Sarah Cole, Susie M. Barstow, Mary Josephine Walters, Laura Woodward, and Eliza Greatorex. These names will not be familiar to many devotees of American landscape painting, but Siegel shows why they should be. Her subject matter is refreshing in that it is inclusive of not only so-called "high art," but also visual and material culture. For example, she argues that embroideries, which were often framed and hung on parlor walls in nineteenth-century America, are just as important as the landscape paintings that hung alongside this traditional form of women's art.

David Schuyler considers the paintings of Jervis McEntee, a melancholic artist known for his somber palette and intimately scaled landscapes, and argues his paintings are "original and important contributions to the American landscape tradition" (185). In tracing McEntee's career in his essay "Jervis McEntee: The Trials of a Landscape Painter," Schuyler places him outside of the usual matrix of nationalism and manifest destiny (the historical context scholars often use to discuss McEntee's Hudson River School colleagues), and instead examines McEntee's career as revealing a major shift in taste in late nineteenth-century art. In the post-Civil War period, cosmopolitanism and the importation of artistic tastes from Europe led to the demise of the Hudson River School. Using McEntee's diaries as a key source, Schuyler's biographical essay documents the artist's reaction to this shift.

Kathie Manthorne continues the discussion of lesser-known landscape painters

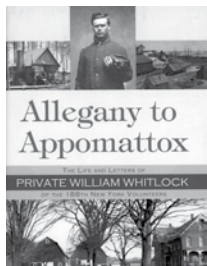
with her essay “Eliza Pratt Greatorex: Becoming a Landscape Painter.” Well-known in her lifetime, Greatorex has been neglected by scholars of American landscape painting. Manthorne’s goal is to revitalize interest in this successful artist who, unlike other nineteenth-century female artists such as Lilly Martin Spencer and Mary Cassatt, pursued the male-dominated field of landscape art. Manthorne traces the artist’s career from landscape painter to graphic artist, and her election as an associate of the National Academy in 1869.

The final essay “Body-Nature-Paint: Embodying Experience in Gilded Age American Landscape Painting” by Adrienne Baxter Bell shows how three American landscape painters—Albert Pinkham Ryder, Abbott Handerson Thayer, and George Inness—physically engaged with art-making in ways that foreshadowed the twentieth-century phenomenon of gestural abstraction. Bell’s essay addresses artistic technique as a major theme, describing how Thayer used a broom to paint on at least one occasion and Inness embedded paintbrush bristles in his paintings. In contrast to the earlier Hudson River School painters, these artists engaged with their art physically, creating embodied meanings. Bell also places Ryder within the context of advances in psychophysiology of the late nineteenth century.

This collection of essays, all written by eminent scholars of nineteenth-century American landscape studies, is an excellent contribution to the field. The essays are accompanied by black-and-white images throughout the text, and thirty-two colored plates are also included. The essayists present original arguments and offer a lively scholarly debate, some of which takes place in the footnotes. While the historiographical discussions on key topics such as American exceptionalism will appeal to specialists, *The Cultured Canvas* also will attract generalists, and the essays will likely find a place on syllabi in courses on American art and related subjects throughout the United States.

Kerry Dean Carso, State University of New York at New Paltz

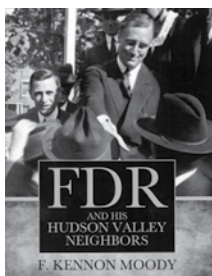
New & Noteworthy Books Received



Allegany to Appomattox: The Life and Letters of Private William Whitlock of the 188th New York Volunteers

By Valgene Dunham (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2013)
264 pp. \$29.95 (hardcover) www.SyracuseUniversityPress.syr.edu

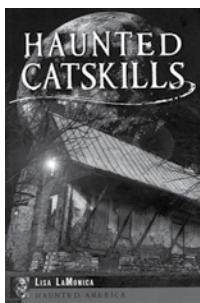
In *Allegany to Appomattox*, the story of William Whitlock and the larger Whitlock family is interwoven into the broader narrative of the Civil War. Focusing on Whitlock's letters to his family as well as an assortment of primary documents from the era, Dunham captures the experiences and challenges of a farmer and father leaving his world to fight for his country. Though firmly rooted in Whitlock's home region of western New York, this unique insight into life as a Civil War soldier goes far beyond place and serves as a commentary on the human condition that is universally relatable across generations.



FDR and His Hudson Valley Neighbors

By F. Kennon Moody
(Poughkeepsie, NY: Hudson House Publishing, 2013)
333 pp. \$25.95 (paperback) <http://hudsonhousepub.com>

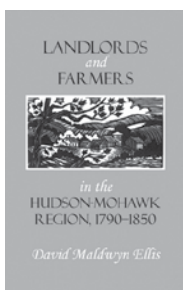
The impact that Franklin Delano Roosevelt had on the development of the United States at both the national and international level is undeniable. In *FDR and His Hudson Valley Neighbors*, the president's lifelong relationships with the residents of Hyde Park, Dutchess County, and many of the great estates along the Hudson River are used to display the evolution of his leadership characteristics. Relying on an assortment of books, articles, and personal correspondence, the author provides a fresh perspective on the importance of FDR's roots in the Hudson River Valley to the development of his political, social, and interpersonal achievements. The appendices listing the employees of the Roosevelts, as well as their garden and farm accounts, offer added insight into the strength and scope of the family's relationship with the region.



Haunted Catskills

By Lisa LaMonica (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2013)
112 pp. \$19.99 (paperback) <http://historypress.net>

The Catskill Mountain region is home to over 400 years of documented history and folklore. Interwoven into this history are legends that cannot be explained or understood so easily. LaMonica delves into the supernatural components of some of the region's most recognizable locations. From the ghosts of New Paltz's historic Huguenot Street to numerous legends about the Underground Railroad, the author explores how seemingly ordinary events in Hudson River Valley history can become extraordinary.



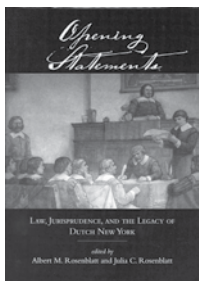
Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Region, 1790-1850

By David Maldwyn Ellis (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010)
362 pp. \$29.95 (paperback) www.cornellpress.cornell.edu

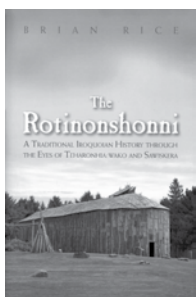
Cornell University Press reissues classic works on the history and culture of New York State through its Fall Creek Books imprint. Ellis's 1946 study of agricultural settlement and evolution begins with the pioneers in 1790 and concludes with the dairy industry and anti-rent movement in 1845. Industrial, transportation, and political histories are interwoven with the agricultural narrative. As a result, this book encompasses all aspects of the region's development.

Opening Statements: Law, Jurisprudence, and the Legacy of Dutch New York

Edited By Albert M. Rosenblatt and Julia C. Rosenblatt
(Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2013) 268 pp. \$35.00 (hardcover) www.sunypress.edu



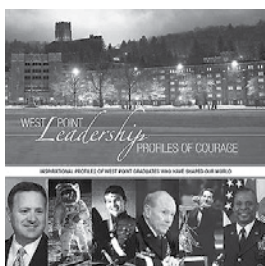
The influence of Dutch law practices on the development of America's legal system is a topic that has gone largely unrecognized in comparison to the contributions of British jurisprudence. This collection of essays from preeminent Dutch scholars sheds new light on the impact of Dutch law on early life in the New World as well as today. Color paintings, maps, and historic documents supplement the topics, which include slavery, religious tolerance, and property law, among others. This new perspective is a welcome addition to the understanding of the Dutch legacy in New York.



The Rotinonshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History Through the Eyes of Teharonhia: Wako and Sawiskera

By Brian Rice (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2013)
328 pp. \$34.95 (hardcover) www.SyracuseUniversityPress.syr.edu

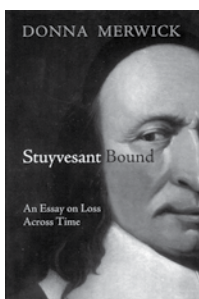
Mohawk scholar Rice makes a bold political move with this history of the Iroquois written from their worldview. His compelling narrative relies primarily on oral traditions, but his extensive research included nonindigenous sources as well. While it is an eminently readable history, the introduction and endnotes provide orientation to readers unfamiliar with such tradition and facilitate a deeper understanding of the work.



West Point Leadership: Profiles of Courage

By Daniel E. Rice and Lieutenant Colonel John A. Vigna
(West Point, NY: Leadership Development Foundation, 2013)
512 pp. \$56.99 (hardcover)
www.leadershipprofilesofcourage.com

Many of America's most illustrious leaders share a common bond—they graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. In *West Point Leadership*, twenty contributing authors from various fields profile 180 of these leaders, highlighting the events and characteristics that make them extraordinary. Divided into sixteen categories such as heads of state, trailblazers, and astronauts, the book includes more than 2,000 photos, making it as much a coffee-table tome as a scholarly resource.



Stuyvesant Bound: An Essay on Loss Across Time

By Donna Merwick
(Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013)
248 pp. \$59.95 (hardcover) www.upenn.edu/pennpress

The legacy of Peter Stuyvesant centers on his role as final Chief Magistrate of New Netherland from 1647 until the surrender of the colony to the British in 1664. During that time he faced many challenges in balancing the needs of the people, the expectations of Dutch West India Company, and his own beliefs. Donna Merwick uses the perspectives of duty, belief and loss to reevaluate Stuyvesant's place in history and paint a more complete picture of the man who played a major role in establishing the culture of what would become New York.

Andrew Villani, The Hudson River Valley Institute

Correction

In our Autumn 2012 issue, Warren Broderick's article "‘No Mortal Eye Can Penetrate’: Louis Ransom's Commemoration of John Brown" included the wrong image on page 40. As Jean Libby, the curator and author of the "John Brown Photo Chronology: Catalog of the Exhibition at Harpers Ferry," explains in the following text, we published a photo of the 1858 original by Martin Lawrence. J. W. Black photographed and copyrighted the image in 1859, and copies of both exist in the Library of Congress catalog. We share this with you, our readers, as one more example of the complexities involved in historic research.



John Brown with beard, New York, May 1858. Photographer: Martin M. Lawrence (1808-1859) Salted paper print, 73/8 x 5 3/8 inches. 'Lawrence's Photographs' blindstamp on mount, with autograph of John Brown pasted on.

There are no new photograph sittings in 1859. Brown was greatly delayed in setting the raid into motion with a severe Bell's Palsy episode¹ as well as other recurring illness:

"I have been entirely laid up for more than a week with a terrible gathering in my head; & with the Ague: but am much better now."

—John Brown to Mary Brown from Kingsville, Ohio, April 7, 1859

"I write to say that I have been again entirely prostrated with the difficulty in my head, and with ague so that I have not yet been able to attend to any business..."

—John Brown to John Henrie [Kagil] from North Elba, April 25, 1859.

By May 7 (1859), Brown was in Boston, meeting with John Andrew, who would become the Civil War governor of Massachusetts after helping to defend John Brown on trial in Virginia in November. 1859.

"Dear Sir: After being delayed with sickness and other hindrances, I am so far on my way back, and hope to be in Ohio within the coming week ...I have been middling successful in my business."

—John Brown to John Henrie [Kagil] from Keene, New York, June 9, 1859

At home with Mary and children for the last time in mid-June 1859, Brown apparently had the Onthank-painted print by John Heywood with him, as well as the vignette-view negative by J. W. Black to prepare for "newspaper presence."

The Lawrence print was compared with the copyright registration print by J. W. Black in November 2009 by the Curator of Photography at the Library of Congress, Carol M. Johnson. The Lawrence print has finer detail and resolution, indicating that it is the original from which the negative by J. W. Black was made and copyrighted. Black's print was copyrighted on December 12, 1859, ten days after Brown was hanged in Virginia.

Brown's New York trip in late May, 1858—the last time he was in New York and Boston until May, 1859—is the time of the twelfth portrait sitting. His beard growth from January is documented at the Chatham Convention on May 8 and in June, 1858, in Kansas. His last portrait sitting without a beard was in Akron in May or June, 1857. Benjamin Battels was the photographer.

"John Brown, now under sentence of death for treason and murder, at Charlestown, Va. From a photograph taken one year ago by Martin M. Lawrence, 381 Broadway, N. Y."

—Frank Leslie's Illustrated, v. 9, no. 207 (1859 Nov. 19):383.

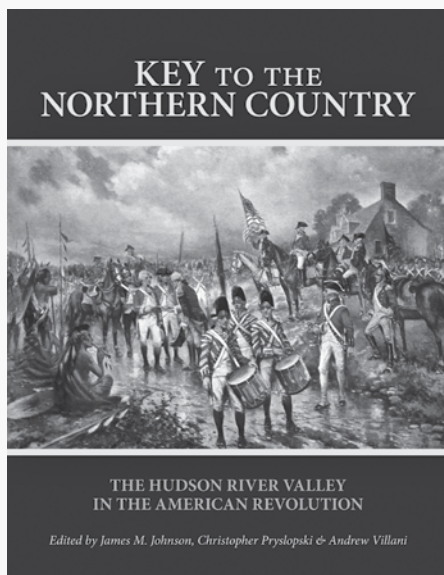
Library of Congress Prints and Photographs: Illus. in AP2.L52 1859 (Case Y).

About the photographer: Martin M. Lawrence (1808-1859) was a well-known daguerreotypist in New York City from 1842. He specialized in large-format daguerreotypes, and was elected President of the American Daguerre Association in 1852. He was an early producer of paper photographs, employing Caleb Hunt for this work. His last recorded gallery address is 381 Broadway. *Craig's Daguerrian Registry*

Endnotes

1. Bell's Palsy, a common nerve condition not related to stroke, is a family condition that continues to the present day. It was identified by Greg Artzner at the John Brown Remembered Symposium in Harpers Ferry in October 2009, and confirmed by descendant Paul Keesey in California in December 2009. It is especially noticeable in Image 9 (daguerreotype now at the Boston Athenaeum), and sometimes used as "evidence" of insanity.

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