

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST



The Hudson River Valley Institute at Marist College is supported
by a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

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The Hudson River Valley Review
 (ISSN 1546-3486) is published twice
 a year by The Hudson River Valley
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Subscription: The annual subscription rate is \$20 a year (2 issues), \$35 for two years (4 issues). A one-year institutional subscription is \$30. Subscribers are urged to inform us promptly of a change of address.

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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.

*This issue of The Hudson River Valley Review
has been generously underwritten by the following:*



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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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Benson Lossing's illustration of Washington's Headquarters in Newburgh, the Hasbrouck House. All illustrations from Benson *Lossing's Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* appear courtesy of Franklin and Marshall College Library, Lancaster, PA

The American Revolution Remembered in the Hudson River Valley

David Schuyler

In 1821, when James Fenimore Cooper published *The Spy; A Tale of the Neutral Ground*, the United States was a different place than it had been forty years earlier, when the British army led by Charles Cornwallis surrendered to George Washington at Yorktown, Virginia, and ended the military struggle for American independence. Since then a new generation had been born, many of whom had raced across the Appalachian Mountains to stake claims in more fertile lands, and they left behind not just families but a collective memory that embraced the sites and history of the very events that gave them freedom. Cooper was one of that new generation, born in 1789, but while he traveled widely, he was keenly aware of the significance of the American Revolution and its meaning for his countrymen. He also feared that “improvement” was transforming the landscape and destroying buildings and sites important in the war.¹

Cooper lived in Westchester County while conceptualizing and writing *The Spy*. This was the “neutral ground” between General Henry Clinton’s British forces in New York and the Continental Army defending West Point and the Hudson Highlands. Westchester was hardly neutral: it was both a battleground for armies and a haven for ruthless vigilantes loosely aligned with the opposing forces, in the novel represented by the Cow-boys and the Skinners, who terrorized residents. Cooper spoke with his wife’s relatives, who had experienced both sides of the conflict, drew upon the memory of aged veterans such as John Jay, and produced a book that rekindled interest in the American Revolution. According to Wayne Franklin, in *The Spy* Cooper was a key shaper of the “popular memory of the Revolution.”²

Cooper’s protagonist is perhaps the least likely character in romantic fiction, a peddler named Harvey Birch, a man despised by virtually everyone as a despicable spy. “He was poor, ignorant, so far as the usual instruction was concerned,” Cooper wrote in introducing Birch to readers, “but cool, shrewd, and fearless by nature.” A judge described him in withering terms: “A more dangerous man, for his means and education, is not ranked among our foes than this peddler of West-Chester. He is a spy—artful, delusive, and penetrating, beyond the abilities of any of his class.” Everyone in the novel save a Mr. Harper, which was the name George Washington used as he traveled through the

area, believed that Birch was a spy for the British. Given his profession, Birch knew the landscape well and usually managed to escape Continental armies and vigilantes eager to capture him and claim the reward for his supposed treason. He was clever enough to pass through the American lines and enter New York City, and upon his return would report valuable information on Clinton's plans to Washington. His notoriety was so great that Skinners eventually robbed him of his money, burned his house, and turned him over to Continental officers. Birch escaped, of course, but he was penniless and alone in the world. Only one person trusted him, really cherished him, but that man could not reveal his identity, Washington, whom Cooper portrayed as the father of his country: "you are my child," Washington stated to the fictional Frances Wharton: "all who dwell in this broad land are my children, and my care."³

More than thirty years after the military struggle for independence ended, the peddler Birch somehow (inexplicably) reached Niagara, toward the end of the second war for American independence, where he somehow met Captain Wharton Dunwoodie and Lieutenant Tom Mason, Jr., whose parents he had known (and, in the case of Dunwoodie's father, feared) a generation earlier. After a brief conversation in which Birch described Dunwoodie's mother as an angel, he was killed in a British bombardment. Dunwoodie then took from Birch's hand a small box that held a letter the peddler treasured:

Circumstances of political importance, which involve the lives and fortunes of many, have hitherto kept secret what this paper now reveals. Harvey Birch has for years been a faithful and unrequited servant of his country. Though man does not, may God reward him for his conduct!

It was signed by George Washington, and Birch, Cooper noted, "died as he had lived, devoted to his country, and a martyr to her liberties."⁴

The Spy is fiction, of course, yet it is populated by historical figures, not just generals but ordinary men such as John Paulding, Isaac Van Wart, and David Williams, the three militia men who captured Major John André and thwarted Benedict Arnold's conspiracy to turn West Point over to the British. Birch was probably based on the exploits of Enoch Crosby, whom John Jay knew and probably related his story to Cooper, though Cooper never acknowledged Crosby as inspiration. As Cooper biographer Wayne Franklin has argued, *The Spy* was the author's statement about the contested terrain of the memory of the Revolution, and, at a time when a more Whiggish or top-down history of the war prevailed, it was noteworthy for his celebration of the crucial but long neglected role of common soldiers and individuals like Birch and André's captors in securing American independence. *The Spy* was also an important assertion of the centrality of the Hudson River Valley in the American Revolution, and readers responded enthusiastically. Although it was an expensive book, *The Spy* ran through four editions by 1824 and, in 1822, was adapted by Charles P. Clinch as a theatrical production in the Park Theatre in New York City. It also garnered several lengthy and generally favorable reviews.⁵

The Spy brought home to readers in the Hudson River Valley that they were living in a special place that, as the landscape painter Thomas Cole would note in 1836, was filled with “historical and legendary associations” because “the great struggle for freedom has sanctified many a spot.” At the time Cooper published his novel, that history was still part of everyday experience: during the 1820s many towns and villages in the valley boasted at least one resident who was a veteran of the Revolutionary War, and these men, who were so often called upon to deliver orations on the Fourth of July, provided physical and psychological continuity with the past. The Marquis de Lafayette’s visit to the Hudson Valley in 1824 was a stirring reminder of the sacrifices of the revolutionary generation. Sailing aboard the steamboat *James Kent*, the “Nation’s Guest” left New York City on September 16, passing the scene of Benedict Arnold’s meeting with André, and arrived at West Point the following day. From there Lafayette and his party steamed to Newburgh, where his procession passed under four triumphal arches and a crowd estimated at 30,000 displayed “most affectionate and respectful expressions” of gratitude. Because the *James Kent* had run aground and Lafayette’s arrival was delayed, surviving veterans of the Revolution were not able to take their guest to Washington’s Headquarters or Temple Hill, where Washington’s army had been camped. From Newburgh it was onward to Poughkeepsie, Clermont, Catskill, and Hudson before arriving at Albany. Everywhere he went residents of the Hudson Valley showered Lafayette with their collective thanks. His visit, coming three years after publication of *The Spy*, provided residents with yet another tangible link to the Revolutionary War and the sacrifices that made their freedom possible.⁶

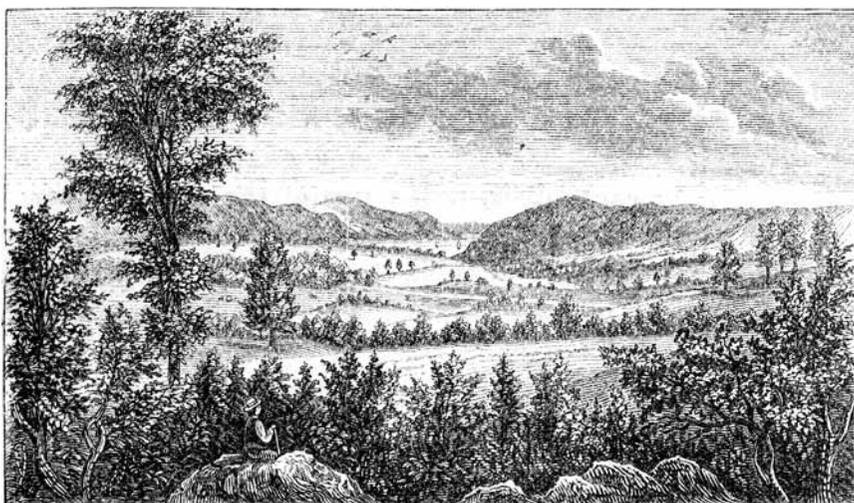
Two years later, on July 4, 1826, the nation celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. New York City had not one but two events, which testified to the contested meanings of the Revolution. One, organized by the elite and featuring major political figures, including Governor DeWitt Clinton and the mayor as well as the military, marched from the Battery to the Washington Parade Ground, where a feast of roasted oxen and other victuals was “conducted in an interesting and brilliant style.” After the meal, Thomas L. Smith, a prominent banker and sometime public official, read the Declaration and then presented what one newspaper described as an eloquent address. The other event began on Canal Street and a parade marched to the Baptist Meeting House on Mulberry Street. At this celebration, organized by the city’s labor organizations, Richard Hatfield, appointed by the Baker’s Society, read the Declaration, while Rev. Abner Kneeland, chosen by the Stone Cutter’s Society, gave the oration. The society then paraded to the park (now City Hall Park) where a band played “Hail Columbia,” at the time the unofficial national anthem. Up the river, at Hudson, citizens celebrated the anniversary in a program that gave prominence to the city’s artisans and ended with a dinner hosted by the Mechanics Association. Overshadowing these events, at least in retrospect, were the deaths, fifty years to the day of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, of Thomas Jefferson, its principal author, and John Adams, the nation’s second president.

Americans interpreted this extraordinary coincidence as a symbolic reminder that providence was indeed guiding the new nation.⁷

Nevertheless, with the passing of years the last of the veterans died—in 1825 John Quincy Adams praised the surviving soldiers of the Revolution as “these venerable relics of an age gone by”—and although residents celebrated important occasions such as the centennial of Washington’s birth in 1832, any number of plans to sanctify the sites and events of the war for independence went uncompleted. Long before Lafayette’s visit, the cupola of Independence Hall had been damaged and removed, but it would not be replaced until 1828. Residents of Newburgh intended to erect a monument “commemorative of that glorious termination of our revolutionary struggles” at Temple Hill, in nearby New Windsor, where the Continental Army had camped in the long months between Yorktown and the Treaty of Paris that secured American independence. The best of intentions did not, however, protect significant structures or sites associated with the nation’s past, and some buildings and sites associated with the Revolution were torn down and sacred ground turned to more prosaic use. In the seemingly relentless march of progress, improvement, the present was sweeping away the past.⁸

Perhaps no individual did more to impress upon the broader public the historical significance of the Hudson River Valley in the American Revolution than the Poughkeepsie historian Benson John Lossing. Lossing was one of many historians writing in the antebellum years. There were numerous biographies of Washington, the best-known of which were by John Marshall and Jared Sparks, as well as volumes devoted to the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The first three (of ten) volumes of George Bancroft’s *History of the United States* had been published by 1840; John Romeyn Brodhead spent more than three years in the early 1840s traveling throughout western Europe assembling a documentary history of New Netherlands and early New York, which would be edited as the first ten volumes of Edmund B. O’Callaghan’s *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (15 vols., 1853–87); and the romantic historians—Francis Parkman, William H. Prescott, and John L. Motley—had already begun their researches.⁹

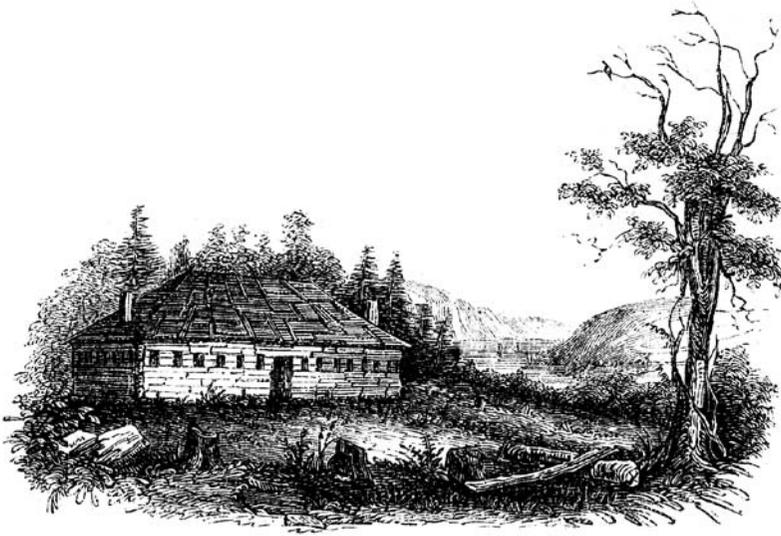
But Lossing was different: he was a skilled writer and talented artist who took advantage of the revolution in book publishing to produce handsomely illustrated, readable histories that reached a broad audience. A native of Dutchess County who apprenticed as a watchmaker, Lossing migrated to journalism in Poughkeepsie and then studied wood engraving. He moved to New York City in 1838 and launched a successful career as a writer. Nine years later, while traveling through southern Connecticut, he chanced on the spot where, in 1779, General Israel Putnam narrowly escaped from British troops then trying to divert Washington’s army from the defense of the Hudson Highlands by raiding the coastal countryside. The rude stairway that Lossing sketched that day inspired him to write an illustrated history of the American Revolution. Soon thereafter he was traveling with pen and sketchbook in hand, conducting research in documentary collections, interviewing surviving eyewitnesses to the events of the



Lossings' illustration of the encampment at New Windsor

Revolution, and sketching the important sites associated with the war. The result was his two-volume *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* (1850), a lengthy text illustrated with more than 1,300 wood engravings. In the subtitle of that magisterial work, Lossing listed “scenery” with “relics” in the topics covered, an assertion of the interdependence of landscape and history. He described the mid-Hudson Valley as possessing “some of the finest scenery in the world,” which was “enhanced in interest to the student of history by the associations which hallow it.” Lossing’s highly popular book familiarized readers with the American landscape and scenes of the Revolutionary past at the very time residents of the Hudson Valley acted to preserve a modest fieldstone farmhouse Lossing praised for its historical significance, Washington’s Headquarters at Newburgh.¹⁰

Washington’s Headquarters is an early eighteenth-century vernacular stone building. As simple as the one-story dwelling appears from the exterior, it was a place of transcendent importance in the establishment of an independent American republic. Washington lived there for more than a year and a half between the victory at Yorktown and the disbanding of the Continental Army following the signing of the treaty of peace. This was a period of anxious waiting, to be sure, but also a perilous time. General Clinton’s British troops still occupied New York City, and part of the lower Hudson Valley was still contested terrain. Moreover, a parsimonious Congress in Philadelphia, as well as state governments, refused to support the army adequately, and there was mounting dissatisfaction among officers and troops. It was while living in the house of Jonathan Hasbrouck that Washington read Louis Nicola’s proposal that the new nation be established as a constitutional monarchy. And it was there that he learned, to his utter despair, that many of his officers had concluded that the army should take action against the ineffective Congress. The Newburgh Conspiracy, as historians have



Lossings' illustration of the Temple of Virtue

characterized it, was an attempt to use the threat of a military coup to force Congress to raise the revenue needed to pay the troops. Washington considered the possible consequences of the statements of grievances against Congress that had circulated through the campground the greatest crisis of the long and difficult war, and was shaken upon learning that his officers had called a meeting at Temple Hill for March 11, 1783. Realizing that he had to act swiftly and resolutely, Washington informed the officers that only he had the right to convene the group and rescheduled a meeting for five days later. When the officers had congregated at the Temple, Washington entered, stoically and without ceremony, calmly put on a new pair of eyeglasses—remarking that not only had he grown old in service to his country but almost blind as well—and delivered what historian Joseph Ellis believes was “the most impressive speech he ever wrote.” Washington described the Newburgh letters as having “the most insidious purposes” and predicted that if the officers followed the actions the petitions outlined they would dishonor all that the army had achieved over seven years of war. He called instead for the officers to reaffirm their commitment to a republican system of government and assured them that their collective honor required them to give “one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings.” When Washington completed his remarks and left the room, he had secured the goals of the Revolution: there would be no monarchy in the new nation, and the military would continue to be subservient to civilian authority, a cardinal tenet of republican ideology. Three months later, Washington wrote a “Circular Letter to the States” that congratulated citizens on their “absolute freedom and Independency” and described the nation as “peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity.” Finally, in early November 1783 Washington bade farewell to his army.¹¹

This was real drama. The actions Washington took while living in the Hasbrouck house determined the future course of the nation. As historian and public official Joel T. Headley noted at the Hasbrouck house during Newburgh's celebration of the centennial of the Declaration of Independence, "In Independence Hall, Philadelphia, was settled the question of national independence; in these old headquarters, whether we should be a republic or not." This was a sentiment Lossing had conveyed to readers in prose that captured the immediacy of these events and their significance for the nation. He also provided two illustrations of the building in his *Pictorial Field-Book*, one of the exterior, the other of the interior great room (pictured below), which was often described as the room with seven doors and one window, as well as two views of the cantonment at Temple Hill. To nineteenth-century Americans who read about or visited the old stone house, Washington's Headquarters became a symbol, a shrine to American republicanism, the place where Washington had once again saved the nation, this time from itself.¹²

Washington's Newburgh headquarters became, in 1850, the first building in the United States preserved for its historical significance, but it was not always so cherished. In 1813 the owners, the Hasbrouck family, fought attempts by the village to run a street through the property. The effort to preserve this simple fieldstone structure, while the result of unusual circumstances and the work of a few determined individuals, reveals how nineteenth-century residents of the Hudson Valley turned to history as a familiar ground at a time of incessant change. The effort succeeded in large part because artists, writers, publishers, and citizens sanctified the Hudson Valley, merging history with the landscape, which functioned both as the physical setting in which so many of the stirring events of the Revolutionary War had taken place and as a sacred place in its own right. The preservationist impulse, which was nurtured and promoted by artists and writers, was an important element of what historian Daniel Walker Howe has called Whig political culture. It was a manifestation of a "proper sense of responsibility, both toward previous generations, whose sacrifices had made freedom possible, and toward



Lossings' illustration of the dining hall or room with seven doors
in the Hasbrouck House

subsequent generations, who depended on present exertions” to maintain continuity with the past.¹³

Knickerbocker author Gulian Verplanck took the first step toward its preservation when he described Washington’s Newburgh headquarters as “one of the most interesting relics of the first and heroic age of our republic.” The significance of the building was not local but national and international: Verplanck recounted how, at a dinner honoring Lafayette, a French host replicated the principal room of the Hasbrouck house. A surprised Lafayette immediately recognized the room with seven doors and one window and exclaimed: “We are at Washington’s Head-Quarters on the Hudson, fifty years ago!” Verplanck asserted that this simple vernacular dwelling was not just a monument to the past but had didactic importance for present and future generations: “What shall we say of the American who feels no glow of patriotism,” he inquired, “who kindles not into warmer love for his country, and her glorious institutions, who rises into no grand and fervent aspiration for the virtue and the happiness of this people, when he enters the humble, but venerable walls of the HEAD-QUARTERS AT NEWBURGH.”¹⁴

For Verplanck what made this structure especially important as a shrine was the interdependence of a landscape aesthetic and the historical consciousness it embodied. “The view from the house and grounds, as well as the whole neighbourhood around it,” he wrote, “are rich alike in natural beauty and in historical remembrances.” In 1839 Verplanck’s friend and fellow writer Washington Irving joined a group of citizens from throughout the Hudson Valley in petitioning the state Legislature to preserve Washington’s Headquarters as a historic site. “If our love of country is excited when we read the biography of our revolutionary heroes, or the history of revolutionary events,” the legislative report on the petition read in part, “how much more will the flame of patriotism burn in our bosoms when we tread the ground where was shed the blood of our fathers, or when we move among the scenes where were conceived and consummated their noblest achievements.” As Verplanck had done, the petition linked the Hasbrouck house’s historical and scenic significance, noting that it overlooks “the beautiful bay of Newburgh, and the military station at West-Point” and had within its viewshed “all the splendid water and mountain scenery for which that region is remarkable.” Irving and other signatories of the petition hoped to incorporate as a joint stock company to purchase and preserve the building, and based on the favorable report of a select committee the state Assembly unanimously approved an act to create that organization. Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., the foremost historian of preservation in the United States, has pointed out that Jonathan Hasbrouck, the owner of the house, considered the possible sale of the property to Irving’s group, but that nothing came of the discussions.¹⁵

To residents of the mid-Hudson Valley, the preservation of the Hasbrouck house was a noble cause. This first successful preservationist effort moved closer to fruition when, in 1848, Hasbrouck defaulted on a government loan. When the building was scheduled to be put up at auction, Andrew J. Caldwell, the loan commissioner of the U.S. Deposit Fund, who was overseeing the disposition of the default, took steps to protect

this historically significant dwelling. He corresponded with Governor Hamilton Fish and won the governor's support for its preservation as a historic site. Following Caldwell's initiative, in November 1849 the Orange County supervisors petitioned that the state purchase and maintain the house and grounds for the public. A legislative committee studying the question endorsed the petition the following year, predicting: "No traveler who touches upon the shores of Orange county will hesitate to make a pilgrimage to this beautiful spot, associated as it is with so many delightful reminiscences in our early history, and if he have an American heart in his bosom, he will feel himself a better man; his patriotism will kindle with deeper emotion; his aspirations for his country's good will ascend from a more devout mind for having visited the "HEAD-QUARTERS OF WASHINGTON."¹⁶

The language of this report included the words "pilgrimage" and "devout," each conveying a religiosity that equated the saving of the Hasbrouck house with the sacred "mission" an anonymous reviewer writing in the *Literary World* in 1847 had ascribed to the landscape painter—to preserve the landscape before it fell to commercial uses. That language must have been persuasive, because until this time the national and state governments had not yet assumed responsibility for constructing monuments or preserving historic sites. The great memorial at Bunker Hill and the Washington Monument in Baltimore, as well as the uncompleted obelisk in the District of Columbia, had been erected through private funding. In the middle of the nineteenth century, however, residents of the Hudson Valley requested that the state not only purchase but restore and maintain as a historic site what had been a private residence.¹⁷

The committee's report, together with mounting evidence of the progress that threatened to destroy the surviving relics of the Revolutionary era, led the state Legislature to approve "an Act for the preservation of 'Washington's Head-Quarters'" on April 10, 1850. On July 4, 1850, citizens from throughout the Hudson Valley gathered at Washington's former residence to dedicate it as a historic shrine. A large military procession paraded through the town to the grounds, where General Winfield Scott, hero of the Mexican War, presided over the ceremonies. Judge John Worth Edmonds delivered the oration, which emphasized the significance of Washington's actions when confronted with the Newburgh letters. While a group of singers gave a spirited rendering of a celebratory ode, Scott raised the flag on what a newspaper described as a 135-foot liberty pole. Mrs. John J. Monell's thirty-line poem described the ground as holy and the building as sacred while charging listeners with the responsibility of cherishing the memory of those who made independence possible:

Brothers! to your care is given,
Safe to keep this hallowed spot;
Though our warriors rest in heaven,
And these places see them not,
see ye to it,
That their deeds be ne'er forgot.

Appropriately, an amateur poet's verse captured the religious connotations of the sanctified landscape, as well as of patriotism, at the very moment when "this venerated relic" of the past was preserved for the future.¹⁸

The preservationist impulse that culminated in the dedication of Washington's Newburgh headquarters as a historic shrine was the product of a broader cultural movement through which nineteenth-century Americans responded to change and sanctified the landscape of the Hudson River Valley. The *New York Evening Post* captured this, describing the Hasbrouck house as "an ancient building, on one of the most beautiful sites on the shore of the Hudson," a simple structure "consecrated, by the acts of our forefathers, as one of the holy places of our land." This combination of historical consciousness and a new landscape aesthetic became more compelling as time and economic development swept away the relics of the Revolutionary War era. Nurtured by Knickerbocker writers and landscape painters who first explored the aesthetic potential of the Hudson Valley, the sanctification of landscape united attitudes toward scenery, history, political culture, and change into a conservative worldview that helped contemporaries adapt to the social and economic forces that were transforming their lives. Residents of the Hudson Valley recoiled from at least some of the implications of change and turned to the sanctified landscape as an alternative to urban and industrial growth, to the more secure ground of the past to find their identity as a nation.¹⁹

Other nineteenth-century efforts to commemorate important sites of the Revolutionary War were not as successful as Washington's Headquarters, perhaps because they lacked Washington's cachet, perhaps because the state did not appropriate funds for acquisition and preservation. In 1857, for example, citizens of Rockland County organized as the Stony Point Association and attempted to preserve the peninsula that was the scene of General Anthony Wayne's stunning victory over the British in 1779. Although the group laid the cornerstone of a monument to Wayne and his men, nothing more came from their efforts. As the centennial of the battle neared, a Wayne Monument Association organized in 1879, though its efforts were as fruitless as those of its predecessor. The gala celebration of the centennial was "a grand fizzle," according to *The New York Times*, marked by the "utter incompetency" of its organizers. Four years after the organization of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society in 1895, the state acquired the peninsula and conveyed management of the battlefield to the society.²⁰

Washington's Headquarters, in contrast, became throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century a repository of regional and national memory. As early as 1855 it received a collection of curiosities from Enock Carter that had been on display in a Poughkeepsie museum. Other citizens donated relics, including Benedict Arnold's saber, lockets of Washington's and Lafayette's hair, Martha Washington's watch, equipment used by common soldiers and other items found at the army's final encampment at Temple Hill, a piece of the chain and boom that extended across the river at West Point to prevent British ships from passing through the Highlands, one of the chairs

Washington used while living in his Newburgh headquarters, and Native American artifacts. Among the manuscripts stored at the house were letters from Washington, Anthony Wayne, John Hancock, John Jay, and others, as well as numerous documents related to the construction of forts and the defense of the Hudson Highlands. The historic site clearly appealed to many residents of the Hudson Valley as a shrine, and writers of history as well as tourist guides to the valley extolled its significance. Landscape painter Jarvis McEntee, who visited Washington's Headquarters in 1878, described the parlor, with its "broad fire place surrounded with tiles." He was humbled to walk across the same floorboards as Washington and described his experience as "a most interesting one as it was a spot I had always wanted to visit." Three years later, Caroline Downing Monell described it as "filled with Revolutionary curiosities and relics," and estimated that 50,000 individuals visited the site in 1881.²¹

The centennial of national independence was celebrated throughout the land. Although the principal event was an international exhibition in Philadelphia, cities and towns throughout the Hudson Valley celebrated the day in splendid fashion. Bunting was omnipresent, speeches and fireworks the order of the day. Newburgh held religious services at Washington's Headquarters July 2, the Sunday before the fourth, when the Rev. Samuel Carlisle delivered a patriotic address. The Rev. Richard S. Storrs gave the principal oration in Manhattan, at the Academy of Music, when William Cullen Bryant's centennial ode was sung for the first time. At Peekskill a procession marched through the village to a grandstand at Crompond Street, where Henry Ward Beecher spoke of the advances in material, social, and cultural well-being the nation had made in its century of independence. In Newburgh Joel T. Headley celebrated Washington's staunch adherence to republican principles when confronted with the Newburgh letters. Poughkeepsie too had a parade, followed by an oration by B. Platt Carpenter. Albany had its obligatory parade, speeches, a regatta on the river, and fireworks, a display, according to the *Argus*, "never equaled in the city."²²

Although Newburgh organized several events, beginning on December 31, 1875, and including celebrations of the centennials of the Fourth of July and the announcement of the Treaty of Paris on April 19, 1883, the most important commemoration took place on October 18, 1883, the one hundredth anniversary of the Continental Congress's directive to Washington ordering the disbanding of his army. This was an event *The New York Times* described a century later as the "last act of the Revolution." As planning began in earnest, there were significant differences about the most appropriate way to create a lasting memorial to the conclusion of the Revolution. Caroline Downing Monell reported that one proposal called for erecting a massive obelisk on the grounds of Washington's Headquarters, which, she asserted, would "throw a shadow over the old house," cost a great deal of money, and add little to the commemoration of the event. Instead she suggested that the Temple at Temple Hill be reconstructed and the adjacent grove where soldiers were buried be protected as a sacred place. She also proposed erecting a twenty-foot-high bronze statue of Washington, on a plinth,



The Tower of Victory at Washington's Headquarters. Library of Congress

with right hand extended and a crown at his feet, "as it was there, he refused to assume that emblem."²³

That the centennial of the disbanding of the Continental Army was of more than local importance was indicated by appointment of a joint committee of Congress to work with local organizers in planning the celebration, appropriations from Congress and the state Legislature to support it, and the presence of the Grand Army of the Republic and other veterans from every mid-Hudson community as well as from New York City; Brooklyn; Hartford, Connecticut; and Elizabeth, New Jersey, who participated in what local historian John J. Nutt described as "a magnificent pageant." The town was bedecked in bunting, and as cannons boomed from naval vessels in the river to start the celebration, thousands lined the streets to witness a parade of 10,000 marchers and fifty-five bands that extended three miles in length. A reviewing stand, which included Governor (and future President) Grover Cleveland, stood at the Court House on Grand Street. Exercises at Washington's Headquarters included addresses by Senator Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware, a member of the joint committee of Congress, and former Secretary of State William M. Evarts, who had delivered the centennial oration in Philadelphia seven years earlier, as well as the reading of a thirty-verse poem by Hudson River chronicler Wallace Bruce, "The Long Drama from '76 to '83." Bayard praised the "wealth of historic scenery" of the site and environs, "a landscape singular in its beauty." He also acknowledged the state's wisdom in preserving Washington's Headquarters thirty-three years earlier. The "ancient mansion," he declared, "is in itself an impressive orator, and its consecration and conservation as the casket of patriotic

memories is a duty which will faithfully be fulfilled." Evarts briefly recounted the war but devoted most of his address to the closing days of the Revolution, especially Washington's refusal of the crown, the suffering of the soldiers at the hands of a penurious Congress, and Washington's response to the Newburgh Conspiracy. It was, the *New York Mail and Express* judged, "a historical review of a most interesting and touching episode of Washington and of the country." Bruce's poem praised the site as the place where the "great Republic had its birth" and Washington as a man who was "grander than a king." Fireworks, which *The New York Times* reported would be more spectacular than those at the recent dedication of the Brooklyn Bridge, ended the day. Overall, the *New York Times* concluded, the "chapter of American history recounted at Newburg [sic] to-day is one of the noblest in the annals of humanity."²⁴

Organizers hoped to lay the cornerstone of a commemorative Tower of Victory, designed by architect John H. Duncan, on the grounds of Washington's Headquarters, but disagreement over its design and cost delayed the project. Duncan's tower would not be completed until 1887. The large stone structure has an atrium where a statue of Washington by William Rudolph O'Donovan stands, other sculptures by O'Donovan representing the four branches of the military during the war, and a belvedere (which has been lost and not replaced) overlooking the river and the Hudson Highlands, where so much of the nation's history took shape. On an interior wall is a plaque commemorating the disbanding of the "armies by whose patriotic and military virtue our National Independence and sovereignty were established."²⁵

As the years passed, other places in the mid-Hudson Valley were preserved for their historical significance, including the eighteenth-century stone house built in Kingston by Abraham Van Gaasbeek, where New York's first state Senate met and ratified the Declaration of Independence, which became a state historic site in 1887. Other landmarks would also be preserved, many as a result of efforts by the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society around the turn of the twentieth century. But none was as important as Washington's Headquarters at Newburgh. There, Washington witnessed the suffering of his officers and men but heroically reaffirmed the new nation's commitment to a republican system of government. Nineteenth-century residents of the Hudson Valley, as well as state and national leaders, cherished the stone building for its historical significance, which many, like Verplanck and Lossing, inextricably linked to its setting overlooking the northern entrance to the Highlands. As Joel T. Headley pointed out, this was a sacred place where the nation's future as a constitutional republic had been secured.²⁶

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Notes

1. James Fenimore Cooper, *The Spy; A Tale of the Neutral Ground* (1821; New York, 1997), p. 12n. For similar statements by Thomas Cole and Henry David Thoreau on “improvements” see David Schuyler, *Sanctified Landscape: Writers, Artists, and the Hudson River Valley* (Ithaca, 2012), p. 182, n. 18.
2. Wayne Franklin, Introduction to Cooper’s *The Spy* (New York, 1997), p. xiii.
3. Cooper, *Spy*, pp. 4, 307, 362.
4. Cooper, *Spy*, p. 407.
5. Wayne Franklin, *James Fenimore Cooper, The Early Years* (New Haven, 2007), pp. 278–90, 493–94, 284, pl. 15; Franklin, Introduction, *Spy*, p. xxvii; “The Spy Dramatized,” *New York Spectator*, Feb. 26, 1822; “The Spy,” *National Advocate* (New York), Apr. 26, 1822. For an important analysis of the contested history of the revolution see Alfred P. Young, “George Robert Twelves Hewes (1742–1840): A Boston Shoemaker and the Memory of the American Revolution,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 38 (Oct. 1981): 561–623.
6. Thomas Cole, “Essay on American Scenery,” *American Monthly Magazine*, n.s. 1 (Jan. 1836): 1–12; for Lafayette’s voyage up the Hudson, see Auguste Levasseur, *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825; or, Journal of a Voyage to the United States*, trans. Alan R. Hoffman (1829; Manchester, N.H., 2006), pp. 105–25; John J. Nutt, *Newburgh: Her Institutions, Industries, and Leading Citizens* (Newburgh, N.Y., 1891), p. 55. See also Stanley J. Idzerda et al., *Lafayette, Hero of Two Worlds: The Art and Pageantry of His Farewell Tour of America, 1824–1825* (Queens, N. Y., 1989); and Fred Somkin, *Unquiet Eagle: Memory and Desire in the Idea of American Freedom, 1815–1860* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1967), pp. 131–74.
7. “The Celebration,” *National Advocate* (New York), July 6, 1826; “Semi-centennial Anniversary of American Independence. Civic Celebration,” *New-York Daily Advertiser*, July 7, 1826; untitled, *Albany Argus*, July 18, 1826.
8. J. Q. Adams, “First Annual Message,” December 6, 1825, in *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, ed. James D. Richardson, 10 vols. (New York, 1897), 2: 874; for Poughkeepsie’s celebration of the centennial of Washington’s birth see *Independence* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.), Feb. 29, 1832; Eager, *Outline History of Orange County*, p. 196; Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York, 1991), pp. 52–56 and *passim*. Marc H. Miller has pointed out that shortly before Lafayette’s visit the British earthworks at Yorktown, Virginia, had been destroyed. A newspaper commented: “As if we had not land enough already, and as if these works, the monuments of our glory, were not worth a million times the space they occupy.” Miller, “Lafayette’s Farewell Tour and American Art,” in Idzerda, *Lafayette*, p. 134.
9. See George Callcott, *History in the United States: Its Practice and Purpose* (Baltimore, 1970); David D. Van Tassel, *Recording America’s Past: An Interpretation of the Development of Historical Studies in America, 1607–1884* (Chicago, 1960); and David Levin, *History as Romantic Art: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman* (Stanford, Calif., 1959).
10. Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution; or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence* (New York, 1850), 2: 98–102. On Lossing, see David D. Van Tassel, “Benson J. Lossing: Pen and Pencil Historian,” *American Quarterly* 6 (Spring 1954): 32–44; and Harold E. Mahan, *Benson J. Lossing and Historical Writing in the United States, 1830–1890* (Westport, Conn., 1996).
11. Joseph J. Ellis skillfully describes these events and quotes Washington’s speech in *His Excellency George Washington* (New York, 2004), pp. 140–46. See also Whitfield J. Bell Jr., *Colonel Lewis Nicola: Advocate of Monarchy, 1782* (Philadelphia, 1983); and, for invaluable nineteenth-century perspectives, Joel Tyler Headley, “Washington’s Headquarters at Newburgh,” *Galaxy* 22 (July 1876): 7–20; and Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book*, 2: 98–111.
12. Headley, “Washington’s Headquarters at Newburgh,” p. 13; Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book*, 2: 99–100, 117–18.
13. Charles B. Hosmer Jr., *The Presence of the Past: A History of the Historic Preservation Movement in the United States before Williamsburg* (New York, 1965), p. 35; Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago, 1979), p. 72, *passim*.
14. Gulian C. Verplanck, “View of Washington’s Head-Quarters,” *New-York Mirror* 12 (Dec. 27, 1834): 201–2; New York State Assembly, *Report of the Select Committee on the Petition of Washington Irving*,

- and Others, document 356, March 27, 1839, New York State Library, Albany; Richard Caldwell, *A True History of the Acquisition of Washington's Headquarters . . .* (Salisbury Mills, N. Y., 1887), p. 21; Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, p. 35.
15. Verplanck, "View of Washington's Head-Quarters," pp. 201-2; New York State Assembly, *Report of the Select Committee on the Petition of Washington Irving, and Others*; Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 35-36.
 16. Caldwell, *Acquisition of Washington's Headquarters*, 24; A. Elwood Corning, *The Story of the Hasbrouck House* (Newburgh, N. Y., 1950); Daniel R. Porter, "The Knickerbockers and the Historic Site in New York State," *New York History* 64 (Jan. 1983): 35-50; and William G. Tyrrell, letter to the editor, *ibid.* 64 (July 1983): 349-50. The most comprehensive analysis of the context for the creation of Washington's Headquarters as a historic shrine is Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*.
 17. "The Fine Arts: Exhibition at the National Academy," *Literary World* 1 (May 15, 1847): 347-48;
 18. "4th of July in Newburgh," *Newburgh Gazette*, July 10, 1850; "The Fourth—The Celebration," *Newburgh Telegraph*, July 4, 1850; "Dedication of Washington's Headquarters, at Newburgh," *Evening Post* (New York), July 5, 1850; "Dedication of Washington's Head-Quarters, Newburgh," *Albany Evening Journal*, July 6, 1850. Mrs. Monell's ode was printed in the *Literary World* 7 (July 13, 1850): 36, as well as in Caldwell, *Acquisition of Washington's Headquarters*, 38-39, and excerpted in Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book*, 2: 99.
 19. "Dedication of Washington's Head-Quarters, at Newburgh," *Evening Post* (New York), July 5, 1850. For this interpretation I am indebted to the writings of numerous historians and cultural geographers, but see especially Howe, *Political Culture of the American Whigs*; Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory*; and David Lowenthal, "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," *Geographical Review* 65 (January 1975): 1-36.
 20. "Celebration at Stony Point," *New York Times*, July 18, 1857; "Mad Anthony's Exploit," *ibid.* July 5, 1879; "Anthony Wayne's Exploit," *ibid.*, July 17, 1879; Schuyler, *Sanctified Landscape*, pp. 154-56.
 21. "Relics of the Revolution," *New York Times*, Oct. 20, 1895; "Newburgh's Old Memories," *ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1881; "The Centenary of Peace," *ibid.*, Apr. 8, 1883; Nutt, *Newburgh*, pp. 29-43; Jervis McEntee, diary, June 3, 1878, Jervis McEntee Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Caroline E. Monell to Frederick Law Olmsted, Dec. 28, 1882, Olmsted Associates Records, B67.640, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
 22. "Washington's Headquarters," *New York Herald*, July 3, 1876; "Services at the Newburgh Headquarters," *New York Tribune*, July 3, 1876; "The City's Rejoicing," *New York Tribune*, July 5, 1876; "How the Day Was Celebrated," *New York Herald*, July 5, 1876; "Dr. Storrs at the Academy," *Commercial Advertiser* (New York), July 5, 1876; "In Peekskill," *New York Tribune*, July 5, 1876; Headley, "Washington's Headquarters at Newburgh," pp. 7-20; "Celebrations Elsewhere," *New York Herald*, July 5, 1876; "The Celebration of the Centennial Fourth," *Albany Evening Journal*, July 3, 1876; "The Centennial Jubilee," *Albany Argus*, July 6, 1876. See also Louise L. Stevenson, *The Victorial Homefront: American Thought and Culture, 1860-1880* (New York, 1991).
 23. "One Hundred Years Ago," *New York Times*, Oct. 18, 1883; Caroline E. Monell to Frederick Law Olmsted, Dec. 28, 1882.
 24. Details of Newburgh's centennial events, including the quotation from the *New York Mail and Express*, are drawn from Nutt, *Newburgh*, pp. 43-48; *The Newburgh Centennial. 1783-1883. The Peace Celebration of October 18, 1883* (Newburgh, 1883), which reprints articles published in the *Newburgh Daily Journal* on October 18 and 19, 1884; "A National Centennial," *New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1883; "The Newburgh Centennial," *ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1883; and "The Newburgh Centennial," *ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1883; "The Newburgh Centennial," *ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1883; "The Anniversary of Peace," *New York Herald*, Oct. 19, 1883; "Addresses at Newburgh. Senator Bayard's Speech," *New York Tribune*, Oct. 19, 1883; "The Newburgh Centennial," *New York Times*, Oct. 18, 1883.
 25. Nutt, *Newburgh*, p. 48. John H. Duncan is best remembered as the architect of Grant's Tomb in New York City and the Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Arch in Grand Army Plaza, Brooklyn. See David M. Kahn, "The Grant Monument," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 41 (Oct. 1982): 212-31, which discusses the Tower of Victory on page 224.
 26. Schuyler, *Sanctified Landscape*, pp. 152-56; Headley, "Washington's Headquarters at Newburgh," pp. 7-20.



Portrait of Washington Irving from the Brady-Handy Collection, produced c.1860

“The Unfortunate Major André”: Washington Irving’s Original Ichabod Crane

Terry W. Thompson

First published in *The Sketch Book* in 1820 and reprinted widely ever since, Washington Irving’s “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow” is arguably the most beloved of all American short stories. Read and enjoyed by young and old, scholar and layperson alike, this “vivid and richly detailed” account of a quiet Dutch utopia hidden along the eastern shore of the Hudson River circa 1790 has inspired countless television and movie treatments, from Walt Disney to Tim Burton. Even for those who have never read the story, the mere mention of the title conjures up images of Halloween and autumn and all things dark and scary.¹

Although the central character in this tale is Ichabod Crane—a fictional schoolmaster who views himself as far superior to the simple farmers who pay his salary—he actually has a historical precursor of sorts, a real man whose bungling incursion into the Hudson Valley in the fall of 1780 helped inspire, at least in part, Irving’s creation of Ichabod some forty years later. And this first interloper’s experience reverberates like a cautionary undercurrent in Irving’s tale of “a romantic and sequestered region” that remains completely unaffected by the stress and hurry of the outside world.² That original is Major John André, an “incredibly inept” English spy whose secret mission in the valley was thwarted at a critical time during the Revolutionary War.³

According to Sue Fields Ross, editor of Irving’s *Journals and Notebooks*, the author “seemed more interested in stories of André” than almost any other figure from the Revolution.⁴ In his letters and journals, Irving frequently writes of the near tragicomic sequence of events that led to the demise of “the unfortunate Major André,” a turn of phrase that appears often in “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow” as well as in Irving’s private correspondences.⁵ For example, in a letter written to his sister a full ten years after the publication of the story, the author still laments the untimely end of “the Unfortunate Major André.”⁶

As an avid traveler, America’s first professional writer spent much of his adult life in Europe. Upon returning to New York after one of those long stays abroad, he made a point of visiting the many real locations along the Hudson that figure so prominently in his story of the bumbling outsider named Ichabod. Referred to by Irving as “the

Dutch tour,” this nostalgic journey in 1833 included crossing the very bridge where John André was taken prisoner in the autumn of 1780.⁷ And once again, the poignant fate of this young Englishman kindled the author’s empathy for the luckless spy who was so tragically hoist with his own petard. “His story is one of the touching themes of the Revolution,” Irving writes in his *Life of George Washington*, “and his name is still spoken of with kindness in the local traditions of the neighborhood where he was captured.”⁸ The fate of the English agent caught so out of his element and alone in a foreign land remained forever affecting and romantic to “the father of the American short story.”⁹ And although General Washington and his military tribunal had every right to execute the young officer as a spy, Irving nevertheless believed that Major André was more a victim of “unfortunate” choices—combined with his own ambition—than a cold-blooded malefactor. That same trope holds true for the displaced schoolteacher in “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow,” another English outsider who, brimming with overconfidence, repeats almost all of John André’s blunders and so meets a similar end.

As the tale opens, Ichabod, a haughty young fellow with a deliberately insinuating manner, has sauntered into the picturesque hamlet of Sleepy Hollow, a place described so vividly by Irving that, according to Kenneth McCormick, once it is visited, it “enters the reader’s mind and heart forever.”¹⁰ Although hired as the new schoolmaster for the children of the local Dutch farmers, Ichabod is, in point of fact, a poseur and an imposter. In essence, this newcomer “of superior elegance and address” is tantamount to a spy, as much an “under cover” agent in his own way as John André.¹¹

This is because Ichabod’s duties as schoolmaster serve only to mask his real plans for the secluded enclave of fertile land, sweet water, bountiful crops, and “uniform tranquility.”¹² This duplicitous stranger of “capacious swallow” and insatiable appetite intends, “by hook or by crook” as he puts it, to wrest control of Sleepy Hollow away from its inhabitants, the “direct descendents [of] the original Dutch settlers” from almost two centuries prior.¹³ Then once his secret mission is accomplished, the ambitious pedagogue plans to convert all of the region’s assets into hard currency. “As the enraptured Ichabod fancied all this, and as he rolled his great green eyes over the fat meadow lands, the rich fields of wheat, of rye, of buckwheat, and Indian corn, and the orchards burthened with ruddy fruit [...] his imagination expanded with the idea, how they might be turned into cash, and the money invested” at a high yield.¹⁴

In effect, like the English spy who—hungry for promotion—infiltrated the Hudson Valley ten autumns earlier, Ichabod enters the “drowsy, dreamy” region in disguise.¹⁵ Granted, he is not a member of some hostile military force bent on keeping the local Dutch under English control as was “the unfortunate Major André,” nor is the new schoolmaster anywhere near as urbane or accomplished as his real-life predecessor.¹⁶ Nevertheless, Ichabod, a man of “prosaic acquisitiveness,” dreams of creating his own personal empire in the fertile paradise he discovers nestled behind high hills.¹⁷ What is more, the schoolmaster’s entry into this homogeneous community serves to rekindle all of “the English-Dutch ethnic tensions” that so permeated the Hudson Valley at the



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Sunday Morning in Sleepy Hollow, James King, c.1890

time of André's arrival in the autumn of 1780.¹⁸

Appointed Adjutant General of the British Army in North America only a year before his arrest for spying, Major John André was the key agent in Benedict Arnold's plot to surrender Fortress West Point to the British and thus give the Royal Navy control of the most important waterway in the colonies at the time, "the mighty Hudson."¹⁹ Had Arnold's "stupendous piece of treachery" been successful—and only André's errors in judgment made it go awry—the Revolution would have collapsed.²⁰ The nascent American republic would have been stillborn, its leaders rounded up and imprisoned as rebels. Therefore, although charming and ingratiating by all accounts, the ambitious André failed miserably in his attempted overthrow of the Hudson Valley by means of what Irving called "intrigue and manoeuvre."²¹

Dressed in oversized civilian clothes and mounted on a borrowed horse with a borrowed saddle, "the disguised André" ventured into Dutch territory all alone.²² Near the end of his clandestine ride, much of it done at night, he approached the simple log bridge across the creek near Sleepy Hollow. And it was there that a trio of local militia—all simple farmer types—stopped the out-of-place Englishman and questioned him. Described as "a fairly garrulous man," especially when he was excited, André began talking up a storm, asking the sentries who they were and to what party they belonged.²³

The man who had first stepped out wore a refugee uniform. At sight of it André's heart leapt, and he felt himself secure. Losing all caution, he exclaimed eagerly: "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party?" "What party?" they asked. "The lower party," said André. "We do," was the reply. All reserve was now at an end. André declared himself a British officer; that he had been up the country on particular business, and must not be detained a single moment. He drew out his watch as he spoke. It was a gold one, and served to prove to them that he was what he represented himself, gold watches being seldom worn in those days except by persons of consequence. To his consternation, the supposed refugee now avowed himself and his companions to be Americans, and told André he was their prisoner.²⁴



The capture of André: By John Paulding, David Williams and Isaac Van Wart, at Tarrytown, N.Y., Sept. 23rd, 1780. Lithograph by Currier & Ives, c.1876

Many historians maintain that had the English officer been less effusive, had not uttered so many incriminating statements in what proved to be his shibboleth moment, then the young man whose “unwary tongue had ruined him” might have been allowed to cross the bridge after only a cursory stop.²⁵ But André’s anxious questions, his ill-fitting garments, his English accent, his affected mannerisms, his general nervousness, and finally his offer of a large bribe—“one hundred guineas” plus his gold watch—gave the locals cause to extend their interrogation and so uncover the disguised man’s duplicity.²⁶ “His remonstrances were in vain. He was obliged to sit down: his boots were drawn off and the concealed papers discovered. Hastily scanning them, John Paulding [leader of the militia trio] exclaimed, ‘My God! He is a spy!’”²⁷ Hence, at the hands of those whom he considered his cultural inferiors, this “incongruous” man on a borrowed horse met his destiny at the crude bridge near Sleepy Hollow.²⁸ “The unfortunate André now submitted to his fate, and the captors set off with their prisoner [..].”²⁹

According to Irving, John André’s “sentiments were elevated, his elocution was fluent, his address easy, polite and engaging, with a softness that conciliated affection.”³⁰ The young major has been viewed with near “universal sympathy” ever since his famous arrest and execution.³¹ However, the historical personage of this gentleman soldier is not all charming, nor innocent or simple. For instance, he is seen by some as little more than a manipulator, an ingratiating type who used the people around him—military as well as civilian—to get what he wanted most: personal advancement. According to John Evangelist Walsh, André was without doubt “a particularly excellent young man,” but “his every thought was of himself”; and he viewed the local militia who outsmarted him at the bridge “as little more than clowns and bumpkins,” more akin to highwaymen than fellow soldiers.³² Moreover, historians remain divided, sometimes vigorously so,

over whether or not Major André—"a foppish dandy" who concealed his "mercenary impulses" with a calculated charm—actually deserved to die as a spy.³³

Some students of the case—including Irving himself—maintain that even though captured behind enemy lines in borrowed clothing (he had been warned not to remove his uniform), the young André "was involuntarily a spy," having only changed to be less conspicuous.³⁴ Yet he bungled that easy subterfuge by leaving on his officer's boots. André also informed his American captors that he thought he was still inside British-controlled territory when he went wandering about on his borrowed horse without guide or map and only the most basic knowledge of the eastern shore of the Hudson. Whatever the reasons behind this string of unforced errors, Washington and his fellow generals (Lafayette, Greene, Howe, and von Steuben among them) unanimously agreed that John André—no matter how eloquent or "unfortunate"—was guilty of spying and, in keeping with the style of the time, deserved to be hanged, as opposed to the method of execution he requested upon being condemned: death by firing squad. "Let me hope, sir," André begged in a letter to Washington, "that if aught in my character impresses you with esteem [...] that I am not to die on a gibbet."³⁵

While "the unfortunate Major André" is not mentioned early on in "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," the American Revolution is referenced all through the tale as background.³⁶ For instance, the war was the catalyst for the most famous legend in the whole region, for it was "in some nameless battle" that a Hessian mercenary (yet another outsider up to no good) lost his head to a Dutch cannonball; and now the ghost of this abbreviated German gallops about the valley at night in search of his missing part.³⁷ "Such is the general purport of this legendary superstition, which has furnished materials for many a wild story in that region of shadows; and the spectre is known, at all the country firesides, by the name of The Headless Horseman of Sleepy Hollow."³⁸

Such stories about the Revolution and its aftermath serve to unify the minority Dutch, since whenever there is a gathering, be it large or small, the conversation invariably turned, at some point, to the war against the English and the many acts of heroism performed by local farmers during that conflict. "There was the story of Doffue Martling, a large, blue bearded Dutchman, who had nearly taken a British frigate with an old iron nine pounder from a mud breastwork, only that his gun burst at the sixth discharge. And there was an old gentleman who [...] in the battle of Whiteplains, being an excellent master of defence, parried a musket ball with a small sword [...]."³⁹

Once Ichabod has arrived in Sleepy Hollow—"one of the quietest places in the whole world"—he makes a point of spending many hours in circuitous "perambulations" of the picturesque enclave.⁴⁰ The Dutch farmers think nothing of Ichabod's



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The Headless Horseman

circular walks, but what the schoolmaster is actually doing is reconnoitering his new surroundings in order to discover what “difficulties and impediments” may hinder his top secret agenda to subvert the hollow in hopes of achieving “quick economic gain” for himself.⁴¹ In other words, by using the position of schoolmaster as cover, Ichabod quietly spies on the locals, thus discovering who has the biggest farms and herds, the finest houses, and, of course, the most eligible daughters. Once he has learned—through eavesdropping and spying—the ways of this “peaceful, self-contained society,” he begins to plot his stealth takeover of the quiet dell that is so rich in resources and promise.⁴²

Within days of his arrival, Ichabod creates for himself the position of “singing master” at the local Dutch Reformed church, though he is neither Dutch nor Reformed.⁴³ This is his first step in acquiring influence in the “homogeneous rural Arcadia” that is Sleepy Hollow.⁴⁴ The Connecticut upstart quickly impresses the congregation, if not with his talent then with his earnestness. “It was a matter of no little vanity to him on Sundays, to take his station in front of the church gallery with a band of chosen singers; where in his own mind, he completely carried away the palm from the parson. Certain it is, his voice resounded far above the rest of the congregation.”⁴⁵ One of Ichabod’s new “musical disciples” quickly catches his attention.⁴⁶ His heart flutters every time Katrina Van Tassel comes into view wearing her “provocatively short petticoat,” which allows her “to display the prettiest foot and ankle in the country round.”⁴⁷

However, the main reason this local beauty appeals to the schoolmaster-cum-spy is because she is “the daughter and only child” of the most “substantial Dutch farmer” in all of Sleepy Hollow.⁴⁸ She thus is “universally famed” for “her vast expectations.”⁴⁹ If the new schoolteacher can charm this country heiress into marrying him, he will—by default—become a member of the local gentry, rising from a low rung on the socio-economic ladder to the very top by a simple exchange of vows. So Ichabod—alien, Anglican, and undercover—sets his tricornered hat for this buxom girl who personifies all of the wealth of Sleepy Hollow. “She was a blooming lass of fresh eighteen; plump as a partridge; ripe and melting and rosy cheeked as one of her father’s peaches,” and she accents that natural beauty with “ornaments of pure yellow gold, which her great great grandmother had brought over from Saardam.”⁵⁰ Once Ichabod, “under cover of his character of singing master,” pays a visit to “the mansion” of the Van Tassels, “the conquest of his heart was complete,” for therein he spies “immense treasures of old silver,” complemented by mahogany furniture and priceless heirlooms brought over from Holland by the first settlers of the Hudson Valley.⁵¹

John André, like all gentleman officers of his era, whether British or American, was more than just a military man since the influence of the Renaissance had yet to wane. Fluent in four languages, he was a man of many “qualities and abilities,” hence his rise to become one of the most important men in the British Army while still in his twenties.⁵² Among those talents was the ability to conceal his ambition, something that was *de rigueur* at the time for men of rank in both armies. (One of Benedict Arnold’s shortcomings was the fact that he wore his ambition on his sleeve.) Although revered

today in most quarters for his social graces, André was nevertheless a proud officer who longed to rise to the top of his profession. As he confessed to one of his jailers while awaiting execution, had he succeeded in his secret mission to collapse the American army in New York, he believed he would “*have been promoted to the rank of a brigadier-general,*” perhaps even earning a knighthood later on for what he had hoped would be “his triumph” in the Hudson Valley.⁵³

Much like John André, Ichabod—at least in “his busy fancy”—is no one-dimensional character, a “flogger of urchins” and nothing more.⁵⁴ Indeed, the new schoolmaster from Connecticut considers himself a Renaissance man of “superior taste and accomplishment”; and so he seeks to excel in many of the same areas as did the English spy who loved “poetry and romance.”⁵⁵ For instance, André enjoyed writing verses in his spare time, and many of them were about and to young women since he fancied himself quite the ladies’ man. Likewise, after he selects the lovely Katrina for courtship, Ichabod scribbles many poems in her honor, and these are discovered among his belongings after his midnight disappearance. When the locals examine the schoolmaster’s personal effects the next morning, they find among them “a sheet of foolscap” that is covered with “verses in honour of the heiress of Van Tassel.”⁵⁶

In addition, both of these young men who come to Sleepy Hollow with disguised intent are lovers of music and dance. André was a musician as well as a singer, and whenever in Philadelphia or New York, he rarely missed a concert or a dress ball. In like fashion, when he is not rattling the windows with hymn singing, Ichabod loves to appreciate music through his feet. He “prided himself upon his dancing as much as upon his vocal powers. Not a limb, not a fibre about him was idle, and to have seen his loosely hung frame in full motion, and clattering about the room, you would have thought Saint Vitus himself, that blessed patron of the dance, was figuring before you in person.”⁵⁷ In truth, both English gallants consider themselves to be Renaissance types, far superior to the raw country bumpkins who surround them. In Ichabod’s case, of course, he is a caricature of English sophistication. But “in his own mind,” he feels head and shoulders above the Dutch farmers who currently hold sway over the superabundance of Sleepy Hollow.⁵⁸

On a beautiful afternoon in “the sumptuous time of autumn”—the same season in which André set out on his fated ride—a messenger arrives at the schoolhouse to inform Ichabod that he is invited to the annual harvest festival hosted by Baltus Van Tassel, Katrina’s doting father.⁵⁹ Even though “the contented, good-humored, and hospitable” Dutchman invites everyone to these galas, Ichabod sees the invitation as a sign that he is now among the social elite in Sleepy Hollow.⁶⁰ After dismissing school “an hour before the usual time,” the “gallant Ichabod now spent at least an extra half hour at his toilet, brushing and furbishing up his best, and indeed only suit of rusty black, and arranging his looks by a bit of broken looking glass, that hung up in the school house.”⁶¹ When he gazes into the mirror, he sees a ladies’ man smiling back at him, a charmer who is destined for “bright shillings” and personal advancement.⁶² Later

on that afternoon, exactly like “the unfortunate André” before him, “the unfortunate Ichabod” must borrow both horse and saddle to make his journey into the heart of Dutch farming country.⁶³

While on his ride to “the castle of the Heer Van Tassel” for what will prove an eventful night, the setting sun bathes the Hudson Valley in autumnal splendor; and Ichabod—thinking himself quite the English “cavalier”—swells with confidence as he views the wealth that soon will be his for the taking.⁶⁴ “On all sides he beheld vast stores of apples, some hanging in oppressive opulence on the trees, some gathered into baskets and barrels for the market, others heaped up in rich piles for the cider press.”⁶⁵ Farther along, he admires “great fields of Indian corn,” and “anon he passed the fragrant buckwheat fields, breathing the odor of the bee hive, and as he beheld them, soft anticipations stole over his mind of dainty slap jacks, well buttered, and garnished with honey or treacle, by the delicate little dimpled hand of Katrina Van Tassel.”⁶⁶ Just as the overreaching André dreamed of promotion to brigadier general upon the completion of his top secret mission, so too does Ichabod picture himself in high station via similar intrigue. “He could not help, too, rolling his large eyes round him [...] and chuckling with the possibility that he might one day be lord of all this scene of almost unimaginable luxury and splendor.”⁶⁷

Several hours later, after the festival has ended, the Dutch locals begin to make their way back “along the hollow roads, and over the distant hills” to their fairytale farms and cottages.⁶⁸ Ichabod, “according to the custom of country lovers,” lingers behind “to have a tête-à-tête with the heiress,” convinced that he is on the high road to success with Katrina, “the lady of his heart,” not to mention his pocketbook.⁶⁹ But something goes terribly wrong, and the beautiful heiress rejects his proposal. “Let it suffice to say, Ichabod stole forth with the air of one who had been sacking a hen roost, rather than a fair lady’s heart.”⁷⁰ Brought low by her rebuff, the outsider in oversized clothes retrieves his borrowed mount from the Van Tassel barn, kicks the old horse smartly in the ribs, and then sets off on the lonely ride back to whatever attic or spare room is his domicile for the week.

“It was the very witching time of night that Ichabod, heavy hearted and crest fallen, pursued his travel homewards, along the sides of the lofty hills” he “had traversed so cheerily in the afternoon.”⁷¹ Amid “the dead hush of midnight,” the many “stories of ghosts and goblins that he” has heard since arriving in “this enchanted region” begin to fire the schoolmaster’s imagination.⁷² Of a sudden, everything he sees and hears along the old roadway makes him gasp and shudder. Just like John André, poor Ichabod is without map, guide, or companion in a land with different accents, unfamiliar customs, and a simmering resentment against all things English. “The night grew darker and darker; the stars seemed to sink deeper in the sky, and driving clouds occasionally hid them from his sight. He had never felt so lonely and dismal.”⁷³ He soon reaches an important landmark along André’s road, a giant poplar, barren and looming. “It was connected with the tragical story of the unfortunate André, who had been taken prisoner

hard by; and was universally known by the name of Major André's tree. The common people regarded it with a mixture of respect and superstition, partly out of sympathy for the fate of its ill starred namesake, and partly from the tales of strange sights, and doleful lamentations, told concerning it."⁷⁴ Yet even now, this clueless outsider does not grasp how he is in the same predicament as the late Major André, traveling the same road in the same direction while encountering the very same landmarks.

Ichabod "passed the tree in safety but new perils lay before him," because not far "from the tree a small brook crossed the road and ran into a marshy and thickly wooded glen known by the name of Wiley's Swamp."⁷⁵ Several "logs laid side by side served as a bridge over the stream," and on the "side of the road where the brook entered the wood, a group of oaks and chestnuts matted thick with wild grapevines threw a cavernous gloom over" the bridge and everything near it.⁷⁶ Ichabod suddenly recalls how it was "at this identical spot that the unfortunate André" was intercepted, "and under the covert of those chestnuts and vines were the sturdy yeomen concealed who surprised him."⁷⁷ Yet even as his heart begins to hammer, he still fails to appreciate how—with every step of his borrowed horse—he is reenacting the last ride of the famous secret agent and fellow English *bon vivant*. As he reaches the bridge and is enveloped by the gloom that surrounds the haunted crossing, "a plashy tramp" from the spot that concealed the militia guards a decade earlier alerts "the sensitive ear of Ichabod."⁷⁸ Before he can decide in which direction to flee, something "black and towering" rises from the woods "like some gigantic monster ready to spring upon the traveler."⁷⁹ As did André ten autumns before him, Ichabod attempts to talk his way out of the situation. "Summoning up, therefore, a show of courage, he demanded in stammering accents—'who are you?' He received no reply. He repeated his demand in a still more agitated voice.—Still there was no answer."⁸⁰ Words did not save "the unfortunate Major André" from his fate at the bridge, and they will not save "the unfortunate Ichabod" from his.⁸¹ After a frantic chase through the woods with his oversized "clothes bagging and fluttering about him," he tumbles from his borrowed horse and is never seen again.⁸² "The brook was searched, but the body of the schoolmaster was not to be discovered."⁸³

A man who "prided himself" on his learning— "He had read several books quite through"—Ichabod's education has one profound deficiency.⁸⁴ Exactly like John André before him, he understands neither the culture nor the history of the Dutch valley he invades with so much confidence, intent upon forcing a secret agenda upon the local population. If he had been a better spy and had done his homework before going "under cover," then perhaps Ichabod would not have followed—quite literally—in the footsteps of "the unfortunate Major André," the original agent "of no little vanity" who, at his own peril, badly underestimated the locals.⁸⁵ In the end, just like the late major, Ichabod is far too clever for his own good. While not hanged as a spy, the schoolmaster does meet an ignominious end, not killed, of course, but sprawled on his back with a smashed pumpkin beside him, symbolizing his shattered dreams of "revenue."⁸⁶ Having failed like André at "intrigue and manoeuvre," the hapless Ichabod flees Sleepy Hollow

forever, taking with him only the oversized clothes on his back.⁸⁷ Or if one believes the Dutch wives who are experts in such matters, this second English impostor caught skulking about in the dark is spirited away by the Headless Horseman at the very stroke of midnight, doomed to ride double forever with the galloping goblin.

In the end, there seems little doubt that the historical André, at least in part, inspired Washington Irving's creation, many decades later, of the fictional Ichabod Crane. Granted, the itinerant schoolmaster and owner of one baggy suit of clothes is no John André, a man of genuine accomplishment and style. However, in Ichabod's fantasies, he is exactly that kind of man, a dashing "cavalier" on horseback.⁸⁸ Because the English spy who dreamed of "subjugating the Colonies" was unmasked in the middle of his secret mission, the American Revolution succeeded, and a new nation was born.⁸⁹ And because Ichabod—another bumbling operative with top secret plans—is similarly thwarted, *Sleepy Hollow*, a microcosm of that new nation, likewise triumphs. This "pastoral homeland envisioned by poets since the time of Virgil" will not be overthrown by another Englishman who dreams of advancement at someone else's expense.⁹⁰ In effect, for the second time in ten years, "the Dutch of Sleepy Hollow have won their war for cultural independence" against an English infiltrator who would overthrow the Hudson Valley, a promised land rich in "milk" and "honey."⁹¹ Before very long, the adventures of "the unfortunate Ichabod"—exactly like those of his "unfortunate" predecessor—are woven into the already rich tapestry of local Dutch legend and lore.⁹²

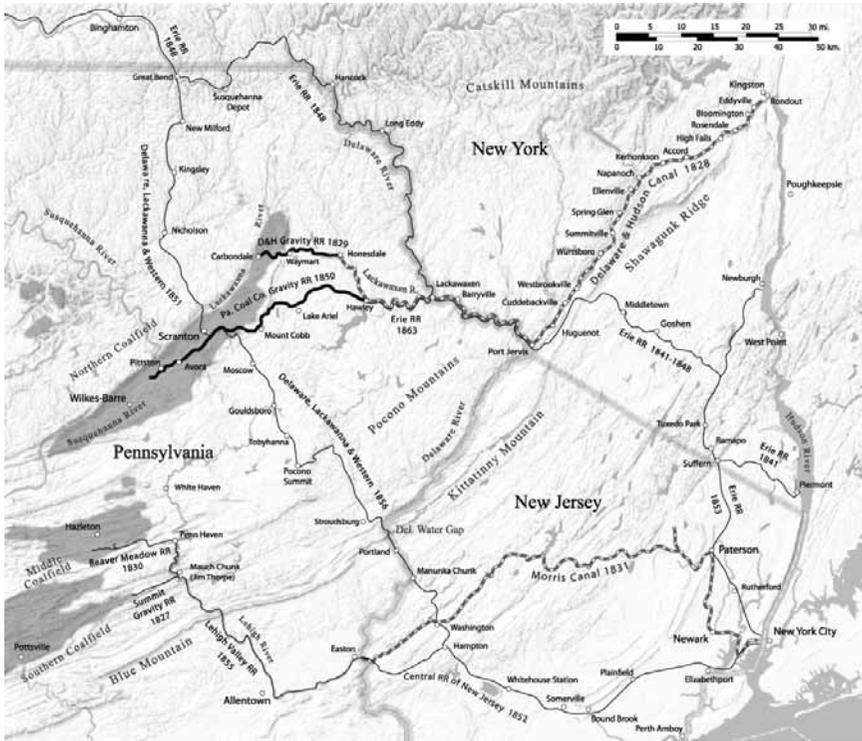
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Map of the Delaware and Hudson Canal, also showing some competing canals and railroads circa 1865. By James R. Irwin, from Wikimedia Commons

The Tontine Coffee House and the Corporate Culture of the D&H Canal

Stephen Skye

The D&H and Lehigh canal companies

The D&H Canal was one of a group of private canals built during the late 1820s and early 1830s to carry anthracite coal from the coalfields of eastern Pennsylvania to tidewater. Like the Lehigh Navigation, it was owned by a coal company. Yet while the two canal corporations were created at approximately the same time for the same purpose, their corporate cultures and legacies are strikingly different. By comparing the

actions of the D&H Canal Company with those of the Lehigh Navigation Company we can identify significant corporate traits that distinguish the D&H. By tracing these characteristics back to the set of values shared by the founders of the D&H and the Tontine Coffee House community, from which its board of managers was chosen, a picture of the company's corporate culture becomes clear.

The Tontine Coffee House



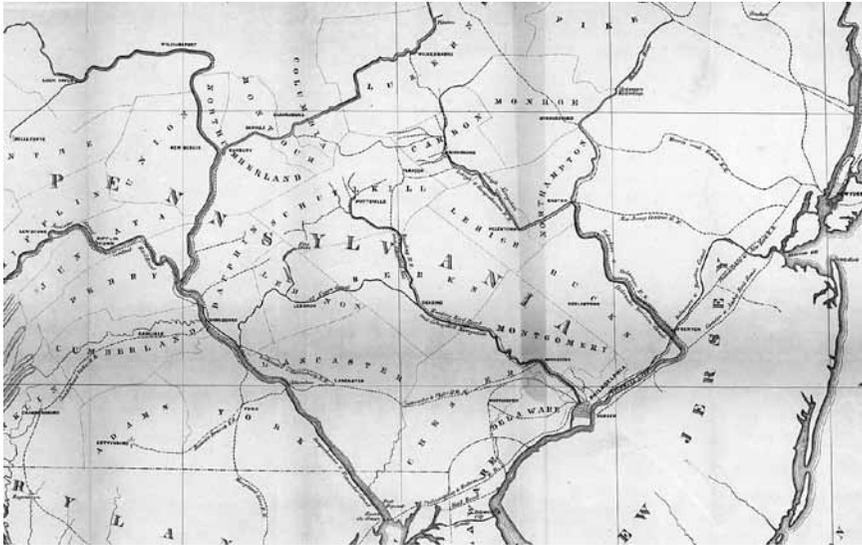
The Tontine Coffee House, 1820

The corporate culture of the D&H Canal Company was determined by the company's original investors¹, who gathered on January 7, 1825, at the Tontine Coffee House in Manhattan to subscribe to its stock. Maurice and John Wurts—who founded the company with Philip Hone, who would become its first president—stood out from this crowd. While many of the investors were buying as short-term speculators, the Wurts brothers were purchasing for the long term, to make money from carrying and selling the company's anthracite. However, like their colleagues gathered at the Tontine Coffee House, they were not primarily interested in improving the transportation infrastructure of their young country. First and foremost, they were looking to make money. This set the tone for the way the company would act over the next century and beyond.

The Tontine Coffee House was founded by prominent merchants to provide a meeting place and business center for New York City's mercantile community.² Of the wealthiest New Yorkers in 1828, almost eighty percent were merchants,³ making the coffee house a veritable “home away from home” for New York's richest citizens. The Tontine also hosted numerous important public meetings.⁴ This is critical to understand because the nature of the venue says something about the efforts of the Wurts brothers to fulfill their dream of making money from their coal lands. Like much else they did, it shows determined and methodical planning. It also shows that they understood the New York commercial world and realized just where they needed to open their stock subscription books.

Coffee houses were important to the financial life of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The coffee houses themselves distributed information of interest to their clients, including mercantile directories and shipping lists. By the end of the eighteenth century, these establishments came to house stock exchanges. New York's first stock exchange, the Merchants Exchange, met for over thirty years in an upstairs room at the Tontine Coffee House, beginning in 1794.⁵

The Tontine had been erected two years earlier, in 1792/93, by a group of businessmen who had brokerage, banking, and other commercial interests. It was located



Detail of “Map of the canals and railroads connecting the Broad Top Coal Region with the Atlantic, c.1840” showing some of the canals and railroads connecting Pennsylvania’s anthracite region with tidewater.

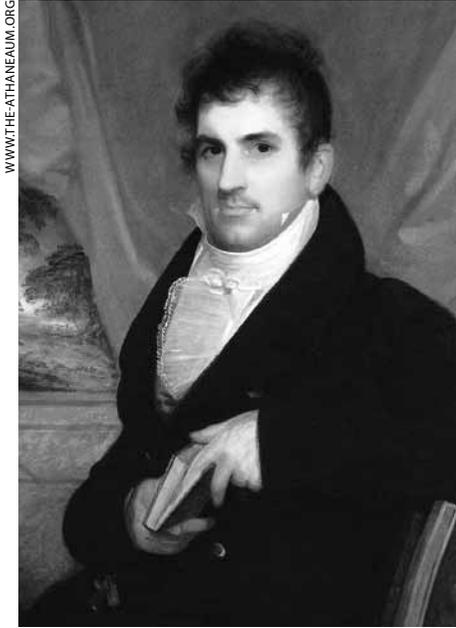
at 68 Wall Street, near the docks at Water Street and about five blocks from the city’s major banking houses,⁶ which were concentrated near the Broadway end of Wall Street. During the early nineteenth century, these banks came to include Mechanics Bank, Union Bank, Manhattan Bank, Merchants Bank, Bank of New York, Bank of America, and the New York branch of the Bank of the United States. The Tontine became a club for influential million-dollar bankers and the merchants they supported; part of the building was reserved exclusively for the use of its members, many of whom met there socially every noon.^{7,8}

Catering to its moneyed clientele, the Tontine served the choicest meats and finest liquors.⁹ *The New York Times* even called the old coffee house “fashionable”¹⁰ and “a great resort for merchants.”¹¹ In its role as a club, it had rooms for businessmen who might be visiting the city on some commercial errand. Though the D&H Canal Company set up headquarters at Sykes’ Hotel during the Wurts brothers’ December 1824-January 1825 trip to New York,¹² they must have spent some time at the Tontine to make sure the anthracite they were showing off was fired up frequently in the correct way and to pitch the benefits of their fuel to the coffee house’s habitués. They may even have stayed at the coffee house. What better way to protect their interests?

The D&H stock subscription was not unique for the Tontine: Many of the city’s renowned banks and corporations were born there.¹³ One example occurred around 1798 when subscription books were opened at the coffee house to finance the remodeling of the John Street Playhouse, to bring it up to standards with the newly completed, luxurious Park Theatre, the city’s first world-class theater.¹⁴ Subscribers would get a

season's worth of free tickets to the John Street theater.¹⁵ Given the cost of each share (£150), prospective subscribers had to be people of means. The Tontine was a great host for all sorts of important gatherings, including the formal organization of the D&H Canal Company on March 8, 1825.¹⁶

Philip Hone: The D&H Canal's New York connection



Philip Hone, (detail) painted by John Wesley Jarvis, c.1809

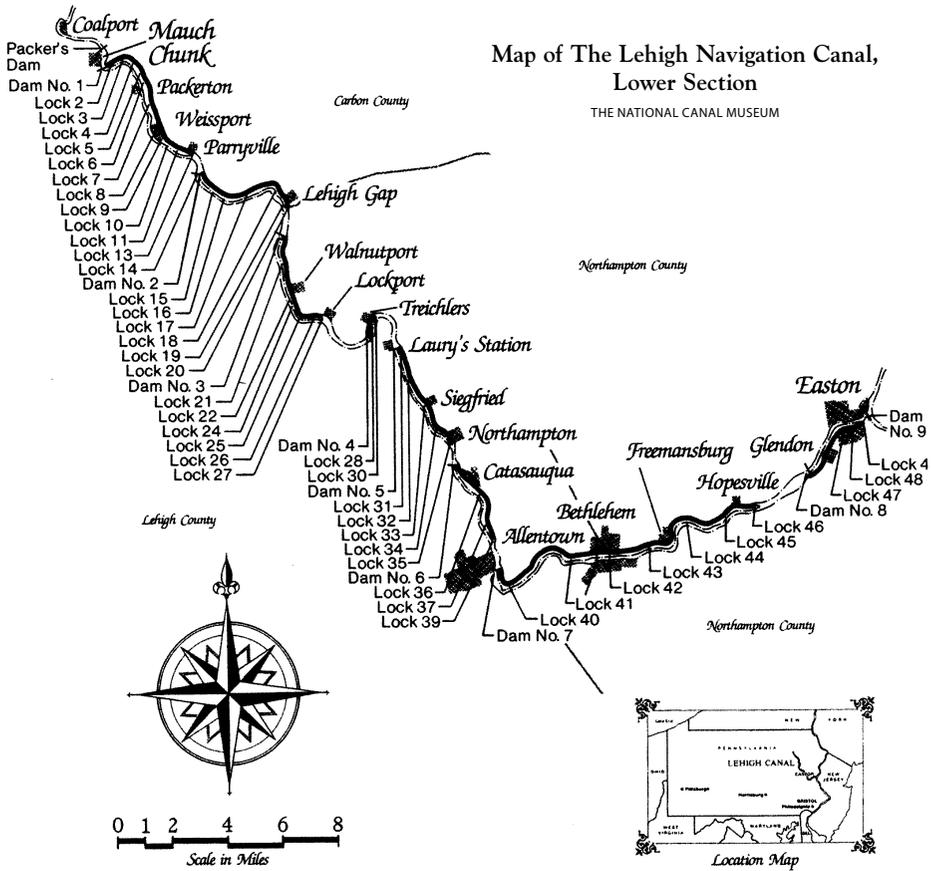
The Wurts brothers were Philadelphians. However, New Yorker Philip Hone was well known at the Tontine and probably knew everyone there. For that matter, Hone knew everyone of consequence in the city.¹⁷ His primary benefit to the Wurts brothers was that he connected these outsiders to New York's coterie of investors. His standing in the community assured the brothers a warm welcome into the circle of Tontine patrons.

A future mayor of New York, Hone played an important role in defining the canal company's personality. As a well-known speculator and bon vivant, he fit in comfortably with the host of speculators who frequented the Tontine, a "hub of speculation"¹⁸ for New York's financial community. Hone was an avid real estate speculator in New York properties¹⁹ as well as lands out west.²⁰ He even made

money investing in Pennsylvania coal fields.²¹

Though of modest roots, Hone, a native New Yorker,²² became part of New York City's upper crust, a group well known for its speculative propensities. However, he was certainly against the kind of "extravagant speculation" that had taken hold in America²³, unless, of course, he was a beneficiary.²⁴ He emphatically lamented the whipsawing of D&H share prices in the 1830s caused by rampant speculation. Though a speculator, Hone was concerned with more than simply making as much money as possible using whatever means were available. The short selling of the more adventurous and extreme speculators won no sympathy from him. His investment in the D&H Canal suffered from their "lying and chicanery."²⁵

Along with his brother John and business associate Charles Town, Philip Hone also was a partner in the auction firm of Hone and Town. Both Hone brothers had made large fortunes in the auction business and were the "crème de la crème" of New York society.²⁶ They frequently used the Tontine Coffee House to hold auctions of their



goods. In January 1815, for example, they auctioned a huge shipment of dry goods in the “great bar-room” of the coffee house. A thousand cases that had run the British blockade or been smuggled through Canada were sold to buyers from Baltimore, Philadelphia, Boston, Albany, and other cities up and down the Eastern Seaboard.²⁷ The War of 1812 was still being fought and there was a lot of money to be made in selling goods that had beaten the British embargo.

When the Wurts brothers first circulated their plan for a canal to carry anthracite from Pennsylvania to New York City, it’s clear that many of the prospective investors likely had connections to the Tontine. We do know from D&H historian Edwin D. LeRoy that Hone first learned of the proposed D&H Canal in 1824, when he saw a survey of the canal route that the Wurts brothers had circulated in New York and Philadelphia. LeRoy writes that Hone “immediately became interested in the proposition.”²⁸ In writing about the D&H Canal’s summer 1825 groundbreaking, *Niles Register* describes Hone as having “thrown the weight of his character and wealth into this undertaking, and it will be successful.”²⁹

Josiah White and Erskine Hazard: Lehigh Navigation's founders

THE MAUCH CHUNK MUSEUM & CULTURAL CENTER



Josiah White

It's clear that money and its enjoyment were never far from Hone's mind, and this influenced his actions with the D&H. On the other hand, money was much less of an attraction for Josiah White of the Lehigh Navigation. According to his *Memoir*, both he and Erskine Hazard, founders of the Lehigh Navigation Company, saw the canal as "no mere business... It was a life's ideal."³⁰ When confronted in 1841 with a disastrous flood and a severe banking panic, White, with Hazard and company stalwart John Cox (its president), mortgaged all their possessions to finance the canal's rebuilding. Though he knew he might lose everything, White carried on, fearful that, perhaps, he had "gotten too proud from getting too rich."³¹ Money, obviously, was not

the central object of his desires.

Both White and Hazard were devout Quakers. In this context, one important aspect of their Quaker culture was its rejection of "unrestrained capitalist enterprise."³² Speculation was always something that Quakers were very strongly warned against.³³ Of course, we know that Quakers did speculate, especially on land; American history is full of examples.^{34, 35} However, Quaker thinking still did work to obstruct the more egregious levels of speculation. These Quakers certainly were not cut from the same cloth as the New York speculators, and their canal company acted much differently than the D&H. The New York elite found at the Tontine Coffee House certainly seems to have been more materialistic than their Philadelphia Quaker counterparts, and this is reflected in the ethos of the two companies.

The warm reception given the Wurts brothers by New York's band of investors markedly contrasts with the fairly chilly reception that Josiah White and Erskine Hazard received in 1818 while soliciting subscribers for stock in Lehigh Navigation.³⁶ White and Hazard certainly don't appear to have had a strong connection to the investor community. Much as the Wurts brothers counted on Philip Hone to gain them entrée to New York's moneyed community, Hazard and White relied on George F.A. Hauto to "procure the money from his rich friends," according to the *Memoir of Josiah White*, written by his son-in-law.³⁷ The difference was that Hauto turned out to be a sham, as was discovered in 1819, and thus a worthless asset to Hazard and White's enterprise.³⁸

The D&H Canal and Lehigh Navigation boards

Unlike industrialists White and Hazard, Hone and the Wurts brothers were merchants. They didn't make things; they bought and sold things. This is the basis of speculation. While they were not simply speculators, as such, when it came to their canal, they were part of the speculative community and would have felt at home with the speculators who subscribed to their stock and came to sit on the D&H Canal Company's board. The board of the D&H had no tie to the areas the canal crossed. This stems from the company's earliest days, when the board was drawn mostly from the ranks of New York City investors. For example, the fourteen-member company board in 1826 had been packed with mainstays of New York's business community. Among its prominent members, two would become bank presidents (Samuel Whittemore and Thomas Tileston) and two career bankers (Rufus L. Lord and Samuel Flewelling). One owned a land company (Benjamin W. Rogers) and three were real estate developers (Whittemore, Lord, and Hezekiah B. Pierpont). At least six were prominent merchants (Hone, Lord, Garret B. Abeel, John Hunter, William W. Russell, and William H. Ireland) and four were also politicians (Whittemore, Hone, Hunter, and Ireland).³⁹ Of these board members, fully one half were among the wealthiest New Yorkers,⁴⁰ making this a blue-ribbon group. The Tontine Coffee House had attracted the very best managers the city had to offer. In turn, it seems that the D&H Canal Company took advantage of this bounty.

In comparison, less than one-quarter of the Lehigh Navigation Company's board in 1839 figured among the wealthiest Philadelphians.⁴¹ Instead, it probably had a broad Quaker representation early on—not surprising since the company's founders, White and Hazard, were Quakers. To illustrate, in 1839⁴² the company's president was Joseph Watson, a Quaker,⁴³ and at least half of the company's other officers were probably Quakers.⁴⁴ In 1841 John Cox succeeded Watson as president.⁴⁵ At the time, the Cox family was a prominent Quaker family in Pennsylvania and surrounding states.⁴⁶

The D&H Canal Company ceased to operate the canal in 1898 and sold it that year to Samuel Decker Coykendall, a cousin of Horace G. Young, second vice president of the company.^{47,48} Coykendall had deep ties to the D&H Canal Company through marriage. His wife's father, uncle, and cousin had all served at some point as executives of the company. A significant part of the canal continued in operation well after its sale. Coykendall kept the canal open from Eddyville to Ellenville through 1901 and the Rosendale section (used to carry cement from his Rosendale Consolidated Cement Company) until 1913, when the canal was totally abandoned.⁴⁹

Certainly, there doesn't appear to have been any grave need to sell the canal in 1898. In contrast, at about the same time, the Lehigh Navigation Company was channeling its own coal down its waterway to keep it open.⁵⁰ The reason why the D&H Canal was sold is most likely that the company wanted to be done with the canal industry. This probably was a legacy of its Tontine Coffee House roots and the speculative ideology it inherited. Unlike the Lehigh Navigation Company, which kept its canal open despite

its less than optimal financial performance, there was no great sense of obligation in the D&H. For the most part, the New Yorkers cared about their company and maximizing its profit, not the area their canal ran through. While the decision to close the canal was rational from a business standpoint, it certainly wasn't the only decision possible, as the Lehigh Navigation Company demonstrated. The D&H Canal Company wanted out of the canal business regardless of any consequences for the people and industries involved with its canal.⁵¹ Simply put, companies like Lehigh Navigation chose to include recognition of their civic role in their corporate governance; the D&H really did not.

By providing incentives to firms willing to set up anthracite furnaces, the Lehigh Navigation Company helped establish a robust anthracite iron industry along the canal corridor.⁵² This probably helped keep the canal going at the close of the nineteenth century, just as the D&H was abandoning its canal, since the Lehigh still had this important customer base. Though its canal business had fallen to a small fraction of its overall revenue, it was still profitable and the Lehigh board evidently saw no need to abandon it. While there were good reasons to ship via rail instead of water, the company appears to have been determined to use its canal instead of abandoning it. Given the reluctance of customers to continue using the canal to supply their coal, it is remarkable that the Lehigh maintained its canal into the twentieth century.⁵³ In 1888, according to a Congressional report, it was even channeling enough of its coal down its waterway just to keep it open.⁵⁴ Given its fixed operating costs, the canal required a minimum amount of traffic to avoid operating at a loss.⁵⁵ Any revenue above that level was pure profit.⁵⁶ Perhaps the anthracite iron industry along the Lehigh would have become established without the incentives offered by the canal company. Regardless, the actions of the Lehigh Navigation Company illustrate its belief in embedding itself alongside local industry.

The D&H Canal's board was generally indistinguishable from the clientele of the Tontine Coffee House; the executive management of the canal, for the most part, had no special stake in its continued operation. They might feel a sentimental attachment, but their personal and corporate interests lay elsewhere. This probably was sufficient to sign the canal's death warrant in 1898. While upstaters in Orange and Ulster counties might have sought to keep the waterway in operation, the D&H board, as constituted at the time, wanted to unload the canal in order to concentrate on its thriving railway business. In fact, it already was preoccupied with railroad issues.⁵⁷ The D&H's board had never been wedded to the idea that it was a canal company: from the very first, they had seen the enterprise as a coal company. Its canal mainly provided a way to market its coal.

Philip Hone and Josiah White came from different worlds. White's *History* describes machinery, while Hone's *Diary* recounts dinner parties. The contrast between both men and their companies couldn't be clearer. "Technologists" dominated the Lehigh while "money men" ran the D&H. The D&H and Lehigh canal companies embodied two different versions of capitalism; the difference revolves around the question of

whether or not there is something more in running a business than simply making as much money as possible. In selling its canal, the D&H Canal Company took an action that, surprisingly, looks a lot like what's practiced today by corporate buyout firms who specialize in underperforming, distressed, or troubled companies. In removing the canal from its pool of assets, the company increased its net worth by eliminating a potential source of liability. As long as the canal was in use, there was always a risk from lawsuits that might arise from operating a decaying canal.⁵⁸ Selling the canal, even at the meager \$10,000 price the company set, is what one would expect from a corporate buyout firm today: Buy the canal company, get the canal off the balance sheet, and recapitalize the company based on an improved balance sheet. It is also an action that would feel natural to the Tontine Coffee House crowd.

A mark of the success of the D&H Canal Company was surely the placement of John Jacob Astor on its board in 1866. He remained on the board for twenty-three years, at which point his son, William W. Astor, succeeded him.⁵⁹ In a further sign of the high regard in which the company was held, railroad magnate J.P. Morgan also served on the canal's board during the 1870s,⁶⁰ resigning in 1880 because of business pressures.⁶¹ Previously, early in 1870, he had helped the D&H expand its railroad business by leasing to it the Albany & Susquehanna Railroad.⁶²

The canal companies and local industry

From very early on, the D&H Canal board showed considerable indifference toward commerce with Pennsylvania. They were focused almost exclusively on trade with New York and its great city. Evidence of this comes in an 1828 comment made in one of Samuel Hazard's publications about connecting the state-owned Delaware Canal with the almost completed D&H.⁶³ The article points out the benefits in increased trade that such a connection would reap for both the state of Pennsylvania and the D&H Canal. Nothing ever came of the proposal. The Wurts brothers had given up on the Philadelphia market and, public statements aside, were concentrating on carrying coal, not any other cargo. They'd take the tolls for cargo other than coal, but they were not building the canal for this purpose. Philadelphia, the Hazard article states, would benefit from a connection between the Delaware and D&H canals. The article further warns that New York would be the beneficiary of a failure to connect the two canals. Since the Wurts brothers, at this point, cared only about shipping their anthracite to New York City, the point made by Hazard was moot.

Another example of the D&H Canal Company's indifference to Pennsylvania can be found in the way the Wurts brothers kept their canal's destination purposefully vague. Though the Lackawaxen section of the waterway was chartered by the State of Pennsylvania in 1823, the Wurts brothers were a bit misleading about the destination of their navigation. Politicians in Harrisburg obviously favored Philadelphia.⁶⁴ Even after deciding on New York City as the canal's destination, the Wurts brothers still never let on that this was their real objective. This is a very early demonstration of the D&H's

sophisticated sense of political reality, a hallmark of the company's corporate culture.

The canal companies and philanthropy

Notwithstanding its lack of a deep connection to Carbondale and the D&H Canal community at large, the civic improvement programs implemented by the D&H Canal board were largely similar to the programs of the Lehigh Navigation Company and the other corporate anthracite canals. For example, the D&H Canal Company donated money for religious reasons and for other local purposes. In 1842 and 1843, each canal boat was supplied with a bible at company expense.⁶⁵ Throughout its history, the company also donated resources to build churches. In addition, it contributed land for schools, a courthouse, and firehouses.⁶⁶ Likewise, the Lehigh Navigation Company has been described as being "generous in its help to local governments, schools, churches, and associations of all kinds."⁶⁷ In fact, one observer likened the Lehigh's generosity to "a sow pig with thousands of piglets."⁶⁸ Any difference between the D&H and Lehigh canal companies is not to be found in the mere existence of philanthropic undertakings and civic improvement programs. Rather, the difference is due to the level of their generosity. In this regard, it appears that the Lehigh was more unstinting with its money and land than the D&H.

According to the company's annual report, only the Lehigh's mines remained open during the anthracite miner's strike of 1900, since the miners believed the "Company had always treated them fairly."⁶⁹ If true, this is a comment one would expect to hear about a Quaker enterprise. Earlier, in 1833, the same situation seemed to prevail. As Eleanor Morton observes in her biography of Josiah White, "a 'turnout' took place in the Wurtz [sic] mines but there could be no friction between men and employers in the Lehigh's valley."⁷⁰ However, labor unrest did catch up with the Lehigh in the 1840s.⁷¹ Though its Quaker roots may have moderated the company's behavior, the days of benevolent paternalism were over by mid-century.

Both the D&H and the Lehigh boards approved incentives to increase the use of anthracite. However, each company took a different path in its marketing efforts. The method chosen reflects the philosophy of each board. The Lehigh provided incentives to firms willing to set up anthracite furnaces in the area it served. In this way, the Lehigh Navigation Company helped establish a robust anthracite iron industry along the canal corridor.⁷² In the words of the Lehigh's 1839 annual report, "the Managers have for many years been extremely anxious to have the business of smelting iron with anthracite coal introduced upon the Lehigh, on account of the immense demand for [Lehigh Navigation Company] water power and coal, which that particular business would create, and the amount of tonnage which the transportation of ore, coal, limestone and iron, required for it, must necessarily produce for the payment of tolls."⁷³ In contrast, the D&H marketing effort wasn't limited to businesses local to their canal.⁷⁴ Actually, the endeavors of the D&H were intended to spread the use of its coal to other regions. One example can be found in the company's 1848 effort to encourage the use

of coal at salt works in Syracuse, New York.⁷⁵ Another may be found in the company's early targeting (in 1829) of New England's rapidly growing manufacturing sector.⁷⁶

The D&H Canal Company also concentrated on expanding the uses for its coal. In the 1830s, it worked tirelessly to introduce the steamship industry to anthracite.⁷⁷ Again, this shows that while the Lehigh continued acting in an insular manner in its dogged pursuit of local industrial development, the D&H took a more global approach in its quest to develop new markets and uses far from the canal's geographic home. It's likely that the basis for each tradition can be found in each canal's founding. The original D&H board was composed of businessmen with wide-flung commercial interests and little connection to the Lackawanna Valley, while the Lehigh Navigation's board shared the same roots as the people of the Lehigh Valley.

In a sense, the "soul" of the D&H Canal Company could be found in the rooms of the Tontine Coffee House. The high-energy speculation for which New York City is noted permeated the coffee house. This aggressive but generally prudent profit-chasing demeanor also came to be a distinctive trait of the D&H Canal Company. Careful management of the company, along with an ability to take measured risks, helped assure its success. These attributes were core values of its corporate culture and can be traced all the way back to the attitude that pervaded the Tontine. No wonder that shares of D&H stock were sometimes characterized as the stock of widows and orphans.⁷⁸ The company was just that successful,⁷⁹ truly a descendant of the Tontine Coffee House.

The difference between the D&H and Lehigh canal companies was more a matter of degree than kind. Both were profit-making enterprises focused on making money by selling the coal dug out of their mines. The Lehigh paid more attention to its civic responsibilities than the D&H, possibly due to the Quaker roots of its founders and board. Regardless, they both recognized their civic duties. The Lehigh just was more aggressive than the D&H in this regard. Conceivably, if the D&H had spent more effort in establishing canal-dependent businesses along its line it might have remained in operation into the twentieth century. Certainly, the Rosendale cement industry kept the northern end of the canal profitable well into the first decade of the new century. But the D&H, unlike the Lehigh, chose not to focus on building up and supporting local business because, perhaps, it had no strong ties to the people of the area it served.

Perhaps if the D&H had a stronger sense of responsibility toward the communities through which its canal flowed, if its board had been more sentimentally attached to its canal, as the Lehigh's board apparently was with its "institution," the board might have felt more connected to the people of the canal way. This might have motivated the board to take aggressive action to make the waterway profitable—for example to concentrate on encouraging local business so that its cargo operations were more profitable.⁸⁰

Though the Lehigh Navigation Company developed its water power business, the D&H Canal never did the same. While the D&H board had approved a program of canal improvements in the 1860s, thereby achieving increased economies of scale,

these upgrades were never carried out.⁸¹ Furthermore, though the D&H railroad lines had aggressively entered into tourism and resort services,⁸² no effort ever was made to capitalize on the leisure-travel potential of the bucolic D&H Canal. While the 1850s saw the rise of the company's two grand Adirondack Mountains hostleries, the Fort William Henry Hotel and Hotel Champlain, no D&H hotels were ever built in the Catskills.⁸³ The D&H Canal could have improved its profitability and remained open for a few decades more, but the board did not appear interested in doing so. This lack of interest in the canal's potential was one of the reasons why the D&H was shut while the Lehigh remained in operation into the twentieth century.

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 54. *Ibid.* According to the testimony of Eckley B. Coxe, president of Coxe Brothers and Company, March 1, 1888, canals had a few distinct disadvantages: the coal broke when dumped from mine car into boat and it was difficult to get it out of the boat, especially in cold weather when it froze. Coxe was one of the largest coal mine operators in the Lehigh valley. Further, according to testimony of Joseph S. Harris, President of the Lehigh Navigation, manufacturers had to stockpile coal for the winter months resulting in additional cost for labor, equipment and the land used to hold the coal. (*Ibid.*, p. 660.) Since the money tied up in the stored coal was money that had to be taken out of the company's working capital, the stored coal had a very significant impact on canal customers. This accounts for the reluctance to use canals when rail lines were available.
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 67. W. Julian Parton, *The Death of a Great Company, Reflections on the Decline and Fall of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company*, (Easton, PA: Canal History and Technology Press, 1986), p. 25.
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The Unique Story of a Continental Soldier Stationed in the Hudson River Valley during the American Revolution

“Henry Kneeland one of Bergoines troops & defected from Winterhill”

Michael S. McGurty

Nearly every Revolutionary War soldier appears as a phantom upon the historic record—a shadowy glimpse and they are gone. Henry Kneeland is one such figure. But from these spectral visages it still is possible to reconstruct his life during and after the war. Of the thousands of soldiers who served in the Massachusetts Continental Line, there are enough stray references and passing notes about Kneeland to suggest that his story was unusual and intriguing enough to warrant further study. Most tantalizing is the evidence of his service with the British before enlisting in the American army.

Henry Kneeland had been a godsend to Thaddeus Dean, one of the town leaders of Bedford, Massachusetts. The chairman for the Class III section of Bedford, Dean was responsible for obtaining a recruit for the Continental Army to satisfy the Congressional resolution that states fill their Continental Lines. Failure to provide the needed soldiers and the requisite supplies to sustain them in the field would possibly “be attended with the most fatal consequences.”¹ When there was a requirement to provide recruits, officials divided the town into sections based on the number needed. In 1781, Bedford was required to provide seven men, so the town was divided into that many classes. The size of each class was not fixed, but varied based on the household wealth of the citizens, so the heaviest burden fell upon those with the greatest means. Kneeland enlisted in Dean’s class on March 3, 1781, for three years. At the completion of his service he was promised a bounty of “Twenty head of cattle, three years old.”² Each new soldier received more or less the same amount, but sometimes in different means of exchange. By promising commodities, the town could divide the burden of providing these cattle among the citizens as a tax in the future.

Bedford is little over fifteen miles northwest of Boston; it once was part of the Town of Concord. A small agricultural community, the town had around “30 dwelling-houses” and “858 inhabitants” in 1805.³ During the Lexington alarm, the Bedford Minutemen made a stand with other local militia companies at Concord Bridge on April 19, 1775.

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Kneeland was not at Concord that day. At that time, he most assuredly had never heard of Bedford, Concord, or maybe even Massachusetts, for that matter.

Throughout 1781, the Massachusetts contingent in the Continental Army had been losing soldiers. During that period, over 5,000 soldiers left the ranks; the Massachusetts Line lost nearly seventy-five percent of its forces by March of that year. A small number died, deserted, or were taken prisoner, but the overwhelming majority was simply discharged from the service.⁴ The Continental Army was ostensibly a volunteer force. Soldiers enlisted either for a set length of time or for the duration of the war. Some soldiers were drafted or levied from the state militia to augment the Continentals for short periods of time, usually for a particular campaign. By the middle of the war, enthusiasm for military service had waned considerably. Desperate to entice recruits, Massachusetts started to offer substantial bounties for short-term enlistments. Designing men saw an opportunity to hire themselves out for the bounty and clothing. They would complete their duty and then sign on again for another bonus. This practice was bitterly resented by the soldiers who signed on for longer periods. “Short inlistments...[were also an] extravagant expence to Towns and Individuals...destructive of Order, Oeconomy and [the] System...[of] Finances...[was] the chief source of the disappointments, misfortunes and perplexities...[and] the great cause of protracting the War.”⁵

Recruits required constant training in drill and discipline, which reduced the veteran instructors to “perpetual slaves.” Disgusted by this servitude, Benjamin Gilbert, a hard-drinking, cavorting sergeant in the 5th Massachusetts Regiment, believed officials could have enlisted the recruits for a longer term for the same price they paid for six months service.⁶ (Gilbert’s diary and letters contain some of the best observations of Continental Army life.) Kneeland would not have been that hard to make serviceable, because he had been in the military before. During the short-term enlistees’ service, the regiment pressured them to remain in the ranks, usually unsuccessfully. Washington tried to convince Congress to draft men for the war. The time and expense wasted in making the new recruits serviceable, only to see them leave shortly thereafter, created a significant challenge in effectively fighting the war.⁷ In October 1780, Congress recommended that the states fill up their lines by drafting men who would serve for at least one year unless they were replaced sooner by a long-term enlistee.⁸ This would give the states more time to find men who would agree to sign on for longer periods or for the duration of the war.

After years of war, finding acceptable recruits was very difficult. Officials could enlist inhabitants from their own state between the ages of sixteen and fifty who were able to withstand the rigors of military service.⁹ Most certainly, individuals on either side of those parameters slipped through. Limiting authority to recruit only among state residents was intended to prevent individuals from enlisting multiple times and absconding with the bounty. Eventually, Continental Army officers were assigned to oversee the mustering of new soldiers. When state officials oversaw the screening, the army received “hundreds, of old Men, mere children, disordered and decrepid persons.”¹⁰



Surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga N.Y. Oct. 17th. 1777.
Published by N. Currier, c.1852. When General Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga on October 17, 1777 Heinrich Kickeland embarked on an odyssey that would end 69 years later in a small community in central New York State.

Pressured to produce, the Continental officers also could not afford to be particular. Besides, recruiting officers received two dollars for every man who enlisted for the war.¹¹

At twenty-seven, Henry Kneeland was of prime recruiting age. He was entered upon the rolls by Joseph Hosmer, Superior for Middlesex County. Hosmer was careful to denote Kneeland's physical appearance. This description would have proved invaluable in recovering Kneeland if he chose to desert. Kneeland had a light complexion, brown hair, blue eyes, and stood between five feet nine-and-one-half inches and five feet eleven inches. His occupation was listed as farmer or laborer. He was born in Germany.¹² There were several other Kneelands who served in the war, but he was not related to any of them. In fact, Henry Kneeland was not even his real name. He was actually Heinrich Kickeland. The clerk of Bedford noted in the Town Book that "Henry Kneeland [was] one of Bergoines troops & defected from Winterhill."¹³ This statement is the only contemporary reference to his service in the British Army, during the Saratoga Campaign, and his subsequent desertion from the prisoner of war camp, outside Boston, to the American side. Other accounts are secondhand stories from relatives or descendants. As early as August 1776, the Continental Congress tried to seduce the Hessians by promising them that they would "be invested with the rights, privileges and immunities" of natives and be given "50 acres of unappropriated lands" if they deserted.¹⁴

There is no way of knowing why Kickeland assumed the name Henry Kneeland. By the American Revolution, Great Britain had a long-established tradition of hiring

"Henry Kneeland one of Bergoines troops & defected from Winterhill"

German soldiers during time of war. Divided at the time into numerous principalities, each with its own standing army, Germany was fertile ground. Recruiting parties from all of the German states, France, Austria, and other European nations roamed far and wide across the land looking for soldiers. They were not above enlisting criminals, debtors, and others trying to escape their past. Maybe Kickeland was one of them and changed his name. It could also be as simple as that Kneeland was the closest English-sounding name to his own. Maybe it was a town official who suggested he change his name; it was true that changing it might help him from being discovered. Both sides executed deserters captured while serving with the enemy.

There also might be a more cynical reason. By 1781, enemy deserters were not eligible to enlist in the Continental Army and it was illegal to enlist them knowingly.¹⁵ Too many had joined only to go back to the enemy at the first opportunity. The reference to Kickeland's British service in the Town of Bedford records is so incriminating to local officials that this admission adds much weight to the veracity of the statement. The residence on his enlistment papers was Dartmouth, Massachusetts, just south of New Bedford. Why would he have traveled all the way to Bedford, seventy-five miles away, unless it was to find a town that would enlist him despite the fact he was an enemy deserter. That is, if you believe his residence was Dartmouth. Considering that Town of Bedford officials covered up his past, it is possible they also might have picked Dartmouth to record on his enlistment papers to give themselves plausible deniability if his true origins ever were discovered. Another reason could be that he searched until he found the town that offered the best enlistment bonus.

Prior to joining the Continental Army, Heinrich Kickeland served in General John Burgoyne's army, which was captured following the two battles at Saratoga in September and October 1777. He would have been in either one of the German regiments, commonly referred to as Hessians, hired by the Crown or in a regular British formation. Both Brunswick soldiers from north central Germany and those from Hesse Hanau, further south, were with Burgoyne—about 3,000 in all. However, Kickeland is not listed on the rolls of either German state. Even England, in 1776, managed to glean soldiers for its regular establishment in Germany. Lieutenant Colonel Georg Heinrich Albrecht von Scheither, an officer from Hanover, the electorate ruled by Great Britain's George III, received a contract to raise up to 2,000 soldiers for the British army in Germany. These recruits were distributed among the regiments serving in America; the rosters of these soldiers are incomplete. Though there is no listing of Kickeland in either the rolls of the Hessians or von Scheither's recruits, he would have had to have been a Hessian because he "defected from Winterhill," the prisoner of war camp of Burgoyne's Hesse Hanau and Brunswick soldiers located in Cambridge, Massachusetts. (The British regiments were quartered on nearby Prospect Hill.)¹⁶

With the weather already cold, especially at night, the Americans wasted little time in moving Burgoyne's Army from Saratoga to Boston. Called the Convention Army (after the name given to the generous terms of capitulation), they were put in

motion the night of the surrender, October 17, 1777. Traveling over 200 miles through an unforgiving landscape, often without adequate food and shelter, the prisoners arrived in Cambridge three weeks later. Any illusion as to what the future held was made abundantly clear when they were led to the ramshackle huts on Winter Hill and Prospect Hill, formerly occupied by the Americans during their siege of Boston in 1775 and 1776. "It was not infrequent for thirty, or forty persons, men, women, and children, to be crowded together in one small, miserable, open hut."¹⁷

Captivity promised to be brutal, but it was supposed to be temporary. The Convention called for the prisoners, in exchange for their pledge not to serve again in America, to march to the closest port, where Royal Navy transports would take them out of the country. Taken aback by the weakness of the agreement, General Washington advised delaying the prisoner embarkation as long as possible. Even if the British fully lived up to the articles in the Convention, which was unlikely, they would just exchange these soldiers for soldiers elsewhere. Finding pretexts to delay the process, Congress eventually repudiated the agreement and ordered the Convention Army held as prisoners of war. When the British and German soldiers received the tragic news that they would not be leaving as planned, the trickle of desertions turned into a torrent. By April 1, 1778, 651 British soldiers and 160 German soldiers had deserted from the camps.¹⁸ Some of them immediately joined the Continental Army. This was not usually done out of sympathy to the American cause, but as an alternative to imprisonment. Many plotted to escape to their own lines at the first opportunity. During this time, Kickeland apparently wandered off from the camp on Winter Hill. The Convention Army left Boston in the summer of 1778, so he had plenty of time for more adventures until he next appeared on the historical record, in 1781, when he joined the Continental Army.

By May 1781, Heinrich Kickeland, now Henry Kneeland, was an infantry private in the vicinity of West Point, in the Hudson Valley, assigned to Captain Eliphalet Thorp's company of the 7th Massachusetts Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John Brooks.¹⁹ Once the British captured New York City in 1776, the natural defenses of the Hudson Highlands sheltered the Continental Army for the remainder of the war. From this mountain bastion situated within the narrow passage where the Hudson River flows through the Highlands, the Americans could challenge British forces operating in southern New York and northern New Jersey. In 1778 construction began on Fortress West Point, a replacement for the Twin Forts of Clinton and Montgomery, six miles to the south, which had been destroyed by the British the previous year. Built into the side of a mountain, on top of tall cliffs, the fortress guarded a huge chain stretched across the Hudson River. From October 1781 to January 1782, Kneeland was at the "York Hutts."²⁰ Doctor Joseph Thacher of the 9th Massachusetts Regiment described the location in his journal as being "in the woods about two miles in the rear of the works at West Point. Our situation is singularly romantic, on a highly elevated spot, surrounded by mountains and craggy rocks of prodigious size, lofty broken cliffs and

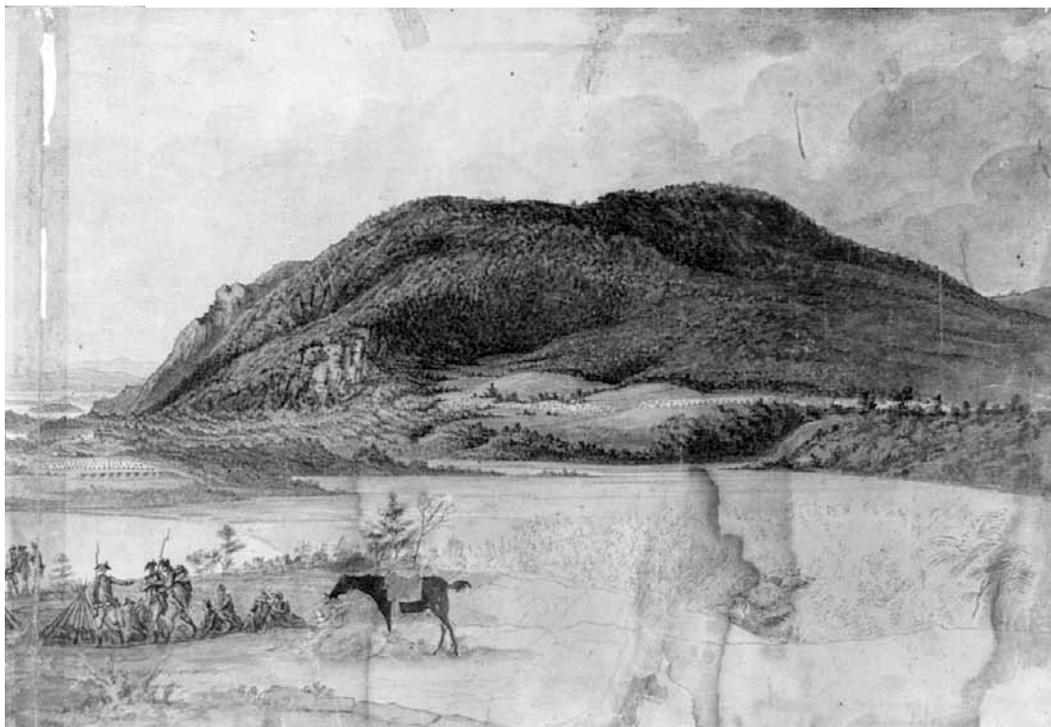
"Henry Kneeland one of Bergoines troops & defected from Winterhill"



Panoramic view of West Point, New York showing American encampments on the Hudson River by Pierre Charles L'Enfant, 1754-1825

the banks of the beautifully meandering Hudson, affording a view of the country for many miles in all directions.”²¹ Constructed by the New York Line in 1780 (but never used by them), the huts occupied by the troops were “warm and comfortable.”²² There was limited room, so duty at the fort was done in rotation. When not at West Point, the favorite camping grounds were in the vicinity of the Albany Post Road (current Route 9) between Fishkill and Peekskill, east of the Hudson River.

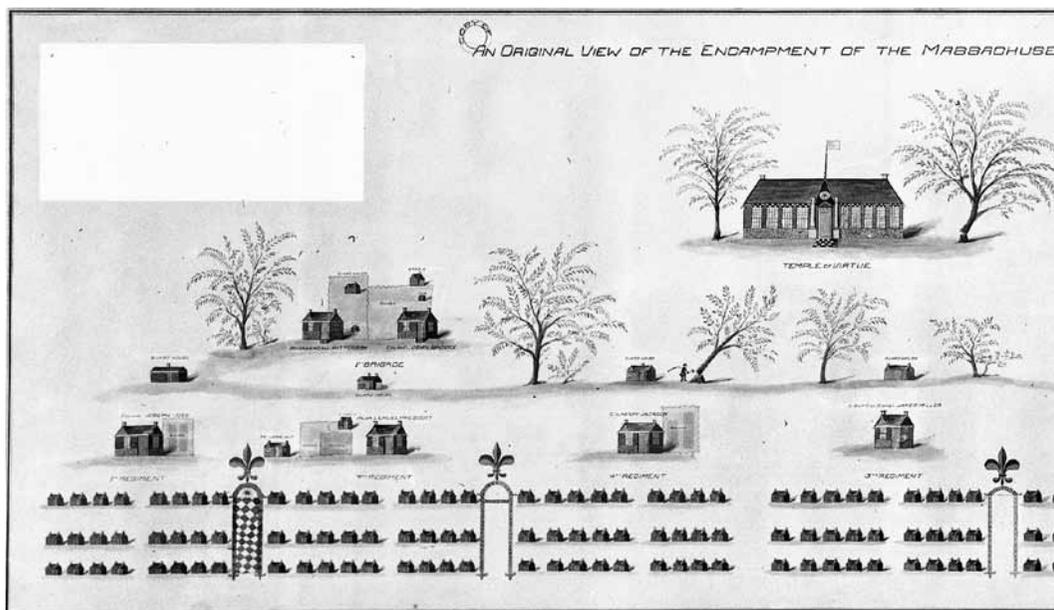
Kneeland was on the lines from October to November 1781 and again in January 1783.²³ These exposed and isolated positions were the most dangerous stations in the Hudson Valley. Beginning at the fort at Stony Point, “the lines” extended east across the Hudson River and generally followed the course of the Croton River. These forward outposts were established to “cover the Country from the incursions of the Enemy” and prevent “all manner of illicit intercourse and commerce between the Citizens of this state and the Enemy.”²⁴ The only other excitement Kneeland experienced while in the Continental Army was his participation in the November 12 to 16, 1781, raid into Westchester County (south of the lines) to secure foodstuffs for the army and forage for its animals. Sweeping south through North Castle, White Plains, Eastchester, Mamaroneck, and Wrights’ Mills, the party killed one enemy and returned with two prisoners as well as corn, hay, and approximately forty hogs.²⁵



Tedious drill, fatigue duty, and boredom filled the remainder of Kneeland's time. Many found release from the boredom in alcohol; indeed, drunkenness was the root cause behind many of the disciplinary problems in the Continental Army. Although there is no evidence that Kneeland abused spirits, he did exhibit serious disciplinary problems and twice appeared before a court martial. In July 1781, he was convicted of "abusing a sergeant [and was] sentenced to receive "60 lashes."²⁶ Kneeland managed to escape punishment, however. He was later pardoned, possibly by the general amnesty Washington extended to all offenders following the victory at Yorktown, Virginia, in October 1781.²⁷ On December 20, 1782, Kneeland was tried for "absence from camp without leave", but was acquitted.²⁸

At the end of October 1782, over 7,000 Continental Army soldiers—among them Henry Kneeland—marched into New Windsor. Located along the Hudson River ten miles north of West Point, New Windsor played host to the majority of the northern army through the spring of 1783. Camping on the rolling hills west of town, they built over 600 log buildings, which with peace at hand, became the last winter encampment. General Washington made his headquarters at the home of the widow Hasbrouck, south of Newburgh. General Horatio Gates, commander of the army at New Windsor and Kneeland's old foe from Saratoga, resided in the elegant John Ellison house. The tiny Deacon Brewster house was headquarters for General Robert Howe, who commanded the Massachusetts Line.²⁹ Most of the soldiers camped in the valley of the Beaver Dam

"Henry Kneeland one of Bergoines troops & defected from Winterhill"

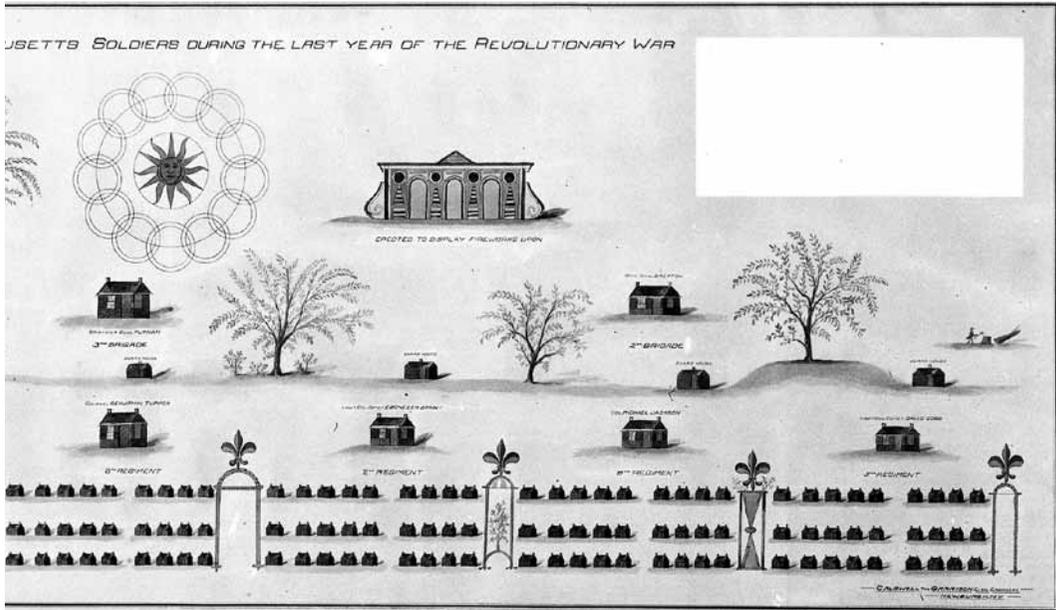


Drawing of the Massachusetts Line at the New Windsor Cantonment after the sketch done by Private William Tarbell of the 7th Massachusetts Regiment. Both Tarbell and Kneeland were in Captain Eliphalet Thorp's Company of the 7th Massachusetts Regiment. Tarbell's hut, marked by a barely discernible "W. T.", was in the second row from the bottom and three in from the right archway. Kneeland was in Tarbell's hut or in the one directly below it. Caldwell and Garrison Civil Engineers, Newburgh, New York. Collection of Washington Headquarters State Historic Site. The original drawing of the Massachusetts Line at New Windsor, by William Tarbell, is still in the possession of his descendants. The engineer version captured the details that had faded over the years.

Stream. The Maryland, New Hampshire, New Jersey, and New York lines built their huts west of the stream, while the 1st and 3rd Massachusetts brigades constructed them on the eastern side, along a dirt road now called Temple Hill Road. Kneeland's 7th Massachusetts Regiment, posted in the middle of the 1st Brigade, faced west toward the parade ground.

In June 1783, most of the army was furloughed. The approximately 2,500 soldiers who remained, including Kneeland, moved to West Point. Another furlough in November reduced the force to a single regiment. After marching into New York City on the heels of the British evacuation with Colonel Henry Jackson's Continental Regiment, Kneeland was discharged on December 31, 1783.³⁰

Kneeland returned to Bedford, where he was listed on the tax rolls for 1785 and 1786.³¹ There are no other records in Bedford relating to him. The next information we have is his pension application. On March 18, 1818, Congress passed a resolution granting a pension to the officers and enlisted men of the Continental Army, Navy, and Marines who were in financial need.³² Kneeland wasted little time in applying



for his pension. He appeared before Morris S. Miller, first judge of Oneida County, in central New York, on April 2. In his sworn deposition, he claimed that he was sixty-six years old and “by reason of his reduced circumstances in life he is in need of assistance from his country for support.” Kneeland felt confident enough by this time to sign the instrument Heinrich Kickeland. By this point he probably saw no need to hide his real name. Attached to the papers was the discharge given him by General Henry Knox on December 31, 1783. In none of his pension declarations does he indicate that he was formerly in the British service; this would have revealed that his Continental Army enlistment had been fraudulent because of his status as an enemy deserter. Local resident William Godfrey must have accompanied Kickeland to the deposition: On the same day, he swore in a statement that he believed Kickeland was a “man of truth and veracity.” In May, Miller forwarded the depositions to the Secretary of the Department of War, John C. Calhoun. In a supplemental affidavit, in October 1818, Heinrich Kickeland swore that he was a “German by birth and ... [was] called Henry Kneeland by the English.” In December, Calhoun awarded Kickeland eight dollars per month, commencing from the date of his initial deposition, April 2. The number of his pension certificate was 4,788.³³

Two years later, pensioners were required to produce a list of their assets to assist government officials in confirming whether they needed financial assistance. (All future applicants would have to submit a list as well.)³⁴ In documents prepared by the Oneida County Court of Common Pleas on September 8, 1820, Kickeland stated that he was a farmer, “but owing to his age ... [was] not able to do much work [and that] “his eyesight [was] nearly gone.” He stated his assets as one acre of land and a small log

“Henry Kneeland one of Bergoines troops & defected from Winterhill”

home in Whitestown. The list of his belongings included two cows, four pigs, an old horse, a plough, a harness and farming utensils, and six dollars' worth of household furniture.³⁵ His total assets were valued at \$150. By this time, he was married to Polly, twenty-one years his junior. He listed no children of his own, but he was taking care of eleven-year-old Rachel Hoffman, Polly's orphan niece. Interestingly, he signed this document with his assumed name, Henry Kneeland.

Polly died sometime before 1827. On January 18 of that year, Kickeland married Nancy (Spencer) Andrews of Litchfield, New York, in her hometown. This required him to travel nearly 150 miles to the New York-Pennsylvania border at age 72. Evidence that he finally was slowing down was his request to the War Department in 1834 that they change the location of his pension payments from the United States Branch Bank in New York City to Utica. He also drew for a short time at Albany. Heinrich Kickeland died on October 17, 1846, at the age of 94.³⁶ He is understood by his descendants to be buried in the old North Baptist Church Cemetery in Westmoreland, New York.³⁷ Less than two years later, his widow married another Revolutionary War veteran, Stephen Moulton, originally from Connecticut. He died on July 1, 1851. On February 3, 1853, all widows of Revolutionary War veterans were authorized a pension.³⁸ Nancy Moulton, seventy-six years old by this time, applied for a pension as the widow of Heinrich Kickeland on March 18, 1853. She was placed on the pension rolls on September 13, with payments backdated to February 3.³⁹ The last reference to Kickeland was a 1907 letter from Mrs. M.A. Henderson to the U.S. War Department. In it, she stated she was a great-grandchild of Henry Aaron Frances Kneeland. Her father's brother, who was still alive at the time, remembered that his grandfather lived to be "one hundred years and six months old."⁴⁰ While families rarely get stories about their ancestors totally correct, there are often grains of truth in these collective memories.

Mrs. Henderson requested information from the War Department about her great-grandfather. In her letter, she stated that "he came to America as a British soldier from Hess Germany his descendants [sic] have always understood he Henry A[aron]. F[ran]cis. Kneeland was a young German soldier serving his time and N[ew] England hired soldiers of Germany." To explain away his desertion, she claimed that "After arriving in America he soon decided to become an American and fight for America."⁴¹ The only way his family would have known about his service in the British Army was that he told them. His death notice declared that "Mr. Keckland was a native of Germany, came to this country as a soldier in the army of Gen. Burgoyne, was made prisoner at Saratoga, afterwards enlisted into the American service, continued a faithful soldier during the war, and, as he was proud to say, marched into New York with Gen. Washington, when the city was evacuated by the British, and was honorably discharged."⁴² Confirming his story is the damning, nine-word entry in the Town Book of Bedford, Massachusetts, proving the complicity of local officials in illegally enlisting a known enemy deserter: "Henry Kneeland one of Bergoines troops & defected from Winterhill."⁴³

Acknowledgements

The author thanks Grant Miller, historic site manager at Fort Montgomery State Historic Site, for doing the initial research on Henry Kneeland. He also greatly appreciates the assistance of Don Londahl Schmidt and Robert M. Webler for giving him very insightful comments and recommendations to improve the finished article.

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Endnotes

1. Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, October 3, 1780 (Washington D. C. 1904–1937) 34 v., XVIII, 897; hereafter *Congress Journals*.
Notes: That it be recommended to the states to fill up their respective regiments by Inlistments for and during the war; but in case the full quota of any of the states cannot be compleated with such recruits by the first day of December next, that it be recommended to such states or states to supply the deficiency with men engaged to serve for not less than one year, unless sooner relieved by recruits inlisted for the war, which they are requested to exert their utmost endeavors to obtain, as speedily as possible: and in order thereto, it is further recommended that the officers at camp be empowered and directed to use every prudent measure, and improve every favourable opportunity, to inlist, for the continuance of the war, such men belonging to their respective states, as are not engaged for that period, whether now in the field or hereafter, from time to time, joining the army; and that a recruiting officer from each corps be kept in the state to which the regiments respectively belong, to inlist recruits for the war, as well to relieve those who are engaged for a shorter or limited term as to supply casual deficiencies.
2. Abraham English Brown, *History of the Town of Bedford, Middlesex County, Massachusetts, From Its Earliest Settlement To the Year of Our Lord 1891* (Bedford, Massachusetts, 1891), 27, 67; hereafter *Town of Bedford History*.
3. John Warner, *Historical Collections Being A General Collection Of Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes &c., Relating To The History And Antiquities Of Every Town In Massachusetts, With Geographical Descriptions* (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1841), 348.
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5. Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In the House of Representatives, December 2, 1780. Whereas the Congress of the United States have required of this Commonwealth to supply the deficiency of our proportion of the Continental army...[Boston: Printed by Benjamin Edes and son, 1780].
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7. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799* (Washington, 1931–1944), XX, 114-115; hereafter *Washington Writings*.
8. *Congress Journals*, October 3, 1780, XVIII, 895.
9. *Washington Writings*, XXI, 186.
10. *Ibid.*, XXIII, 399.
11. *Congress Journals*, October 3, 1780, XVIII, 895.
12. Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War* (Boston, 1902), IX, 338-341; hereafter *Massachusetts Soldiers*.
13. Louise K. Brown, *A Revolutionary Town* (Bedford, Massachusetts, 1975), 295.
14. *Congress Journals*, August 14, 1776, V, 653-655.
Some researchers have suggested that Heinrich Kickeland/Henry Kneeland and Frantz Kieglan were the same person. Henry Retzer, a researcher in Hanover, Pennsylvania, found in a list of Brunswick

deserters prepared by Professor Gerhard Friesen of Laurier University in Waterloo, Ontario: Kieglan, Frantz of the Brunswick Riedesel Regiment, Life Co. who was 5' 6" tall, was from Gebbensleben, Lutheran, single, had served 2 yrs mos deserted 12 Nov 1778.

The date coincides nicely with the march of the Convention Army to Virginia. Anyone not willing to make the trip in the winter would certainly desert. Some British officers believed that the timing of the march was done specifically with that intent. However, there are reasons to question whether Kickeland/Kneeland and Kieglan were the same person. The first obvious one is why he chose to go by the name of Henry Kickeland in later years. Kickeland could read and write German. In an undated letter, he signed his name as Heinrich Franssis Kickeland, so he would have been able to tell if his named was misspelled on his German military papers. The clerk of the Town of Bedford, Massachusetts, recorded that he defected from "Winter Hill." During the summer of 1778, the Convention Army was moved to the vicinity of Worcester, Massachusetts, fifty miles west of Boston. If Kickeland had indeed deserted from Winter Hill, he would have been long gone by November 1778. Raising further doubt is the information from Henry Retzer taken from Mark Schwalm's Hessian Registry that Kieglan was born in 1744, making him eight years older than Kickeland/Kneeland.

Frantz Keiglan joined the Independent Corps of Colonel Charles Armand-Tuffin, Marquis de la Rouerie, on March 19, 1779, and deserted on April 27. He apparently took the enlistment bonus and deserted. Could Kickeland, fully intending to desert after receiving his bonus, have enlisted under his own name? The reader can decide. Forming a mixed infantry and cavalry unit called a legion, Armand recruited "Americans, Frenchmen," foreign deserters, and prisoners. (Smith, Paul H., et. al., eds. *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, D.C. 1976-2000), IX, 645 (notes); hereafter *Delegate Letters*. Later, Congress bitterly indicted the enlistment of the two latter groups citing "The Treachery of Armand's Corps about that Time having too fatally demonstrated how little Dependance could be placed on such Characters." (*Delegate Letters*, September 30, 1778, Committee of Arrangement to George Washington, X, 716.) Between January and May 1779, almost one-third of the unit had deserted. A contributing factor was their posting to the remote "Minisink area of western Orange County, New York and the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania." (*Sineus Independence*, 100-117) My thanks to Robert Webler for providing the information on Frantz Kieglan and the Armand muster rolls.

15. *Delegate Letters*, Letter to the Chevalier de La Luzerne, August 3, 1780, XV, 540 (notes). French Minister to the United States, Luzerne was told by President of Congress Joseph Reed that he was "perfectly free" to enlist Hessian deserters because "the recruitment of deserters into the Continental Army was expressly prohibited."
16. Don N. Hagist, *Forty German Recruits: The Service of German Nationals in the 22nd Regiment of Foot, 1776-1783*, Don N. Hagist, 1997, 2003, 2007. Adapted from articles published in the Journal of the Johannes Schwalm Historical Association, Vol. 6 No 1 (1997) and Vol. 7 No. 3 (2003). www.revwar75.com/library/hagist/FORTYGERMANRECRUITS.htm

The British regiments under Burgoyne, the 9th, 20th, 21st, 24th, 53rd and 62nd, received 391 of them. After deducting the number in the 53rd Foot, which was garrisoning the British lines of communication back to Canada and did not surrender, 137, there were 254 remaining in the other regiments. There were probably a few more, because the 34th Foot received 138 von Scheither recruits. Two of the 34th's ten companies, the elite flank ones, the grenadiers and light infantry, served with Burgoyne and more than likely received a distribution. The flank companies of the 20th and 31st were also with Burgoyne, but their regiments did not receive any of the Germans.

In the 1907 letter from Kneeland's great-granddaughter, M. A. Henderson, to the War Department, she stated that "he came to America as a British soldier from Hess Germany his descendants [sic] have always understood he Henry A[aron]. F[rancis]. Kneeland was a young German soldier serving his time and N[ew] England hired soldiers of Germany." Henry Kneeland Pension Files, National Archives Records Administration. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, hereafter Kneeland Pension Files. Though his descendants stated he was a "British soldier," it is not very likely that family oral tradition would have differentiated between the individuals recruited for the British service and the military organizations hired from the German states.

17. Don. N. Hagist ed., *A British Soldier's Story Roger Lamb's Narrative of the American Revolution*, (Baraboo, Wisconsin, 2004), 55.

18. Edward J. Lowell, *The Hessians and other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War* (New York, 1884), 287. Sadly, much of the irreplaceable references consulted by the author were destroyed by Allied bombs during World War Two.
19. *Sineus Independence*, 204.
20. *Massachusetts Soldiers*, 339.
21. James Thacher, *Eyewitness to the American Revolution: The Battles and Generals as Seen by an Army Surgeon*, reprint 1862 edition (Stamford, Connecticut, 1994), 245-246.
22. New York State Historical Association, *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association with the Quarterly Journal*, XIX, 1921, "Revolutionary Camps of the Hudson Highlands," William S. Thomas, Vol. II, July 1921, No. 3, 145.
23. *Massachusetts Soldiers*, 339.
24. *Washington Writings*, XXV, 396.
25. George A. Billias, *General John Glover and His Marblehead Mariners*, (New York, 1960), 186.
26. *Massachusetts Soldiers*, 339.
27. *Washington Writings*, XXIII, 247.
28. *Massachusetts Soldiers*, 339.
29. Timothy Pickering Papers, Pickering Letterbook in the National Archives, Vol. 87, November 18, 1783.
30. Kneeland Pension Files,
31. Town of Bedford, Massachusetts Tax Rolls for 1785 & 1786.
32. W. T. R. Saffel, comp., *Records of the Revolutionary War Containing The Military And Financial Correspondence of Distinguished Officers, etc.* (New York, 1858), 511-514, hereafter *Revolutionary Records*.
33. Kneeland Pension Files.
34. *Ibid.* Located four miles northwest of Utica, Whitestown (now called Whitesboro) was founded in 1788 by Hugh White from Middletown, Connecticut. The land, held in attainder, was forfeited by Loyalist Hugh Wallace and sold to White and others. Less than 200 white inhabitants, including transient traders and prospectors, lived there in 1788. This was the first major settlement "west of the German settlements on the Mohawk" River. Established on land once owned by the Oneida Tribe, White won a friendly wrestling match against an Indian which cemented the friendship between the two cultures. Though the 1825 completion of the Erie Canal, which passed through Whitestown, brought new businesses and opportunity, Kneeland did not share in it.
35. Village of Whitesboro: Homepage: [Digital Towpath] http://village.whitesboro.ny.us/content/index.php?module=DTP_History&func=view
36. Kneeland Pension Files. His death notice in Pomroy Jones, *Annals and recollection of Oneida County* (Oneida County, New York, 1851), 777, hereafter *Oneida Annals*, gives his age as 100: Died. -At Westmoreland, on the 17th of October, 1846, Henry Francis Aaron Keckland, aged 100 years and 5 months. Mr. Keckland was a native of Germany, came to this country as a soldier in the army of Gen. Burgoyne, was made prisoner at Saratoga, afterwards enlisted into the American service, continued a faithful soldier during the war, and, as he was proud to say, marched into New York with Gen. Washington, when the city was evacuated by the British, and was honorably discharged.
37. Internment.net Cemetery Records Online, <http://www.internment.net/data/us/ny/oneida/dix.htm>
The Old North Baptist Church Cemetery, now called the Dix Cemetery, is on Bartlett Road in the Town of Westmoreland. It is located just past the Dix Road intersection. Though the cemetery is well-maintained, many of the tombstones are very badly worn and illegible. The tombstones were copied by Kathleen Last and Virginia Ackerman on July 24, 2000. Neither Henry Kneeland nor Heinrich Kickeland is listed.
38. *Revolutionary Records*, 524.
39. Kneeland Pension Files.
40. *Ibid.*
There is no record of Kickeland having any children, but he was sixty-six years old when he applied for his pension. Only dependent children would have been recorded in his pension depositions, so any previous marriages or adult children would not have been listed. The various spellings of the last name, used by descendants, make this research very difficult, especially when the unrelated Kirkland family

lived nearby in the town of the same name. The Kirklands are descendants of Reverend Samuel Kirkland, founder of the Hamilton-Oneida Academy (later Hamilton College). The well-known Kirkland family genealogy confirmed that Kickeland/Kneeland was not a relative. Matthew C. Kirklin found in the notes of his great-grandmother that John C. Kirklin was born on April 5, 1793, and died on January 15, 1879. He married Sarah Broughton Pearsoll and had six children. "The father of John C. Kirklin was born in Hessen, Germany between 1740 and 1750. He spelled his name Henry Aaron Francis Kickoland; I think ought to have spelled Kirchland."

Matthew C. Kirklin e-mail to author September 9, 2009.

A complete record of the descendants of Henry Aaron Francis Kickoland as far as I know. Born in June 1746, Died Oct 17, 1846. The father of John C. Kirklin was born in Hessen, Germany between 1740 and 1750. He spelled his name Henry Aaron Francis Kickoland; I think ought to have spelled Kirchland. He became a British soldier and found? [fought] in the Revolutionary War against America until convinced he was on the wrong side. Some of his grand children say he was captured as a prisoner of war, became an American, and some say he deserted the British, changed his name to Kneeland and continued to fight for America. At any rate it is a fact well known that he drew a pension from the American Government until 1840 or thereabouts under the name of Kneeland. He died at the age of One Hundred years and six months and is buried in what was then called old North Baptist Church Cemetery across the road from the church at Westmoreland, NY"

John C. Kirklin & Sarah Broughton Pearsoll

Children:

Mary A. Kirklin (1821–1893)

George Washington Kirklin (1823–1906)

Henry Frank Kirklin (1826–1908)

James B. Kirklin (1828–1909)

Sarah Jane Kirklin (1830–?)

William Walter Kirklin (1834–1924)

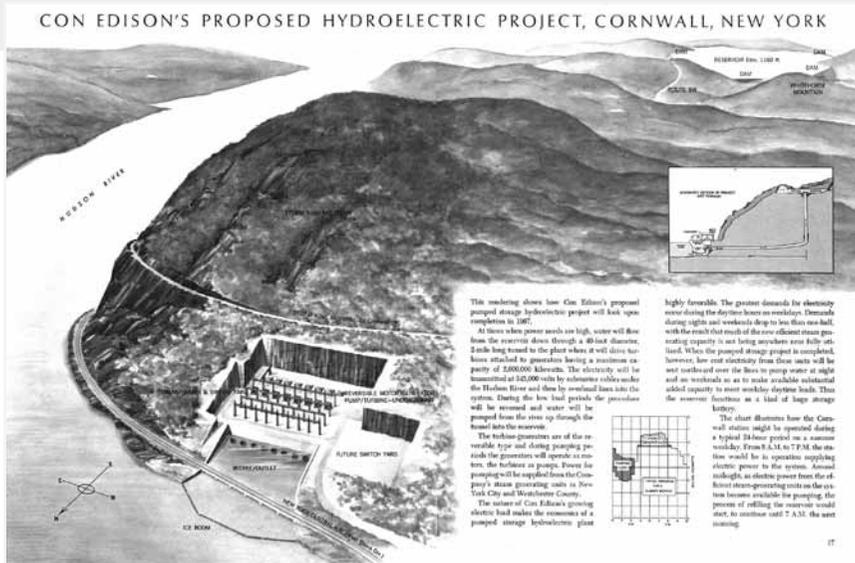
41. Kneeland Pension Files.

42. *Oneida Annals*, 777.

43. *Town of Bedford History*, 27.

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-

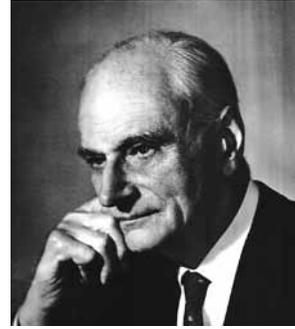
ers—and even one antiques dealer. As the environmental lawyer Oliver Houck once remarked about the improbability of Scenic Hudson's early days, "That those . . . parties got together at all was something of an only-in-America miracle. That they could win was unthinkable."²

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, its 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 Selvage & 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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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.

The author would like to acknowledge and thank Denise Doring VanBuren for sharing her lecture on Madam Brett, and providing a wealth of information on her life and its effect on Hudson River Valley history, and to acknowledge and thank Lorraine MacAulay for a wonderful tour of the Madam Brett Homestead.



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.

Edwin M. McGowan is the Director of Trailside Museums and Zoo at Bear Mountain State Park and four Regional Nature Museums in Harriman State Park. He is also Director of Science for the Palisades Region of New York State Parks. He earned a B.A. from Bowdoin College and Ph.D. from Binghamton University.

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.

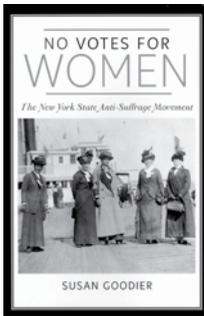
A few visitors to early battlefields did go against this trend. One notable exception was President George Washington, who during his 1791 visit to Southern states not only visited battlefields but actively sought out Revolutionary War sites to analyze the military actions that had occurred upon them. 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.

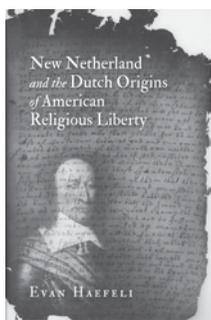
Importantly, Goodier realizes that in order to understand anti-suffragists she must also take into account the movement that caused them to organize in the first place. Indeed, she consistently suggests that anti-suffragists and suffragists responded to one another’s ideas. In one strategic maneuver, 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).

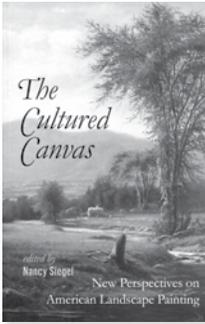
Throughout his account, Haefeli insists on the “differentness” of New Netherland and Amsterdam and most other Dutch places. Amsterdam’s more cosmopolitan character inclined it to embrace “connivance,” a sort of “informal tolerance of religious dissent” (34) that in essence entailed turning a blind eye 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

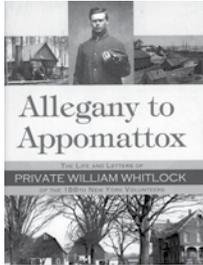
with her essay “Eliza Pratt Greatorex: Becoming a Landscape Painter.” Well-known in her lifetime, Greatorex has been neglected by scholars of American landscape painting. Manthorne’s goal is to revitalize interest in this successful artist who, unlike other nineteenth-century female artists such as Lilly 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

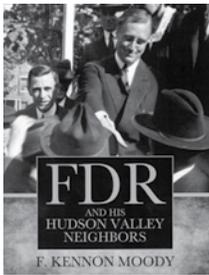
New & Noteworthy Books Received



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

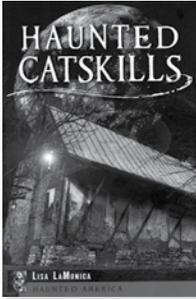
In *Allegany to Appomattox*, the story of William Whitlock and the larger Whitlock family is interwoven into the broader narrative of the Civil War. Focusing on Whitlock's letters to his family as well as an assortment of primary documents from the era, Dunham captures the experiences and challenges 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>

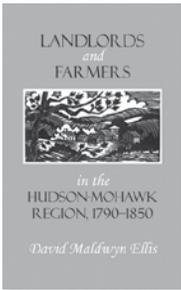
The impact that Franklin Delano Roosevelt had on the development of the United States at both the national and international level is undeniable. In *FDR and His Hudson Valley Neighbors*, the president's lifelong relationships with the residents of Hyde Park, Dutchess County, and many of the great estates 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.



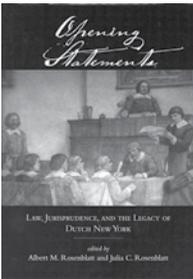
Landlords and Farmers in the Hudson-Mohawk Region, 1790-1850

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

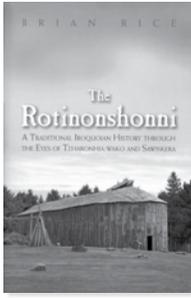
Cornell University Press reissues classic works on the history and culture of New York State through its Fall Creek Books imprint. Ellis's 1946 study of agricultural settlement and evolution begins with the pioneers in 1790 and concludes with the dairy industry and anti-rent movement in 1845. Industrial, 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



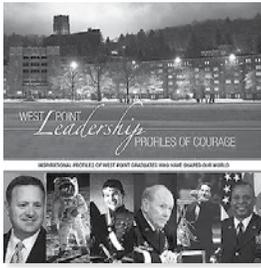
The influence of Dutch law practices on the development of America's legal system is a topic that has gone largely unrecognized in comparison to the contributions of British jurisprudence. This collection of essays from preeminent Dutch scholars sheds new light on the impact of Dutch law on early life 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 Rotinoshonni: 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

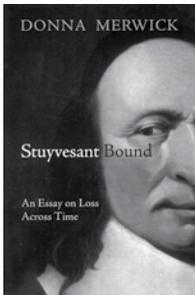
Mohawk scholar Rice makes a bold political move with this history of the Iroquois written from their worldview. His compelling narrative relies primarily on oral traditions, but his extensive research included nonindigenous sources as well. While it is an eminently readable history, the introduction 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

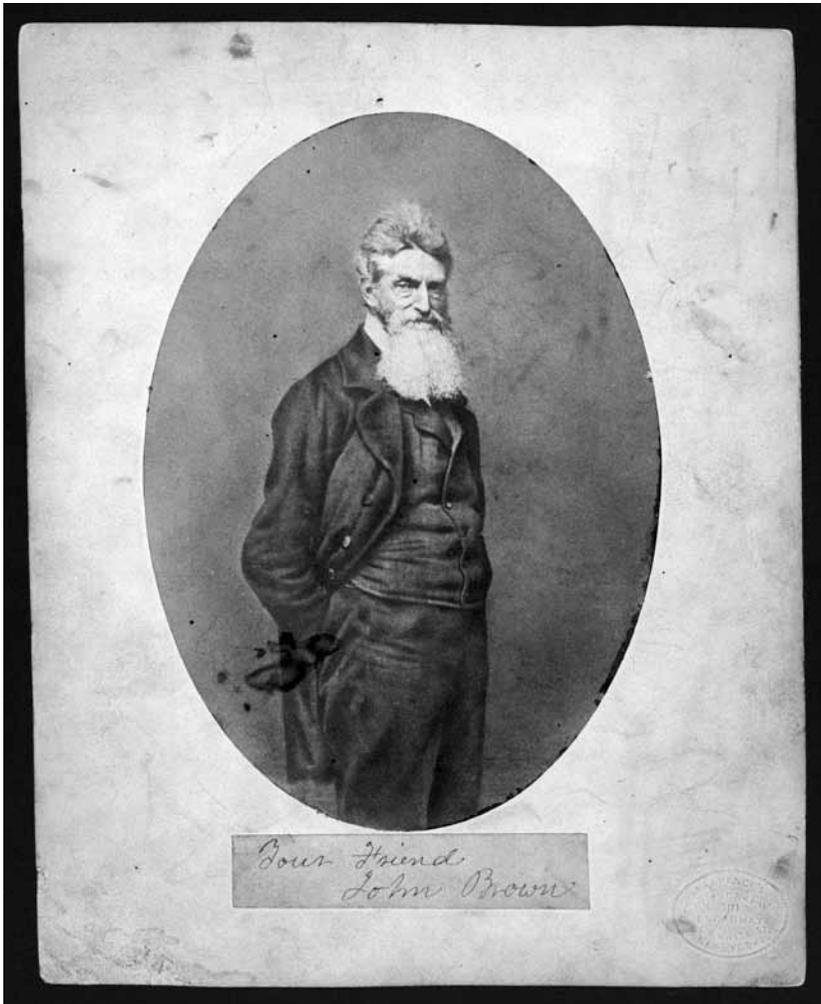
By Donna Merwick
(Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013)
248 pp. \$59.95 (hardcover) www.upenn.edu/pennpress

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.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION, ACQUIRED FROM MARIAN S. CARSON IN 1997 (SIDNEY STROBER AUCTION, 1970, LOT 344)

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.*

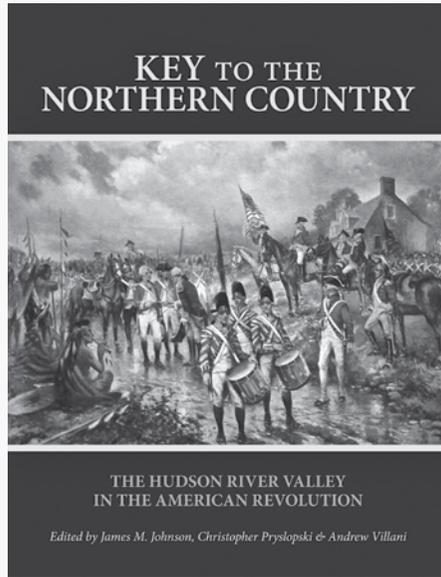
Library of Congress Prints and Photographs: Illus. in AP2.L52 1859 (Case Y).

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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