

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST



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From the Editors

It is hard to imagine anyone associating George Washington with un-American activities, but our lead article reveals that some expressed just such a sentiment toward the Washington Benevolent Society during the War of 1812. The cover article, on the Springside estate of Matthew Vassar, rounds out the noteworthy presentations from our 2015 symposium dedicated to the legacy of Andrew Jackson Downing, the founding figure of American landscape architecture characterized by art scholar Morrison Heckscher as “endlessly fascinating [and] charismatic.” We want to thank Mr. Heckscher for his commentary throughout the symposium, and to recognize J. Winthrop Aldrich for his witty and inspired concluding remarks, especially his parting wisdom regarding historic preservation: “Be on the alert to say what needs to be said and do what needs to be done.”

What are the lessons and circumstances that shape an individual’s ambition and actions? The article on Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s Hyde Park upbringing and our adapted Cunneen-Hackett lecture on General Jacob L. Devers provide answers to this question as it relates to these two men who influenced international events and relations. And in addition to our regular Regional History Forums and book reviews, the issue introduces a new, occasional feature called “Personal Reflection.” This first installment focuses on the beginnings of the Hudson River Valley Greenway.



On the cover:

Henry Gritten (British, 1818-1873), *Springside: View of Barn Complex and Gardens*, (1852). Oil on canvas. 25.5 x 37 inches. Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, gift of Thomas M. Evans, Jr., in honor of Tania Goss, class of 1959, 2015.22.3

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Beverwyck, Washington Avenue extension, Rensselaer, Rensselaer County, NY,
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Beverwyck Manor

Charles Semowich

Upon his death in January 1839, Stephen Van Rensselaer III, the last patroon of the Manor of Rensselaerswyck, left the west side of the patroonship to his son, Stephen Van Rensselaer IV, and the east side to his other son, William Paterson Van Rensselaer. Stephen received the manor house in Menands, just north of Albany. Needing a place to live, William began construction of a house he called Beverwyck (“beaver’s place” in Dutch.) It has been suggested he wanted to use this early name of Albany to remind people his family had established the city.¹ Beverwyck is located in the northern part of the City of Rensselaer, across the Hudson River from Albany. The property included land now occupied by St. Anthony-on-Hudson, parts of Washington Avenue, and the Beverwyck Cemetery, which Stephen Van Rensselaer III had set aside for use as a public burial ground.² Construction began in 1839 and was completed in 1842. Also in 1839 (April 4), Van Rensselaer married Sarah Rogers, his second wife. She was the

1 Rittner. Mind our Manor, www.donrittner.com

2 Deed, Rensselaer County Clerk’s Office, Book 79, page 157

sister of his first wife, who had died in 1836.³ The building was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1979, the nomination report prepared by Shirley W. Dunn and Doris Manley.

Beverwyck was designed by Frederick Diaper (1810-1906), an English architect who had trained in the offices of Robert Smirke, John Harland, and George Snell.⁴ He was a member of the Royal Academy of Architects and a founding member of the American Institute of Architects. He settled in the United States in 1834. Other buildings he designed include the New York Society Library, Delmonico's Restaurant, the Samuel Lord store, and many houses on Fifth Avenue, all in New York City. He had an office in Troy between 1862 and 1863, possibly locating there to assist in the city's rebuilding after its great fire. Earlier, he had designed the Quackenbush Store there, built in 1855.⁵



The New York Society Library, Frederick Diaper architect. From the Eno collection of New York City views, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, at The New York Public Library

Diaper designed Beverwyck in the Italianate style with neoclassical details. The first two floors were for family use, the third floor housed servants, and the basement contained the kitchen. (A dumbwaiter connected the kitchen to the first-floor dining room.) Ceilings and walls in the house's primary rooms were painted by Mario Bragaldi (1806-93), a decorative painter who immigrated to the United States from Italy in 1832. The house was heated by hot water pipes in the Perkins hot water system; it consisted of two miles of wrought-iron pipes located throughout the house.⁶ To show how early this was for central heating, it can be mentioned that the White House had received partial central heating only in 1837.⁷ The cantilevered central staircase of Carrara marble without supports is noteworthy, as is its cast-iron balustrade.

3 Cuyler Reynolds. *Hudson-Mohawk Genealogical and Family Memoirs* (New York and Chicago: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1911), 1815

4 Douglas L. Sinclair, *Three Villages, One City* (Rensselaer: City of Rensselaer Historical Society, 1992), 110

5 Walter Richard Wheeler. "Troy Architecture: The Quackenbush Stores," *Troy United Newsletter*, July 1999.

6 Sinclair. *Three Villages*, 110-111.

7 Robert P. Watson, ed. *Life in the White House: A Social History of the First Family and the President's House* (Albany: University Press, 2004), 235



Carrara marble staircase, Beverwyck,
Library of Congress, Historic American
Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering
Record/Historic American Landscapes Survey

Andrew Jackson Downing, considered the founder of American landscape architecture, described Beverwyck's grounds, which consisted of 500 acres.⁸ Six or seven miles of graveled roads and walks traversed the grounds. The estate also contained extensive greenhouses ("Perhaps the most splendid in the Union," said Downing) and stables. Beverwyck's west entrance "faced upon a plateau which dropped abruptly to the river...affording charming vistas of the Hudson and the city of Albany."⁹ A gatehouse (near the location of the former Knights of Columbus building, now a Sikh gurdwara) provided entry into the estate.

The original cost of the building and its furnishings was \$140,000.¹⁰ (According to MeasuringWorth.com, this amount can be compared to 2013 values in three ways: It would equal \$3.2 million in real price or inflation, \$35.7 million in unskilled labor wages, and \$1.49 billion when compared as a percentage of the GNP.) To further explain the huge nature of this sum, there exists a receipt dated Jun 1, 1845, in which a plumber is paid \$2 for one day's work fixing Beverwyck's pipes.¹¹

Van Rensselaer hired the best workmen, importing some from Europe. The general contractor for the house's construction was Boardman and Van Voast of Albany. The structure is built of brick, with the exterior covered in mastic. Interior ceilings measure nearly sixteen and a half feet high on the first floor and almost thirteen feet on the second.¹² Each room had a fireplace with Italian marble; some featured carvings of classical subjects.

The house contained a ballroom, music room, and other special-use rooms. Bragaldi's trompe l'œil ceiling frescoes featured the design of a harp in the music room and dancing

8 *Daily New Albany Democrat* (New Albany, In) March 2, 1849

9 Andrew Jackson Downing. *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adopted to North America, with a view to the improvement of country residences and rural architecture* (New York: A.O. Moore and Co., 1859), 35

10 *Troy Daily Whig*, August 6, 1850

11 Invoice from Charles Pitt and Son to William Paterson Van Rensselaer, June 1, 1845, *William Paterson Van Rensselaer Papers*, BM400, Albany Institute of History and Art.

12 Receipt from Boardman and Voast for 1840-41, *W. Rensselaer Papers* L.G. Hoffman, *Hoffman's Albany Directory and City Register for the Years 1844-45* (Albany: L. G. Hoffman, 1844), 100



Carved marble fireplace mantel, Beverwyck, Library of Congress,
Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record/
Historic American Landscapes Survey

goddesses in the ballroom. (The murals still exist above drop ceilings.) An extant receipt details construction costs between May 1840 and January 1841. It reveals that sixty-two men worked a total of 4,182 days, earning \$7,285.70.¹³

Andrew Jackson Downing asked William P. Van Rensselaer for permission to illustrate Beverwyck in the 1844 expanded second edition of his book, *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America*.¹⁴ Frederick Diaper sent a letter to Van Rensselaer indicating that he had completed a drawing of the house and would send it to Downing.¹⁵ Obviously, the sketch was made into a wood engraving to be included in the book. This engraving is illustrated below.



Illustration of Beverwyck in Andrew Jackson Downing's second edition of *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America* (1844)

13 "Mario Bragaldi" *New York Times*, October 30, 1893; Receipt from Boardman, op. cit.

14 A.J. Downing to William Paterson Van Rensselaer, *W. Rensselaer Papers*.

15 Frederick Diaper to William Paterson Van Rensselaer, *W. Rensselaer Papers*, June 11, 1842.

A stone balustrade is located around the bottom of the house. Originally, Diaper thought it would cost \$5,000, and a Mr. Brown was willing to do the work.¹⁶ The actual cost was \$3,210.88, which included \$81.13 for shipping and thirteen and a half days of labor. The stone came from Masterton & Smith of New York City.¹⁷ A second bill, dated Sept 27, 1843, indicates that forty-two boxes of the balustrade stone weighing 13,550 pounds were sent.¹⁸



Detail of stone balustrades, c.2016. Photo by the author

A considerable expense was incurred on the gardens. A receipt dated 1843 indicates that the most expensive plant acquired was a *Rhododendron Altoclorensis* costing \$25. Also purchased were a fuchsia *Elegans Superba* (\$1), a yellow *Banksia rose* (\$1.50), two magnolia *Grandifloras* (\$2), one acacia *Suaveoleons* (\$4), one *Ingo Pulcherrima* (\$4), one *Leptospermun decisata* (\$1), a *Stribitsia Regina* (\$3), and a Cape Jessamine (\$0.23). There were azaleas, as well as other plants and seeds bringing the total to \$57.50.¹⁹

The most noteworthy of the house's significant furnishings was a mahogany extension table made by Alexandre Roux of New York City, one of the era's most important cabinetmakers. Measuring more than 140 square feet, it cost \$150. (After Van Rensselaer complained about the table, the firm offered to replace two of the leaves.)²⁰ Van Rensselaer paid \$95 for a large French bedstead from New York City cabinetmakers G. and F. Elleau.²¹ From the same firm he also purchased a small, marble-topped center table; parlor table; two ball chairs; a whatnot stand; mattresses and pillows; and six yards

16 Receipt, November 1842, *W. Rensselaer Papers*.

17 Receipt, September 27, 1843, *W. Rensselaer Papers*.

18 Invoice from Allen Smith to William Paterson Van Rensselaer, April 24, 1843, *W. Rensselaer Papers*

19 Letter/Receipt, August 3, 1844, *W. Rensselaer Papers*

20 Receipt, no date, *W. Rensselaer Papers*

21 Doggett's *New York City Directory* (New York: Doggetts, 1845), 120

of silk and tassels.²² A painting in the collection of the Albany Institute of History and Arts depicts William Paterson Van Rensselaer, Jr., sitting on a French bed. It cannot be determined if the bed in the painting is the one on the receipt, as it could have been an artist's invention. In 1844, Van Rensselaer purchased a large quantity of fabric from Paton and Co. of New York.²³ They included fifty-two and a half yards of drab Thibet (a brown or olive brown flannel-like wool), 109½ yards of Canton flannel, and seventy-eight yards of blue silesia, iron fixtures, muslin, gimp, cornices and cords. A piano with veneered columns by Chickering of Boston was purchased for \$450.²⁴ There was carpet made in Glasgow containing a medallion. It is interesting to note that Diaper was at least partially involved in the design of interior decorations since he was involved in obtaining the carpet. Van Rensselaer also purchased three white china hoppers with arms, and the house contained at least two French clocks, a tall-case clock, a silver tea set, a silver egg stand, and other silver.²⁵

William Paterson Van Rensselaer moved from Beverwyck during the 1840s and settled in Rye, New York.²⁶ He died in 1872. It has been stated that he left the area as a result of the Anti-Rent Wars, although he remained a trustee of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy until 1864.²⁷ His interest in rents from the farms was sold in 1864 to Walter S. Church.²⁸

In 1848, the manor and land were sold to a partnership consisting of Andrew White and Charles Lansing (both of Albany) and James C. Bell of Greenbush.²⁹ The following year, the house and its 500 acres were again offered for sale, with an asking price of \$50,000. The advertisement noted that the annual cost for ground maintenance would be \$2,500, and annual costs for the entire estate \$20,000. It stated that "it is a great pity that such a superior seat so long remained untenured." The advertisement suggests that the place would be suitable for a millionaire.³⁰

In 1850, Paul Siemen Forbes acquired Beverwyck for \$62,500.³¹ The higher amount may reflect the fact that he purchased 847 acres, which included public roads and the cemetery.³² This purchase also may have included some of the furnishings; an 1886 account of the house states that the "adornments are still in place."³³ Forbes was a principal in Russell and Co., a major shipping firm that imported tea, opium, and other items, mainly from China. In 1843, he was appointed the first U.S. consul for the Chin government; he also represented French interests in the Far East.³⁴ In the 1860 U.S.

22 Receipt, December 14, 1844. *W. Rensselaer Papers*.

23 Frederick Diaper to William Paterson Van Rensselaer, November 12, 1842, *W. Rensselaer Papers*.

24 Receipt from Charles Pitt and Son, June 1, 1845, *W. Rensselaer Papers*

25 Invoice from Mulford and Wendell, November 25, 1843, *W. Rensselaer Papers*

26 W.W. Spooner, "The Van Rensselaers," *American Historical Magazine*, June 2, 1904, 133.

27 Arthur Weiss, *City of Troy and its Vicinity*, (Troy: E. Green, 1886) 174

28 Rutherford Hayner, *Troy and Rensselaer County: A History*, (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co. 1925) 49

29 Deed, Rensselaer County Clerk's Office, book 79, page 157

30 *Daily New Albany Democrat*, New Albany, In, March 2, 1849

31 *Troy Daily Whig*, August 6, 1850

32 Deed, Rensselaer County Clerk's Office, book 70, Page 157

33 *Northern Budget* (Troy), May 16, 1850

34 Sibing He, "Russell and Co. in Shanghai, 1843-1891," a paper presented at Hong Kong University, 2011

Census, Forbes was listed as having a net worth of \$3 million (in 2013 dollars equaling \$85.5 million in commodities [inflation], \$534 million as related to the cost of unskilled labor, and \$1.1 billion nominal GPD per capita).

Forbes moved into the manor by 1853.³⁵ It is important to note that in 1855, the large township of Greenbush was divided into three townships consisting of Greenbush (the township and village of Greenbush having the same boundaries), East Greenbush, and North Greenbush. Thus, Beverwyck (which had become known as Forbes Manor) was now located in the Town of North Greenbush. Forbes began selling parts of his land in the 1860s and '70s³⁶ and sold many of his prized horses in 1874.³⁷ He spent considerable time away from the manor in the Far East. He does not appear in the 1870 U.S. Census, while his son, William H. Forbes, was living elsewhere with his wife Dora Delano (Franklin D. Roosevelt's aunt).³⁸

In 1862, a notice appeared in a local newspaper announcing the establishment of a "Civil and Military College" to be located at Forbes Manor. The notice indicated that the school, which would open in the fall, would be under the direction of B. Franklin Greene, James Hale (state geologist), and Amos Dean, LLD. The course of study would be similar to institutions in Europe and the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. The notice described Beverwyck Manor as being "large, elegant and commodious [and] having been built at a great cost," with the "grounds comprising 200 acres of landscape gardening...well adapted to the topographical features to the education purposes."³⁹ Greene, the first director of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, was to be the new school's director. In 1863, he became employed by the U.S. Navy, a fact that may help explain why there is no further mention of the college, which clearly did not last.⁴⁰ Perhaps starting a college during the Civil War was ill-advised, there is no record of it ever having opened.

No discussion of Beverwyck (or Forbes Manor) is possible without mention of the legend of the duel. Various sources relate a story that at a party given by Paul S. Forbes one December, a man named Ronald Dunshun became involved in a sword fight with Richard Forbes, Paul's son, which included action on the main stairs. During the duel, according to the story, Richard killed his own baby daughter. Later, the baby and Richard's wife Alice were found dead in a well and Dunshun's body discovered along the Hudson River. One story even suggests the wife and baby were entombed in a wall in the house.⁴¹ It appears that this legend is untrue. Paul Forbes did not have a son named Richard.⁴² Likewise, there is no mention he had a daughter-in-law by the name of Alice. An article in a 1910 newspaper indicated that the interviewee stated the stories

35 Sinclair. *Three Villages*, 114

36 Deed, Rensselaer County Clerk's Office

37 *Cultivator and Country Gentleman*, July 1874

38 U. S. Census for 1870

39 *Albany Evening Journal*, January 2, 1862

40 Wikipedia, article on B. Franklin Greene

41 Sinclair. *Three Villages*, 119. *Albany Evening News*, April 13, 1937; Harold W. Thompson, *Body, Boots and Britches*, (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippencott, 1940), 123

42 U.S. Census 1860, www.worldconnect.rootsweb.ancestry.com entry 44945, ID 1549

of ghosts are not true, Phoebe Stewart indicated in 1930 that her father was a caretaker at the house and that the “Tale of Blood” was not true.⁴³ A priest who lived in the seminary later housed at Beverwyck related that he had talked to a man whose father played the violin at the party; the violinist reported that there had been a duel but no deaths. Likewise, the author has found no documentation of either taking place. There could be speculation that the story was composed to embellish the party’s activities.

Paul S. Forbes died in Paris on April 28, 1886.⁴⁴ It was reported that Forbes Manor had been unoccupied for many years (because Forbes was living abroad) and the grounds were in charge of a keeper.⁴⁵ Other reports indicated that Forbes and his family had moved out of the manor after the death of his daughter in the 1860s, but this cannot be confirmed. Of his twelve children, no daughter died at the manor at that time.⁴⁶

Real estate records for this property after Forbes moved are unclear, with some in undecipherable handwriting. It does appear that William H. Forbes, acting on behalf of his father, sold the property in 1880 to James A. Burden and J. Townsend Burden.⁴⁷ It also seems that the property was foreclosed and sold at auction in 1892 to Nathaniel H. and Laura H. Stone of Milton, Massachusetts.⁴⁸ (In the 1890s, there was proposal in the state Legislature to purchase the property for use as a soldier’s home; it did not pass. In 1893, it was reported that the manor grounds were used by Gypsies for encampments.)⁴⁹ In 1904, Rev. Robert H. Rollins, a Baptist minister, leased the property for a proposed “Van Rensselaer Park,” a resort for Sunday excursions and picnics. Rollins and his family lived in the manor for a year.⁵⁰

The following year, Stone sold the manor to Forbes Manor Realty,⁵¹ incorporated as a real estate company on October 20, 1905, with David Morey of Troy as president.⁵² The other directors were Louis W. Emerson of Warrensburg, Francis B. Harrington of Albany, Joseph F. Hogan of Troy, and Louis Thompson of Warrensburg. In 1908, the property was sold for \$534.39 for back taxes by the City of Rensselaer.⁵³ (The village of Bath, including Beverwyck, had been annexed to Rensselaer in 1902.)⁵⁴ The purchaser was John Hourigan, who in March 1911 sold the property back to Forbes Manor Realty.⁵⁵ The next year, Forbes Manor Realty sold it to the Fathers Minor Conventional of Syracuse, New York.⁵⁶

43 Sinclair. *Three Villages*, 119

44 www.worldconnect.rootsweb.ancestry

45 *Northern Budget* (Troy) May 16, 1886

46 Sinclair. *Three Villages*, 114; George Baker Anderson, *Landmarks of Rensselaer County* New York (Syracuse: D. Mason, 1897), 541

47 Deed, Rensselaer County Clerk’s Office, book 187, page 251

48 Deed, Rensselaer County Clerk’s Office, book 271, page 33

49 *Albany Evening Journal*, July 10 and 31, 1893

50 Sinclair. *Three Villages*, 116. *Van Rensselaer Park* (Pamphlet) R. H. Rollins, Superintendent

51 Deed, Rensselaer County Clerk’s Office, book 302, page 17

52 Incorporations, number 1080, Rensselaer County Clerk’s Office

53 *Record of Sales for Unpaid Taxes*, Rensselaer City History Research Center, 1908, Certificate 223

54 Deed, Rensselaer County Clerk’s Office, Book 328, page 238

55 Deed, Rensselaer County Clerk’s Office, book 241, Page 33

56 Sinclair. *Three Villages*, 116



Beverwyck Manor, c.2016. Photo by the author

It was reported at the time that the house's exterior would not be altered and the facility could accommodate 100 to 150 young men of the Franciscan order.⁵⁷ Following renovations, which included alterations to Beverwyck's interior, the facility was opened as St. Anthony-on-Hudson Seminary in April 1912.⁵⁸ In 1916, the Clericate building was constructed near the manor. Later demolished, it contained a chapel, library, classrooms, library, and cells. During that same year, the first ordinations were performed. Noteworthy seminary graduates include Cardinal Peter Turkson and Bishops Elias Manning and Gregory Harmeyer.⁵⁹

The seminary closed in 1988. In 1993, the facility became the headquarters of the Province of the Immaculate Conception, which later relocated. However, since that date the manor house has been named the Immaculate Conception Friary. Part of Beverwyck's grounds now contain a senior housing project called Franciscan Heights Senior Community, a retirement home for priests and brothers, and the North End Rensselaer Fire Station. The manor house remains essentially intact, but is not open to the public.⁶⁰

Charles Semowich, Ph.D., is the former City of Rensselaer Historian.

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57 *Cincinnati Times* (Cincinnati, NY) 1911

58 *Silver Jubilee of St. Anthony-on-Hudson*, (Rensselaer: St. Anthony-on-Hudson, 1937) 18

59 Interview with Friar Dominic McGee, May 31, 2014

60 James Breig, "Franciscan Site in Rensselaer Has Served Different purposes," *Troy Record*, February 8, 2011

Washington's Headquarters at Newburgh, New York: Then and Now

Bernadette J. Hogan



Washington's Headquarters, c.1906. Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection at the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division



The Hasbrouck House/Washington's Headquarters. Photo by Bernadette J. Hogan

General George Washington's successful capture of the British army under General Charles Cornwallis at the Battle of Yorktown in October 1781 is often lauded as the decisive conclusion of the American Revolution. However, two full years passed before the Treaty of Paris was signed by representatives of the United States of America and Britain's King George III on September 3, 1783; nearly two years too long for a fledgling nation to await, with bated breath, its eventual peace and security.

One might ask, where was Washington at this time, and what was he doing? Try Washington's Headquarters in Newburgh, New York, where the general would remain longer than at any other headquarters throughout his entire campaign. Where from April 1782 to August 1783, Washington would face some of his worst challenges, which included solidifying a lasting peace and autonomy for the new nation, establishing boundaries of respect between the civilian government and the army, and maintaining his patience during what would become the most trying years of the War.



Travel back to April 1782, when Continental Army scouts delivered Washington to the home of the Hasbrouck family, situated a mere sixty miles from New York City. The house overlooked the Hudson River at Newburgh Bay, just north of the Hudson Highlands, and the property extended west to the King's Highway. Geographically ideal, the house sat on a bluff hidden by lush trees and grasses, shielded from the strong river winds rolling off the Hudson. The rugged, unnavigable Hudson Highlands offered protection from a land attack by the British, and easy river access made trade and communication—as well as the possibility of escape—feasible. What's more, during the winter of 1783, Washington's army camped in the neighboring Ellison estate in New Windsor, in what would be the last cantonment of the War.



The Tower of Victory undergoing renovation with Mount Beacon visible across the Hudson River. Photo by Bernadette J. Hogan

The Hasbrouck Family

While location was crucial in selecting a headquarters, it certainly helped that the property's former owner, Jonathan Hasbrouck, was a well-known and trusted patriot in Newburgh up to his untimely death in July 1780. Throughout his life, he had amassed an impressive fortune and legacy, including immense social and financial clout in the area. His grandfather, Abraham Hasbrouck, was a Huguenot who fled religious persecution in France in the 1670s and settled in present-day New Paltz to raise his family. Jonathan's father Joseph was born in New Paltz, but relocated to nearby Guilford, where Jonathan was born. His mother, Elsje Schoonmaker Hasbrouck, must have instilled in her son the spirit of entrepreneurialism; when her husband died in 1724 leaving her with ten children to raise and not enough property to divide among all, she sold that land and moved. Elsje purchased property in Newburgh, then an undeveloped precinct with prime river access. It was a gamble, considering the frequent raids by Esopus Indians and other difficulties posed by the relatively untamed land, but Newburgh was on its way to becoming one of the most important trade centers and industrial hubs of the era.

By the 1740s, Newburgh had the makings of a prosperous port city, and a ferry crossing to Fishkill Landing. Goods such as butter, salt, grain, and livestock, moved east, north, and south from the waterfront, contributing to Newburgh's profitability as an active trade center. The young Jonathan Hasbrouck rode these waves of progress. After living on his mother's Newburgh property for two years, making alterations to the house and farming the land, he bought his own property in 1754 with his wife Catherine "Tryntje" DuBois Hasbrouck. He purchased his first—and the first—gristmill along the banks of Quassaick Creek from the wealthy Colden family. An 18.5-mile tributary, Quassaick Creek flowed directly into the Hudson, affording an ideal location for commerce, and the development of other mills. Hasbrouck built a storehouse along the banks where he rented out space to customers and parceled out shipping rights to farmers from his Hudson River dock.

Newburgh grew still more, and in 1762 Hasbrouck became the first supervisor of the newly formed Precinct of Newburgh. He was again elected supervisor in 1772, when Newburgh became its own town, and he served as a local excise tax collector. He was also appointed to ensign in the fourth regiment of the Ulster County Militia in 1747, and promoted to captain of the Highlands Precinct Company of the Ulster County Regiment of the Colonial Militia in 1754. Hasbrouck was a lieutenant colonel of the Fourth Regiment in 1774, when he was chosen to serve on Newburgh's Committee of Safety and Observation in 1775. Due to failing health, he was forced to relinquish his titles, suspending his military career in 1777. Throughout this time, he remained highly active in his own merchant and political affairs, even signing a pact with other Newburgh merchants to boycott imports from New York City after the Tea Act of 1773.

General Washington

As patriots with a dock situated near the Continental Army's depot, the Hasbroucks received several important figures prior to General Washington's arrival. Continental officers were welcomed to stay the night, and even Inspector General of the Army Baron von Steuben made his rest there. It was only after Jonathan's death in August 1780 that the Hasbrouck home would become the Headquarters as we know it today. In the fall of 1781, Continental Quartermaster General Timothy Pickering and his family rented half the house from Trynje Hasbrouck, the two families living side by side. That same fall, scouts were looking for a place to host General Washington, and Pickering knew exactly where to place him.

In the spring of 1782, George Washington found himself fighting adversaries cut from a much different cloth than those he had been used to throughout the past eight years: uncertainty and impatience. Technically, the Americans had won the War, but the army was well past the point of exhaustion, supplies were piteously depleted, and the Continental Congress was bankrupt. The weight of an unknown future lay upon the general's shoulders, and even as his envoys administered peace negotiations with a proud King George III in Europe, native discontent bubbled along the banks of the Hudson. Men of wealth and power, as well as great legal stature, longed to move forward with nation building, and were eager to assume roles at the top. Washington was stuck. He was the war hero, unanimously respected and revered by all. However, for the good of the new nation, he would also become the guiding executioner of pivotal precedents.

Perhaps one of the most significant challenges and actions to set the tone of Washington's hand in nation building came in the form of the "Crown Letter," written to the Commander in Chief by Colonel Lewis Nicola, commander of the Invalid Regiment, on May 22, 1782. Nicola suggested that Washington consider the idea of a monarchy to usurp the new American government, claiming Congress was currently "incompatible with national prosperity." He argued that even though "some people have so connected the idea of tyranny and monarchy to find it difficult to separate them," the weaknesses and bankruptcy of the Continental Congress might prove too great a burden to overcome. Washington swiftly shut down Nicola's brash imposition. "Be assured Sir, no occurrence in the course of the War, has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the Army as you have expressed, and I must view them with abhorrence, and reprehend with severity." Nicola apologized profusely, but this was not the end of tensions.

March 1783 found the American soldiers increasingly tired, homesick, and, broke. They longed to return home to their families, where the luxury of a warm meal and blanket was akin to fantasy, but most of all, they wanted their money. Anxiety plagued the troops, and tempers began to simmer. On March 4, a distressed Washington wrote privately to Alexander Hamilton expressing this dilemma:

The predicament in which I stand as Citizen and Soldier, is as critical and delicate as can well be conceived.... The sufferings of a complaining Army on one hand, and the inability of Congress and tardiness of the States on the other, are the forebodings of evil, and may be productive of events which are more to be deprecated than prevented; but I am not without hope...that your apprehensions... are greater than there is cause for.

Just four days later, on March 8, the contents of the first of two anonymous letters spread like wildfire through the New Windsor Cantonment. Addressed “To the Officers of the Army,” the letter expressed the army’s grievances, seeking an attentive audience and reparations. The rhetoric asked its audience if the new nation would be “willing to redress your wrongs—cherish your worth—and reward your service? or is it rather a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries and insults your distress.”

Although the author called for an emergency general meeting on March 11, Washington canceled the unapproved request and set another date. On Saturday, March 15, the general set out to deliver his famous “Newburgh Address” in the Temple of Virtue, or “Public Building,” at the New Windsor Cantonment. It is recorded by an aide that he began, “Gentlemen, will you permit me to put on my spectacles, for I have not only grown gray, but almost blind, in the service of my country,” and to this, all dissent supposedly evaporated. He urged the crowd not to ruin the admirable feats they had achieved throughout the last eight years, as that would “lessen the dignity, and sully the glory you have hitherto maintained: let me request to you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of congress...to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services.” In showing that he too suffered alongside his men, as they made personal sacrifices for the good of their country, he preemptively ended the rebellion and won the crowd over.

A month later, on April 19, 1783, the news that everyone had been anticipating finally—and officially—arrived: the Cessation of Hostilities. While this was a step in the right direction, Washington continued to await a full peace as diplomats negotiated releasing prisoners of war, the peaceful removal of British troops from the country, the settling of back payments, and the creation of a “peacetime standing army.” As departure from the Newburgh Headquarters and New Windsor Cantonment approached ever nearer, he began to furlough troops so as to divert funds, making plans to evacuate soldiers from barracks and officers from local homes. In June, the general sent his final Circular to the States, with each governor receiving a personal copy. He encouraged establishing America as an “independent power,” calling for four measures: “an indissoluble Union of the States under one Federal Head,” “a Sacred regard to Public Justice,” “the adoption of a proper Peace Establishment,” and

“the prevalence of that pacific and friendly Disposition, among the People of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the Community.”

It was at Newburgh that Washington also established a code for rewarding officers, as the consolidation of regiments called for fewer appointments. He created both the “Honorable Badge of Distinction” and the Badge of Merit, the latter today known as the Purple Heart.

August 1783 would be the last time that General Washington ever set foot in the Newburgh Headquarters. He had been called by Congress to relocate to Princeton, N.J., and in preparation for the army’s removal, the state of the Hasbrouck grounds was to be considered. De-militarizing the property took time, as many additions such as barracks, stables, paddocks, workshops, and storerooms altered the grounds during the army’s two-year occupation. Twenty-one carpenters had been hired to make accommodating alterations for Washington’s stay in the house; among other changes, a fireplace had been added to the west wall of the old parlor in the original house. When Washington wrote to Tryntje asking if there was anything on the property that interested her, she asked only that the added garden house remain. Thus, as Washington and the Continental Army said their goodbyes, the Hasbrouck family sought to return their lives to a sense of normalcy.

The Hasbrouck House as Washington’s Headquarters

Noted today as an “intact relic of German settlement architecture in the Hudson Valley,” the Hasbrouck’s home was considered to be quite grand for its day. In 1750, Jonathan Hasbrouck completed the first stage of the house, and as a reflection of his wealth and success, additional portions were built in 1770. The two-story fieldstone house includes two bedrooms on the ground floor, a second-floor bedroom and attic, a parlor and a kitchen, and the famous “room of seven doors” dining room and living room, which Washington is noted to have used as his reception area. Three hooded fireplaces, typical of the Dutch tradition, remain as well.

Upon returning to the property in 1783, Tryntje and her family slipped back into a routine. Her sons Isaac and Jonathan Jr. became the two heirs to the estate, and in 1784 Isaac married Hannah Birdsall, taking his role as head of the household. The couple lived with Tryntje until her death sometime around 1799. In 1789, Jonathan Jr. sold his share to Isaac. During the first Federal Direct Tax in 1797, the property was valued at \$1,200, with Isaac listed as owner and occupant. The couple had five children; the property was divided into five shares after their parents died in 1806 and 1807.

As Newburgh was growing, the centrally located Hasbrouck land became increasingly more valuable. In 1813, Jonathan III halted an effort by the town to condemn and demolish the house in order to expand the city’s grid of streets through the property. He began accepting visitors at the house and collecting donations from patrons; in 1848 he even obtained a loan, on which he subsequently defaulted. His efforts were not enough: Upkeep of the house was too much to handle. In March 1839, a newspaper ad read “old headquarters advertised for sale.” The same year, the *New York Mirror* published an article detailing the house’s dire situation, and the Washington’s Headquarters Member

Association was formed. Jonathan Hasbrouck III's fight to retain the house and grounds under the family name proved an unsuccessful vision, but was furthered in other ways.

In April 1850, the New York State Legislature passed "an act for the preservation of Washington's Headquarters" and Governor Hamilton Fish signed it. It called for the state to purchase the land for \$2,391.02, thus transforming the Headquarters into the first historic site open to the public. Restoration efforts were to be made "wholly for the purpose of preservation, and shall not in any way change the plan or alter the appearance of the building or apartments." The site was reopened to the public on July 4, 1850, with 10,000 visitors passing through the front gates to join in the Independence Day celebration.



Tower of Victory, c. 1906. Detroit Publishing Company Photograph Collection at the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

On April 23, 1883, U.S. Secretary of War Robert T. Lincoln said, "It has been made (my) duty to cause to be erected at Newburgh, N.Y. a monument commemorative of the events which took place there a century ago." Situated on the Headquarters' property, this monument is known today as the Tower of Victory: a war monument built to commemorate peace rather than violence. On October 18, 1883, the centennial celebration of the end of the Revolutionary War was held at the Headquarters, and hosted by the Trustees of Washington's Headquarters and the City of Newburgh. A grand parade and party ensued, as well as the planning of this special monument in Washington's

honor. New York native Maurice J. Power was commissioned to design the structure, with the assistance of fellow New York architect John Hemmingway Duncan. It was stipulated that the monument be “a structure of rude but imposing nature” to “typify the rugged simplicity of the times and personages,” and that its design honor requests for an outdoor outlook. It also was intended to be visible from the Hudson River. In June 1886, U.S. Secretary of War William C. Endicott finalized a contract between the United States and Mr. Power to begin work, and the project was funded by the State of New York and Congress.

Originally standing fifty-three feet tall, the thirty-seven by thirty-two foot Tower of Victory, built of native limestone, was completed in December 1887. Four archways open on each side into the atrium; in the middle atop a red granite pedestal stands a life-size bronze statue of Washington sculpted by William Rudolph O'Donovan. Two staircases lead up to an observation deck with a tiled roof above. Four bronze soldiers reside above the east and west archways, each representing a different branch of the military that served during the Revolutionary War. Bronze gates were added after the monument's completion to deter vandalism and theft. In November 1950, a hurricane severely damaged the roof, causing the state to consider dismantling the tower entirely. However, locals started a “Save the Tower” campaign, and in 1953 the state decided to remove just the roof. Since then, the tower has been in need of repair, as increased exposure to the elements and age have contributed to its ongoing decline. Thanks to the procurement of federal funds and private donations, the tower currently is undergoing restoration, including reinstallation of the roof.

Deemed a National Historic Landmark in 1961 and “a contributing property to Newburgh's 445-acre East End Historic District,” the Headquarters grounds today include the Hasbrouck House, the Tower of Victory, and a Georgian Revival-style museum building. Prior to the museum's construction in 1910, historical artifacts pertaining to General Washington, the Revolutionary War, and a miscellaneous assortment of Newburgh-related items were kept in the Hasbrouck House itself. These artifacts had been collected since the 1840s, as locals cleaned out attics and old homes, rediscovering hidden treasures.

At the conclusion of the museum's most recent renovation, the new exhibit “Unpacked & Rediscovered: Selections from Washington's Headquarters' Collection” opened on December 1, 2012. Over 1,300 artifacts are currently on display in an open storage format, increasing the level of visibility for each and every piece. According to Historic Site Manager Elyse B. Goldberg, “the benefit of an open storage format is the ability to display more objects, not worrying about sharing the space with interpretation. The objects are not individually highlighted, but rather are placed with other similar objects.” The display is paired with an electronic catalog and labels designed by the staff of Washington's Headquarters and the Bureau of Historic Sites for each item grouping, allowing patrons to search specific key words, objects, dates, etc. The collection offers relics ranging from swords and muskets to dolls, china, and Washington paraphernalia.

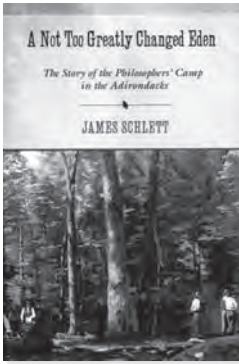
Today, this important time in New York and United States history is implied by the coat of arms and seal of New York State. A dark blue background offsets the goddess Liberty and the goddess Justice. They hold a shield between them that depicts a mountain scene giving way to a river. Joseph Gavit describes, “The shield symbolizes in the full sun the name and idea of Old York and the old world; the mountains, river and meadow, with the ships, convey the name and idea of New York in the new world.” One can imagine General Washington gazing out over the same scene: across the Hudson, a new sun peaks over Mount Beacon. He stands for a minute, soaking in this vision, and then leaves forever to journey home to Mount Vernon and join Martha.

Washington’s Headquarters State Historic Site is located at 84 Liberty Street in Newburgh. It is open Wednesday through Saturday 11 a.m.-3 p.m. and Sunday 1-5 p.m. from mid-April to late October, and Fridays and Saturdays 11 a.m.-3 p.m. November to mid-April. Group and guided tours are offered by appointment Tuesday through Thursday, and special events are offered in December and on Presidents Day Weekend in February. School programs and tours are also welcome by appointment. Tour admission is \$4 per adult, \$3 per senior and student; children under age 12 are admitted free. Special event information and updated photographs are frequently posted on the Facebook site: Washington’s Headquarters State Historic Site, and can also be followed on Twitter at @WashingtonsHeadquarters.

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Book Reviews



***A Not Too Greatly Changed Eden: The Story of the Philosophers' Camp in the Adirondacks*, James Schlett. (Ithaca: Cornell U. Press, 2015) 280 pp.**

In Winslow Homer's painting *The Two Guides* (c.1877), a pair of Adirondackers stand on a hillside in autumn, seeming to grow out of the underbrush. The older man, identifiable as Orson "Old Mountain" Phelps, is at the heart of the picture, pointing something out to his younger colleague. Phelps seems the embodiment of wise, rugged comfort; he has experience, skill, knowledge, vision, a calm confidence. His baggy pants, dirty vest, and well-worn shirt all echo the colors of the autumnal meadow. His bushy hair and beard blend together to form a mane. He may not be as brawny as the younger guide, but his smaller, squatter figure seems more self-contained, and his relaxed manner is apparent not only in his posture but also in his casually unbuttoned shirt, which leaves a small triangle of his chest exposed to the cool, fresh air. He is loose and comfortable. He rests his hatchet on his shoulder and carries an Indian-style pack basket on his back: he learned the lay of the land and the tricks of the trade from the original inhabitants.

Wilderness guides occupy a rich and important borderland in American history, the fraught space between culture and nature. Today, that frontier seems to have faded even from the realm of possibility: Modern society has expanded to all corners of the nation, leaving us with sprawling metropolises and exurbs; only a few pockets of wild land persist, far from New York State. But as James Schlett reminds us in *A Not Too Greatly Changed Eden*, the relationship between culture and nature was up for grabs everywhere in the mid-nineteenth century United States, just like the relationship between freedom and slavery.

Schlett's book tells the story of the Philosophers' Camp, a one-time-only meeting of the minds in the Adirondack wilderness in the summer of 1858. In most histories of the Adirondacks, the camp earns a quick mention as a kind of curiosity, notable for the presence of New England luminaries like Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Russell Lowell, and Louis Agassiz. Schlett certainly offers solid explanations of how and why these elite thinkers wound up in the woods, and what they did there, but he wisely focuses more of his attention on the quirky and lesser-known organizer of the event, the painter William James Stillman. Stillman anchors *A Not Too Greatly Changed Eden* the way Orson Phelps anchors *The Two Guides*. And the book also provides a detailed history of the camp's original location, near Follensby Pond, an area whose

legal and environmental status remains in play as our society continues to work out its understanding of the rights and responsibilities associated with both the ownership and stewardship of land.

Schlett, a journalist, editor, and marketing professional based in upstate New York, clearly identifies with his protagonists, and that identification both facilitates and impedes his historical inquiry. On the one hand, he is deeply interested in understanding why men living 150 years ago might have been attracted to the idea of a wilderness vacation—something many of us still value today. And he does an admirable job of demonstrating the appeal of the Hudson River School of painting and explaining how some Americans were starting to construct places like the Adirondacks as potential refuges, when the nation seemed to be “careening toward political, technological, artistic, scientific, and religious upheaval” (86). On the other hand, Schlett never seems to question his subjects’ sense of entitlement to those refuges. He is attentive to the somewhat old-fashioned version of environmental protection embodied by groups like The Nature Conservancy, which bought the land around Follensby Pond for \$16 million in 2008, but he seems not to have considered the cultural politics of that type of conservation, either in the nineteenth or twenty-first century. While he clearly admires Stillman for being skilled enough not to need a wilderness guide of his own, Schlett’s empathy does not extend to the nine guides who sustained the nine other “scholars” of the Philosophers’ Camp—let alone to the many other inhabitants of what Stillman misleadingly called “an almost undisturbed primeval forest” (8).

One of the key findings in the field of environmental history over the last twenty years is that elite, white, Euro-American references to “primeval” or “pristine” wilderness almost always served to erase elite, white, Euro-American acts of violence and displacement. The Adirondack forest hadn’t been empty in previous centuries; rather, it had been home to Iroquois peoples in the south and Huron and Algonquin peoples in the north. After the American Revolution, Abenaki refugees from Maine and Vermont had trickled into the region. The Yankee guides who tended to tourists in the nineteenth century had generally learned the land from Abenaki acquaintances. But the tourists themselves almost never mentioned any native peoples, except in formulaic invocations of their supposed disappearance. Emerson referred to a seemingly remote area as a “craggy Indian wilderness” (99), and Stillman, upon first encountering a portage called the “Indian Carry,” attested that he “could not help thinking of the race who had passed away” (43). Schlett follows their lead and thus encourages readers to skip over the narrative of white encroachment on Indian land in the rush to get to the classic environmental narrative of how modern development destroyed the old-growth forest.

Indeed, the main changes tracked in *A Not Too Greatly Changed Eden* are the shifts from the intellectuals’ appreciation of the wilderness in the 1840s and ’50s, to the tourist industry’s abuse of the wilderness in the 1860s and ’70s, to the newly enlightened recognition that the Adirondack region ought to be protected as a park in

the 1880s and '90s. But in this narrative, the only positive vision of the interrelationship between humanity and nature involves elitist escapism, an understanding of the forest as a space of "pilgrimage for spiritually minded sportsmen" (166). What about all the humble work of subsistence and settlement (gardening, fishing, foraging, farming) that had been going on in the Adirondacks over the course of the century? At one moment in the book, Schlett mentions a town—there were in fact many towns in the region, home to thousands of people—where "the abolitionist Gerrit Smith had established a sanctuary for black families and fugitive slaves" (67). Yet Schlett decides not to pursue the implications of North Elba's radical history—that some nineteenth-century Americans imagined the so-called wilderness not merely as a playground but as a site where unjust social patterns could be reconfigured. Indeed, in a 2013 article, the historian Daegan Miller argued that the black settlements in the Adirondacks represented "a sort of inchoate environmental philosophy mixing work and wilderness with both political and metaphysical freedom."

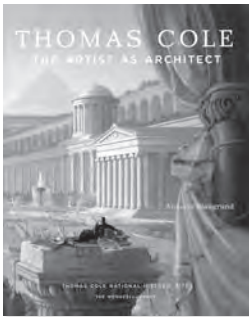
Or consider, again, the situation of a Yankee guide like Orson Phelps. As Karl Jacoby pointed out in his 2001 history, *Crimes against Nature*, laws designed by elites to protect wilderness areas have often directly harmed the local working-class people who make their living in those wilderness areas. In the late nineteenth century, the expert guides who led sportsmen on hunting trips were often unable to afford game licenses themselves, so when they went after animals for their own subsistence, they wound up being labeled as poachers. In fact, some of the "fire invasions" (183) in the Adirondacks that Stillman so detested were actually acts of arson committed by local people fed up with being prosecuted for poaching, "squatting," "timber theft," or other alleged violations against the wilderness.

Stillman and the other scholars of the Philosophers' Camp certainly appreciated the assistance provided by Adirondack guides. As Emerson put it, "the guide you hire to lead your party up a mountain...may not compare with any of the party in mind or breeding or courage or possessions, but he is much more important to the present need than any of them" (168). Of course, other nineteenth-century visitors to the Adirondacks, like Winslow Homer, were capable of a kind of admiration for the guides' competence and worth that went beyond Emerson's genteel, condescending acknowledgment that one simply needed a guide if one wanted "to go to the woods in good company, & with heyday, & bonbons, & comfort, & gentlemen" (23). In *The Two Guides*, Orson Phelps seems to be providing true guidance to his younger colleague, who may be a stand-in for Homer himself or any other tourist. Whatever breeding or training one might bring to a new environment, it's probably best to pay heed to those who have trodden the ground before you.

Schlett cites a number of historians of the Adirondacks, as well as scholars of landscape painting and New England Transcendentalism. And he has done us all a service by providing a much fuller picture of an obscure but truly intriguing episode in

Adirondack history. For that understanding to gain relevance in current debates about both history and the environment, though, it would need to transcend its own framing as a traditional story about wilderness appreciation and protection. Schlett nods in this direction by noting that Stillman, at the end of his life, “deemed social environments more beneficial to a man’s development than primitive environments” (193). So perhaps the best legacy of the Philosophers’ Camp might be some sort of cultural installation in the vicinity of Follensby Pond. Rather than preserving the site of the camp as a wilderness retreat, why not make it a working community—perhaps a school where less-privileged students could take up Agassiz’ science and Stillman’s art and a twenty-first-century environmental justice curriculum, and also take responsibility for producing their own food and energy? As the scholars of the Philosophers’ Camp well knew, one of the best things about engaging with both nature and history is the opportunity to rethink assumptions. Stillman himself, as Schlett points out, went from being an avid hunter in the 1850s to a defender of animal rights in the 1890s. It was partly the wilderness that changed him, and partly, in the words of the *New York Times* reviewer of Stillman’s autobiography, “the happy influences of cosmopolitan experience” (193).

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Thomas Cole: The Artist as Architect,
Annette Blaugrund. (New York, NY:
The Monacelli Press, 2016) 120 pp.

By 1834, Thomas Cole had established himself as a leading American landscape painter. However, from 1834 to 1836, he chose to identify himself in the New York City Directory not as an artist, but as an architect. Cole’s self-identification as an architect forms the crux of Annette Blaugrund’s recent book, *Thomas Cole: The Artist as Architect*, which accompanied an exhibition of the same name organized last year at the

Thomas Cole National Historic Site in Catskill, New York.

The Artist as Architect is peppered with potential reasons behind Cole’s self-identification as an architect. Blaugrund suggests it may have served as a way for Cole to establish credentials before submitting to design competitions in the late 1830s. The listing also may have been motivated by the higher esteem accorded architects during the time of Cole’s career. Or perhaps Cole actually considered himself an architect. In the first half of the nineteenth century, before the establishment of formal architectural education, the profession was open to any self-taught individual. Cole read pattern books and created successful designs, just as any practicing architect did.

Very quickly, though, the reader’s initial desire to determine why Cole identified as an architect is eclipsed by the triumph of Blaugrund’s rich and encyclopedic narrative.

The author's thoughtful passages and stunning illustrations unveil a side of Thomas Cole that most audiences have never experienced. *Thomas Cole: The Artist as Architect* is the first publication to give full attention to the architectural inclinations of Cole's personality and his art. Cole's architecture has long been obscured by his distinguished ability to capture impeccably both the grandeur and minutiae of the American landscape. Blaugrund, however, brings his buildings to center stage.

Blaugrund's essay "Thomas Cole: The Unknown Architect" comprises the majority of the book, with additional contributions by two distinguished Cole scholars—a compelling forward by Barbara Novak and a short essay by Franklin Kelly in which he tracks Cole's ambition to achieve a "higher style of landscape" and his legacy following an untimely death in 1848. Kelly also contributes a transcription of Jasper Francis Cropsey's 1850 letter to his wife Maria in which he describes the haunting effect of a visit to Cole's studio two years after the artist's passing. Kelly's essay and Cropsey's letter punctuate the true impact Cole had on artists and viewers alike both during and after his career.

As Blaugrund points out, architecture figures prominently in a great many of Cole's landscapes, the most well-known perhaps being *Consummation*, the central painting in *Course of Empire* (1836, New-York Historical Society), Cole's five-part allegory of the rise and fall of a fictional nation. The series was well-received by patron and critics alike, and is still a hallmark of Cole's success as a painter. *Consummation* evidences the artist's knowledge of architecture with its chaotic yet pristinely drawn assemblage of classical colonnades and rotundas. The landscape itself is altogether lost amidst a sea of architectural splendor.

The other architectural painting for which Cole is typically best remembered is *The Architect's Dream* (1840, Toledo Museum of Art). In it, a dreamy figure lies in repose atop a massive column, surrounded by pattern books and blueprints, gazing out at the iconic splendor of Western architectural history receding into the horizon. Just behind the figure, an Ionic temple in the right middle ground leads to a Doric colonnade, then a Roman aqueduct gives way to hazy Egyptian pyramids and palm-frond capitals in the central background. The left side of the canvas boasts a darkly shadowed Gothic church balanced by the wistful figure to the right.

Both *Consummation* and *The Architect's Dream*, brimming with architectural detail, gave Cole the opportunity to demonstrate his vast knowledge of Western architectural history. These paintings also allowed him to display his masterful ability to capture in minute detail a range of architectural elements. Finally, they afforded Cole the opportunity to prove himself, in his own words, more than "a mere leaf painter" by pushing his landscapes toward the more respected rank of history painting.

Going beyond these well-known paintings, Blaugrund sheds light on the unrelenting consistency with which architecture surfaces throughout Cole's painting career. Upon the artist's first visit to Europe in 1829, he became captivated with architectural

ruins, and they began to feature prominently in paintings such as *A View of Tivoli* (1832, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and *The Cascatelli, Tivoli, Looking Toward Rome* (1832, Columbus Museum of Art). In New York, Cole completed commissions for his land-owning patrons that included views of their own palatial homes, like *View of Monte Video*, the Seat of Daniel Wadsworth (1828, Wadsworth Atheneum) and *The Van Rensselaer Manor House* (1841, Albany Institute of History and Art).

Cole often enhanced his glorious vistas with recognizable buildings. For example, the domed statehouse is visible in *A View of Boston* (1837-39, Minnesota Marine Art Museum), as is the iconic Hornby Lodge in *Portage Falls on the Genesee* (1839, Fred L. Emerson Foundation). Cole became renowned for capturing a distinctly American quality that set his landscapes apart from those of his European counterparts, and architecture played a significant role in this process. In works like *The Hunter's Return* (1845, Amon Carter Museum) and *Home in the Woods* (1847, Reynolda House Museum), it is not just the unmistakably American scenery that makes Cole's art distinctly national, but the edifices featured therein.

Even casual observers of Cole's paintings will recognize his penchant for painting architectural subjects. Those who have descended a little deeper into Cole scholarship are likely also aware that the artist entered and won a competition to design the Ohio State Capitol in 1838. His design was awarded third prize; eventually, it was modified into the plan on which the final design was based. Construction began in 1839, then was put on hold the following year for both political and economic reasons. The capitol was not completed until 1861, thirteen years after Cole's death, and his original contribution to the building's design is often lost in the wake of subsequent architects who contributed to its amalgamated design.

In addition to the Ohio State Capitol, Blaugrund reveals a number of Cole's lesser-known architectural endeavors. For example, he sketched ideas for a national monument to George Washington in 1835 and seriously considered entering the competition to design the monument the following year. His first design comprised an altar several hundred feet high. It featured winged animals at the top corners, a continual fire burning atop, and an opening at the bottom for processions. According to the artist's notes, an altar was the most appropriate choice, as it combined beauty with durability in the form of a complete whole, as opposed to a single architectural member like a column or pyramid. His second design for the monument featured a rotunda with 1,300-foot columns and a series of colossal sculptures. Cole not only sketched and described both designs; he wrote to the secretary of the Washington Monument Society in 1836, asking questions about the planned monument and the competition selection process. The artist also shared his own convictions with the society's secretary regarding the particular merits that any monument to a great man should encompass.

While Cole's designs to honor Washington never materialized, Blaugrund also describes multiple buildings seen through to completion. In 1839, after the church he attended in Catskill was destroyed by fire, Cole was asked to design a new building.

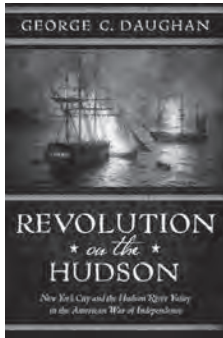
His Gothic Revival design for St. Luke's Episcopal Church was executed in brick and concrete early in 1841. Cole also designed his own studio on his property at Cedar Grove (now the Thomas Cole National Historic Site). The artist's plans for an Italianate studio were realized in 1846, and Cole painted there until his death in 1848. The exhibition, "The Artist as Architect," coincided with the opening of Cole's "New Studio" at the historic site. The original studio was demolished in 1973 after falling into disrepair, and the site stood empty for roughly forty years. In 2016, after over a decade of preparation and planning to ensure loyalty to Cole's original design, the studio reopened to the public. It now serves as a state-of-the-art exhibition and programming space.

With so much evidence of his architectural innovation, *The Artist as Architect* adds a compelling dimension to our understanding of Thomas Cole, and Annette Blaugrund leaves her reader wanting more. While this book swells with compelling evidence, it lacks critical interpretation of the new information it presents. Blaugrund eloquently points out that, like Cole's figures, the addition of buildings "nudged his landscapes from the topographical to the picturesque." She leaves us wondering, though, just how Cole's inclusion of architecture in his landscapes buttressed his concern for the preservation of nature. Furthermore, how did it help achieve the "higher style of landscape" that Cole so notably strove for and achieved? Moreover, outside of a few passing references, Blaugrund excludes mention of how critics responded to Cole's architecture.

Perhaps an exhibition catalog is not the place to delve into the myriad questions that *The Artist as Architect* brings forth. Blaugrund instead whets our appetites. She mines Cole's archive and effectively ties together his architectural paintings and drawings; his architectural projects, both realized and unrealized; and an otherwise wealth of new information regarding Cole's interest in and contribution to the field. She also recounts Cole's relationships with well-known architects from his day, suggesting how they shaped his own architectural understanding and production.

The author unveils a side of Cole that even the most learned Cole scholar may have known little about. And like most of what has been collected, exhibited, and published on Cole, Blaugrund's work establishes that there is so much more to the artist, his landscapes, and the limitless details therein than initially meets the eye.

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Revolution on the Hudson: New York City and the Hudson River Valley in the American War of Independence, George C. Daughan.

(New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016) 448 pp.

At the United States Military Academy, we encourage future Army leaders to consider the strategic challenges faced by General George Washington during the American Revolution. His decision to build Fortress West Point on the banks of the Hudson River highlighted his determination to deny the British control of this key waterway to Canada. While several historians have recently published new accounts of the war that support the conclusion that Washington was correct in his assumption that the Hudson was the key to the continent, one scholar has recently challenged this assumption. George C. Daughan, past winner of the Samuel Eliot Morison Award for Naval Literature, finds in his new book *Revolution on the Hudson* that, in fact, both American and British fixation on control of the river was unwarranted and led to poor decisions, particularly on the part of the British, in their strategy to win the war.

Daughan argues that both American and British leaders (political and military) wrongly believed that British control of the Hudson-Champlain corridor would cut the Continental Army off from much-needed support located in New England. A British strategy centered on this belief stemmed from three flawed assumptions. First, the government did not understand the limitations of its naval power, failing to realize the impossibility of blockading the entire New England coastline while simultaneously supporting amphibious operations along 350 miles of rivers and lakes between New York City and Canada. Second, Lords Frederick North and George Germain believed erroneous reports that Loyalist support in New York would strengthen with increased British military presence in the region and allow them to secure the surrounding countryside. Finally, all British leaders maintained a false premise that the war could be won through military means alone; political means were considered unnecessary and ignored. By basing their overall strategy on these three flawed assumptions, and remaining fixated on securing the Hudson River Valley, British efforts to maintain possession of her colonies were significantly compromised.

The first third of the book investigates the campaign season of 1776 and centers on both the fight for New York City and the succeeding war in New Jersey. It becomes quickly apparent that this will not be a military history focused on local participants from the Hudson Valley. Instead, this is largely a British (and naval) history of the war. The Hudson River and her surrounding Highlands play a strategic role in Daughan's telling of the conflict. He quickly makes his assessment of this first full year of conflict known in the third chapter, arguing that British leaders assumed Loyalist support while offering only subjugation and that the size of the fleet commanded by Admiral Richard

Howe was inadequate for the seizure of both New York City and the Hudson River up to Albany. To prove his point, Daughan evaluates the attempt by Howe to sail two war vessels (HMS *Phoenix* and *Rose*) up the river. The ships easily evaded damage from shore batteries but were constantly harassed by Patriot forces while stationed north of the Tappan Zee. The lesson, one both Howe and Washington missed, was that while the Americans could not hope to stop British ships from sailing north, those same ships had no ability to secure their route without the support of the local populace.

Following a familiar retelling of the events that transpired in New Jersey through the battles of Trenton and Princeton, Daughan dedicates one chapter to comparing British actions in New York over the winter with those of the Patriots upstate who were busy writing and enacting their state constitution. The point here was to elucidate growing Patriot support through the exercise of local democratic practices upstate while the city was gradually destroyed by military despotism. The author then continues his larger focus on the war, utilizing decisions made and actions taken in 1777 to drive his point home that British control of the Hudson-Champlain corridor was an impossible dream, given the breadth of British war aims and their lack of political strategy in the colonies. General John Burgoyne's failures, which culminated with his army's surrender at Saratoga, were largely the result of a populace turning out in favor of the Patriots. Meanwhile, Sir Henry Clinton was saved from defeat in the Hudson Valley when General William Howe requested he send reinforcements to Philadelphia rather than continue pushing north to rescue Burgoyne. Washington lost three battles attempting to protect Philadelphia but Howe's decision not to pursue the Continental Army guaranteed it remained to fight another year.

From this point to the end of the book, the British and French navies become the focal point for the narrative, as successes and failures on the ground from 1778 to 1781 appear to hinge on the availability (or lack thereof) of naval support. Sir Henry Clinton successfully removed his forces from Philadelphia to New York when French Admiral Comte D'Estaing failed to trap Admiral Howe's fleet in the Delaware River. A lack of decisive military engagements in the north were the result of American and British generals waiting for naval reinforcements that were slow to arrive as both Britain and France concentrated their naval efforts in the Caribbean and at home. Clinton's decision to remove his forces from both Newport, Rhode Island, and the forts north of New York were not the result of Washington's forays against those posts but instead Clinton's response to the arrival of D'Estaing's fleet off the coast of Georgia in 1779. And Charleston was lost to the British in 1780 not because Clinton arrived with a superior force but because the Continental Navy commander, Captain Abraham Whipple, lacked the will to fight the British Navy, despite holding a significant advantage in position within the town's harbor.

Continuing this focus on the importance of naval power in the conflict, Daughan concludes his narrative of the war by arguing that the defeat of the British at Yorktown

in 1781 rested most squarely on the shoulders of Admiral George Brydges Rodney. Rodney spent much of that year looting the Caribbean island of St. Eustatius despite the presence of a sizeable French fleet under the command of Rear Admiral de Grasse. When the French left the Caribbean to support the Americans in the Chesapeake, Rodney begged the British Admiralty to allow him leave to recover from illness. Daughan believes this request resulted more from Rodney's dislike for Clinton and the British Admiral Mariot Arbuthnot than from any other reason. Rodney's decision to delay sending ships north, and not under his command, doomed General Charles Cornwallis to an ignominious defeat at the hands of Washington and Rochambeau.

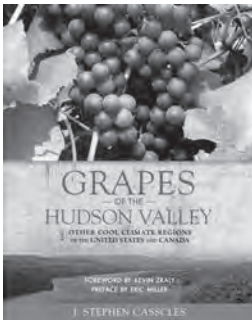
In his final conclusions, Daughan explains that the British lost the war when they failed to recognize the lessons apparent after their defeat at Saratoga, if not before. A strategy focused solely on the use of military power, and fixated on the control of the Hudson-Champlain corridor, doomed British efforts to regain control of her colonies. The campaign in 1777 showed that this policy was untenable in its military objectives and resulted only in a growing support for the Patriot cause, a trend that continued in the South when Cornwallis and his captains resumed their policy of subjugation into the Carolinas. And the author does not present another course by which the British could have succeeded. Instead, he offers questions in his final chapter suggesting that under the leadership of George III, Lord Germain, and Clinton no other outcome could conceivably be imagined. Given their commitment to a restructured colonial system that removed local autonomy and recognized only colonial submission to Parliamentary rule from London, military success would only have resulted in a desultory peace possibly followed by another insurgency.

Despite its title, *Revolution on the Hudson* does not truly focus on the War for Independence within the Hudson Valley. Rather, it is an overview of the war largely investigating British decisions and actions from Canada to the Caribbean. Washington's actions appear to lack initiative, instead originating as reactions to British maneuvers. British and French naval operations take center stage from 1778 to the end of the war, while British and Hessian treatment of American civilians and soldiers largely determine the amount of support given to the Patriot cause in states like New Jersey and the Carolinas. For these reasons, I was often reminded of Piers Mackesy's *The War for America* written over fifty years ago. To be sure, Daughan's work does not explore British administration of the war to such a degree and his narrative is more accessible, but the argument that naval supremacy was important to the conflict harkens back to this earlier work. And it is the narrative that provides this book with its greatest strength. Daughan is an excellent storyteller. In particular, the naval battles are riveting and easily understood, even by those of us who are not experts in war on the sea during the Age of Sail.

Some readers may take issue with Daughan's decision not to give more agency to Washington or to Americans more generally. The ideology of the Revolution has little power in this history, outside of a short section on John Jay's writing of the New

York State Constitution. How Washington was able to keep soldiers in the field over these eight years is not explained, nor is the growing competency of the Continental Army given much weight in the larger outcome. Still, proponents of the school of thought that Britain lost the war (instead of America winning it) will find much to their liking. Additionally, the question of whether or not the Hudson River actually was the key to the continent (as Washington most famously declared) is an interesting point to contend. The author's argument that the British would never likely have cut off New England's men and supplies from Washington's army is compelling, though it certainly would have complicated an already challenging problem for the American commander-in-chief. More importantly, this award-winning historian succeeded in what I believe was his principal goal: He reestablished the often overlooked importance of the navy in the war.

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Grapes of the Hudson Valley and Other Cool Climate Regions of the United States and Canada, J. Stephen Casscles. (Coxsackie, NY: Flint Mine Press, 2015) 272 pp.

J. Stephen Casscles' authoritative, captivating, and frequently entertaining book on the origins and cultivation of grapes in the Hudson River Valley opens with a history of place, setting his reader firmly in a geographical region of cool climates, cold—sometimes harsh—winters, and warm summers, and primarily in a time of rapid economic, social, and environmental change. That he succeeds so effectively at tying together diverse threads of roughly 400 years of the history of grape breeding testifies to his strengths as a historian, author, and viticulturist.

Casscles begins his historical ampelography in the early seventeenth century for good reason. At the time of European exploration and colonization, the countryside of the Hudson Valley grew so lush with native grapevines that the air was filled with the fragrance of ripening fruit. Sir Walter Raleigh's observations of the Virginia coast in 1584 (as reported by Barlow) could easily have described the Hudson Valley, a land "so full of grapes...both on the sand and on the green soil on the hills as in the plains, as well on every little shrub as also climbing towards the tops of the high cedars, that I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found, and myself, having seen those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written."

While grapes are grown today on every continent save Antarctica, one species has primarily held sway over history, the “European” wine grape *Vitis vinifera*. The fact that this grape evolved in the Near East and was subjected to domestication for thousands of years in a predominately Mediterranean climate provides a clue to its limitations. The New World presented a host of fungal diseases and insect pressures the likes of which *V. vinifera* had never encountered. That the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century vineyards of the European settlers, like the Bouverie of Peter Stuyvesant, quickly succumbed to these pressures turned out to be a blessing in disguise. The inability of vineyards to sustain traditional European *vinifera* varieties forced the new Americans to take a second look at the species that grew with such abundance in the wilds about them, despite their tendency to produce unpalatable wine.

From those early selections of superior wild species and through later hybridization efforts with *V. vinifera*, a new breed of table and wine grapes was developed. Schoolchildren raised on peanut butter and jelly sandwiches will immediately recognize the flavor of “Concord” grape jelly. This overwhelming “foxy” flavor is a characteristic of the fruit of *V. labrusca*, an extremely vigorous native species resistant to most native diseases and pests. That it typically makes a mediocre wine is one of the reasons why it remains largely neglected by winemakers today yet is prized as a delicious table or dessert grape despite its lack of subtlety.

Although “Concord” and its progeny remain the primary grapes grown in New York State, many of its neglected descendants and siblings retain traits useful for making wine or for supplying germplasm to current and future breeders. Few texts exist to document the wide palate and growth habits of these lesser varieties as thoroughly as this volume by Casscles. Indeed, his text surpasses the early twentieth-century classic *The Grapes of New York* by Ulysses Prentiss Hedrick, a contemporary of many of the early breeders.

Casscles re-evaluates many varieties described by Hedrick using modern cultivation methods, evaluates recently introduced hybrids, and provides a broad historical context in which these varieties were developed. While mainly an easy-to-interpret reference guide for the cultivation of grape varieties suitable for cool climate regions, this book is also a biographical sketchbook of grape breeders and their families, a historical review of vineyards and wineries in the Hudson River Valley, and personal reminiscences of the Casscles family’s relationships to the rich history of horticulture in the valley. His approach differs from innumerable other modern texts devoted to *vinifera* varieties and their hybrids by considering the development of grapes from the perspective of the breeder, and setting that breeder in a particular time period and geographical location.

The mid-nineteenth century is often considered the “golden age” of Hudson Valley horticulture for good reason. Advances in printing technology, an improved communication infrastructure, and the stirrings of ideas that would give rise to the modern scientific method encouraged professional and amateur horticulturalists to form societies to document the increasing variety of plants available and to publish recommendations to improve their cultivation.

Casscles introduces us to some of the leading contributors to this movement and to many of the lesser-known breeders who sustained the winemaking and table-grape industry throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While several of these individuals were nationally-known horticulturalists of their time—luminaries such as Charles and Andrew Jackson Downing—many came from other professions. Little is remembered about other regional breeders, but Casscles, through an extraordinary depth of research, unearths interesting and entertaining biographical information on each. Many prominent breeders came to viticulture late in life after careers in other fields: Dr. Charles Grant (dentist, physician), Dr. William Culbert (physician), James Ricketts (bookbinder), and the Underhill family (grist mill owners, brick makers, and physicians). It is probably not surprising that Casscles takes this tack, since he is a New York State government attorney by profession and winemaker, vintner, and viticulturist by vocation.

These biographical sketches illuminate the goals and interests of each breeder, illustrating how their preferences and decisions produced an astounding variety of new grape cultivars, several of which figure in the ancestry of varieties grown today. For the plant breeder interested in acquiring germplasm to address particular breeding objectives, each varietal description contains a wealth of useful information.

But more to the point, these historical vignettes bring out the humanity of these early pioneers, reminding us of the struggles and misfortunes of life in the nineteenth century. A particularly poignant biography is the tragedy of nurseryman Andrew Jackson Caywood, who died under a cloud of perceived financial trouble in 1890. Three months later, his only son Walter succumbed to illness while Walter's widow Ruth gave birth to a son the following day. The death of Caywood's wife, Deborah Cornell Caywood, the following year sealed the fate of the nursery. That Caywood's superior varieties exist to this day is a testimony to his legacy.

Casscles' experience as an attorney is evident in his attention to detail and ability to trawl through centuries-old obituaries and obscure publications to draw forth details such as these and to make connections among the various breeders, many of whom lived mere blocks from one another in Newburgh. The text abounds with copious citations and endnotes, many of which include personal anecdotes, brief discussions of international relations between Europe and the United States, and interesting stories of political intrigue and suicide. None of these are told for titillation; like the primary text, they bring out the fullness of history and humanity associated with this overlooked aspect of horticulture.

Considering the grape varieties themselves, the properties and cultivation requirements of each are discussed at length, often arising from Casscles' decades of personal experiences on his four-acre farm in Athens, New York. Discussions of major varieties include an easy-to-interpret key that provides a quick reference for hardiness, disease resistance, vigor, productivity, and wine quality. Parentage, when known, is given in

order of predominant genetic composition, and rough harvest dates based on observations in Athens. Minor varieties have shorter descriptions of their characteristics, either based on personal experience or drawn from authoritative and contemporary sources.

Although the book is primarily about grapes originating in the Hudson Valley, five chapters are devoted to hybridizers working in other areas of the United States and Europe. Many of these breeders relied upon North American species like *V. labrusca* or *V. aestivalis*, or built their breeding programs upon cultivars like “Iona,” developed by Hudson breeders. For each breeder and variety, the same attention to detail is present, with extensive endnotes documenting source material and the same keyed rating system for those whose traits are known.

Aside from minor, infrequent factual errors (for example, referring to nematodes as insects when they are from two distinct phyla, as different as humans are from jellyfish), there are two areas that could be improved with this otherwise excellent resource.

The title’s reference to a distinct fruit, region, and climate disguises the fact that it introduces grape cultivars originating from Geneva (New York), Minnesota, and several European nations—which may cause vintners to overlook the usefulness of this volume. Inclusion of these breeding programs broadens the utility of this book to include modern varieties with fewer finicky cultural conditions, better understood characteristics, stronger disease and pest resistance, and documented parentage. Perhaps a more accurate title would be “Grapes of *and for* the Hudson Valley and Other Cool Climate Regions.”

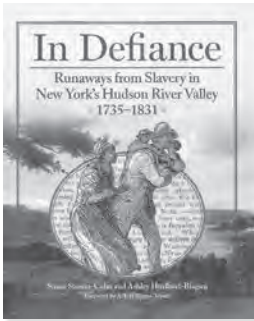
The book’s three objectives, described by Casscles in the introduction, are successfully met: to identify grapes suitable for the terroir of the Hudson Valley, to describe of the types of wines produced from these grapes, and to document the pedigree of these grapes from historical accounts of the breeders or their contemporaries. Furthermore, that he took the approach of documenting the history (and pedigree) of the breeders themselves underscores his commitment to preserv ing not only the genetics of these varieties but also their history, providing insights for modern hybridizers into the objectives of their predecessors.

Unfortunately, the inclusion of chapters on elementary winemaking and on working with *vinifera* varieties disrupts the flow of the narrative and seems out of place. Both of these subjects are covered in greater detail in other texts, such as Morton’s *Winegrowing in Eastern America: An Illustrated Guide to Viniculture East of the Rockies* or Cox’s *From Vines to Wines*. (Both sources are recommended by Casscles in the endnotes.) It may be safe to say that most of the people likely interested in this book would already have more than a passing familiarity with both viticulture and enology. Perhaps these chapters could more effectively have been relegated to appendices where they would remain of use to the novice.

Despite these quibbles, Casscles’ book represents a hugely welcome and recommended addition to the corpus of authoritative horticultural and viticultural literature. His elegant prose, thoroughly documented and annotated references, and personal

anecdotes bring to life historical figures long ignored or forgotten and shine a light on a time when the citizen-scientist and breeder could have a profound and lasting impact on an entire industry. That it serves as a serious reference work for grape varieties that are deserving of a second look only strengthens its utility to historians, breeders, and vintners alike.

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***In Defiance: Runaways from Slavery in New York's Hudson River Valley, 1735-1831*, Susan Stessin-Cohn and Ashley Hurlburt-Biagini. (Delmar, NY: Black Dome Press Corp., 2016) 346 pp.**

Susan Stessin-Cohn and Ashley Hurlburt-Biagini have supplied readers with an enlightening and impressively large compilation of newspaper notices (over 500) charting the presence of African-American fugitive slaves during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the counties lining the Hudson River. Their book follows the model provided by Graham Hodges in *Pretends to Be Free: Runaway Slave Advertisements from Colonial and Revolutionary New York and New Jersey* (1994) by presenting advertisements placed by slaveholders seeking to recover black escapees from bondage. The ads are drawn from the area's local press—e.g., the *Albany Gazette*, *Catskill Packet*, *Goshen Repository*, *Northern Sentinel*, *Poughkeepsie Journal*, and *Ulster Plebeian*—as well as newspapers published in New York City and in neighboring states. This reflects the destinations of the valley's fugitives: New York State's free black enclaves, Canada, and New England.

The foreword by A.J. Williams-Myers offers an interpretive context for the notices that reveal much about slavery in the valley, slave resistance as a whole, and the biographies of individual escapees. Readers learn of the institution's cruelty through descriptions of maimed runaways and those identifiable by metal collars. References to mulattos suggest the frequency of miscegenation, some or much of which was undoubtedly involuntary on the part of slaves. Many slaves were bilingual in English and Low Dutch and skilled—carpenters, barbers, shoemakers. Most fugitives were in their twenties and two-thirds of them were male. One wonders, though, how these generalizations compare with similar data for other regions and the nation.

Stessin-Cohn and Hurlburt-Biagini have constructed a very useful appendix. There are tables providing details and numbers for points made in the foreword. There is a glossary with definitions of arcane, anachronistic terms found in the notices. One table summarizes the types of material goods escapees carried with them or wore and

the counties from which they escaped; another is labeled “Key Points of New York’s Emancipation Acts” from 1799 to 1817.

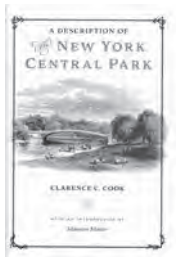
Many of the assorted illustrations are illuminating, including photographic portraits of slaves, sketches of slave activities, a drawing of the slave quarters of “The Old Knickerbocker Mansion,” and photographs of slaveowners’ homes. Too many others, however, like the several period maps of New York State and the period sketch of Bridewell (the infamous Manhattan prison) come off as extraneous because they lack explicit contextualization or explanation.

The reason for the span of time covered in the featured advertisements, 1735 to 1831, is unclear. Does 1735 coincide with some larger, pertinent event in New York colony’s political history? Why end with 1831, when slavery was outlawed in New York State on July 4, 1827? It may be that the authors simply opted to display all the newspaper ads related to the Hudson Valley that they could find, but if that was their thinking, readers would benefit from having that rationale plainly stated.

It is also unclear why ads are not presented chronologically. Had this been done, one might get a sense of whether the ad content—e.g., the size of rewards offered or the age, sex, color, and location of runaways—changed over time, perhaps in response to legislative amendments, economic developments, or abolitionist activity. Without question, however, what the authors have done very well, and admirably, is to supply interested readers, scholars, and students of the Hudson Valley, New York, and American slavery with a convenient and large set of raw materials to begin to address these issues.

Myra B. Young Armstead is the Lyford Paterson Edwards and Helen Gray Edwards Professor of Historical Studies at Bard College.

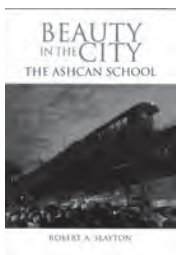
New & Noteworthy Books



A Description of The New York Central Park

By Clarence C. Cook (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2017)
240 pp. \$25.00 (hardcover) www.nyuupress.org

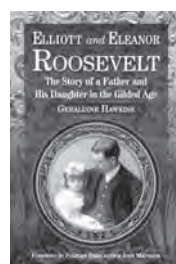
Originally published in 1869, this early description of Central Park evocatively captures the impressive size and unique landscape of one of New York City's must-see attractions. Cook's words are paired with many detailed and eye-catching illustrations by artist Albert Fitch Bellows that highlight many of the park's individual destinations as well as the experience of discovering them. Maureen Meister's newly-added introduction provides valuable historical context for the strategy behind Vaux and Olmsted's design, as well as the political and bureaucratic challenges they faced along the way.



Beauty in the City: The Ashcan School

By Robert A. Slayton (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2017)
196 pp. \$29.95 (hardcover) www.sunypress.edu

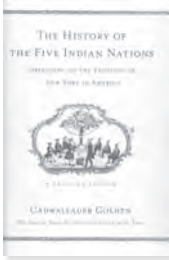
In the late 1800s, a new artistic approach to depicting urban life in New York City began to grow in visibility. The Ashcan School of Art offered illustrations of life in the working class, and how the industrialist experience of ordinary people found a place between the glamorous life of the wealthy and the hopeless life of the desolate. Utilizing dozens of color images to demonstrate the humanity found in this artistic approach, Slayton sheds new light on Ashcan School artists such as John Sloan and Robert Henri, as well as the subject matter that motivated them to paint.



Elliott and Eleanor Roosevelt: The Story of a Father and His Daughter in the Gilded Age

By Geraldine Hawkins (Delmar, NY: Black Dome Press, 2017)
416 pp. \$21.95 (softcover) www.blackdomepress.com

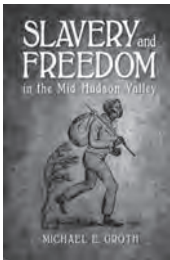
The story of Elliott Roosevelt's life is a complicated one, filled with opportunity and promise that quickly turned to isolation and tragedy. As the father of Eleanor, brother of Theodore, and godfather of Franklin, Elliott bridged the different branches of the Roosevelt family. His struggles with addiction, marital estrangement, and eventual early death complicated all of these roles, but the long-lasting impact he had on Eleanor can be seen in her many accomplishments. Through extensive research, Hawkins puts Elliott in the spotlight, complete with his many struggles and his early influence on the future First Lady.



The History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New-York in America: A Critical Edition

By Cadwallader Colden (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017)
216 pp. \$17.95 (softcover) www.cornellpress.cornell.edu

A new edition of Colden's two-part text, originally published in 1727 and 1747, on the tribes that made up the Iroquis nation between 1664 and 1697. Colden presents the many goings-on of this period from a decidedly British perspective, but nonetheless he makes a significant contribution to the understanding of the customs, treaties, and battles of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes. Newly authored essays by John M. Dixon and Karim M. Tiro provide historical context for these tribes, Colden's motivations in writing the book, and its publication history.



Slavery and Freedom in the Mid-Hudson Valley

By Michael E. Groth (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2017)
266 pp. \$29.95 (softcover) www.sunypress.edu

In the antebellum period, slavery was not exclusive to southern states—New York's Mid-Hudson Valley had a significant slave population well into the nineteenth century. The agrarian makeup of Dutchess County resulted in particularly difficult lives for black residents, both slave and free, that allowed for more oppressive conditions and greater difficulty in establishing black community and identity. In *Slavery and Freedom in the Mid-Hudson Valley*, Groth combines an impressive array of local primary sources with a wide variety of literature to present the many challenges of the African American experience in Dutchess County from the American Revolution to the Civil War.



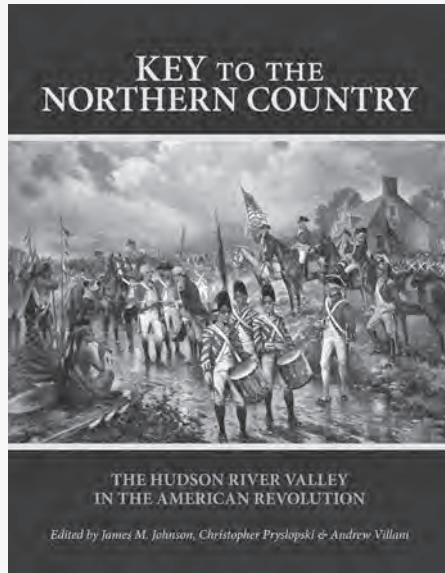
The Suffragents: How Women Used Men to Get the Vote

By Brooke Kroeger (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2017)
372 pp. \$24.95 (softcover) www.sunypress.edu

Beginning in 1909, the cause of woman's suffrage had an often overlooked ally in the Men's League for Woman Suffrage. Made up of an inaugural group of 150 men from divergent fields and vocations, the so-called "Suffragents" grew steadily in number and voice up to 1917, when New York granted voting rights to women. Kroeger relies on a comprehensive bibliography of sources on woman's suffrage to credit these men without diminishing the lead role that women played in establishing the movement and directing the energy of supporters to maximize impact.

Andrew Villani, Marist College

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