THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST

The Hudson River Valley Review (ISSN 1546-3486) is published twice a year by the Hudson River Valley Institute at Marist College.

James M. Johnson, *Executive Director*

Tel: 845-575-3052
Fax: 845-575-3176
E-mail: *hrvi@marist.edu*
Web: *www.hudsonrivervalley.org*

Post: The Hudson River Valley Review
c/o Hudson River Valley Institute
Marist College, 3399 North Road,
Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

Subscription: The annual subscription rate is $20 a year (2 issues), $35 for two years (4 issues). A one-year institutional subscription is $30. Subscribers are urged to inform us promptly of a change of address.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Hudson River Valley Institute, Marist College, 3399 North Road, Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

From the Editors

Central Park turns 150 this year, and while it is south of our usual territory, Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux each has roots and legacies in the Hudson Valley, and their work together in New York City is tied to that. Just as Olmsted and Vaux influenced generations of artists and landscape architects that followed, Washington Irving created a "school" of contemporaries and continues to influence writers today. Our article about America's first internationally successful author explores the Gothic inspiration—in architecture and literature—he gleaned from Sir Walter Scott. From the 1800s, we jump to twentieth-century architecture and parking lots, in an examination of urban life and renewal in the Village of Catskill. We continue up the river, but back in time and again toward the Gothic, ending with a discussion of an early and unattributed work by Herman Melville. (We also publish this short work in its entirety.)

Our regional forums bookend the valley as well—stretching from Boscobel to the historic sites of Troy. But before we end with our usual book reviews and exploration of new and noteworthy books, we feature a new section, titled "Regional Writing," which will be dedicated each issue to the publication of one poem from and/or about our region. Our spring selection is entitled "Winter: New York State."

Reed Sparling
Christopher Pryslopski

Correction:

The image that appeared on page 5 of our Autumn 2007 issue of the *Review* was incorrectly credited. It is from the collections of The New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, New Jersey, a statewide, private, non-profit historical museum, library, and archives dedicated to collecting, preserving, and interpreting the rich and intricate political, social, cultural, and economic history of New Jersey to the broadest possible audiences. Learn more at *www.jerseyhistory.org.*

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

Central Hudson
Gas & Electric Corporation
www.chenergygroup.com

Peter Bienstock
SHAWANGUNK VALLEY
CONSERVANCY
Conservation • Preservation • Education

The mission of the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area Program is to recognize, preserve, protect, and interpret the nationally significant cultural and natural resources of the Hudson River Valley for the benefit of the Nation.

For more information visit www.hudsonrivervalley.com

- **Browse itineraries or build your own**
- **Search 90 Heritage Sites**
- **Information on dining & lodging establishments—recommended by professional committees**
- **Upcoming events & celebrations**

To contact the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area:
Capitol Building, Room 254
Albany, NY 12224
Phone: 518-473-3835

Call for Essays

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

Submission of Essays and Other Materials

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

HRVR will accept materials submitted as an e-mail attachment (*hrvi@marist.edu*) once they have been announced and cleared beforehand.

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

Contributors

Warren F. Broderick is a Senior Archives and Records Management Specialist at the New York State Archives. He is co-author of *Pottery Works* (1995) as well as numerous journal articles. He is editor of a new edition of Granville Hicks' *Small Town* (2004), published by Fordham University Press.

Kerry Dean Carso teaches American art and architecture at the State University of New York at New Paltz. She has published articles in *Winterthur Portfolio, Mosaic: a Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature*, and *James Fenimore Cooper: His Country and His Art*. She currently serves on the board of the Turpin Bannister Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians in Albany.

Theodore Hilscher is an assistant professor at Columbia Greene Community College, with a law practice in Catskill. He is a former Catskill Village Trustee, and former Catskill Village Attorney. He has been published and has lectured on Hudson Valley history and historic preservation law.

David Schuyler is the Arthur and Katherine Shadek Professor of the Humanities and Professor of American Studies at Franklin & Marshall College, Associate Editor of the *Journal of Planning History*, and chair of the editorial board of the Frederick Law Olmsted Papers publication project. His publications include *Apostle of Taste: Andrew Jackson Downing 1815-1852*, and *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America*. He co-edited three volumes of *The Frederick Law Olmsted Papers*, the most recent of which is *The Years of Olmsted, Vaux & Company, 1865-1874*.

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

Vol. 24, No. 2, Spring 2008

Central Park at 150: Celebrating Olmsted and Vaux's Greensward Plan
David Schuyler 1

"To Loiter about the Ruined Castle": Washington Irving's Gothic Inspiration
Kerry Dean Carso 23

The Parking Lots of Main Street, Catskill
Theodore Hilscher 43

"Its Snowy Whiteness Dazzled My Eyes":
Melville's Early Attempt at Gothic Horror, *Warren F. Broderick* 66

Regional History Forum

Boscobel: A House Museum of the Federal Period
Maria Zandri, Marist '07 87

Exploring Troy
Elizabeth Vielkind, Marist '10 92

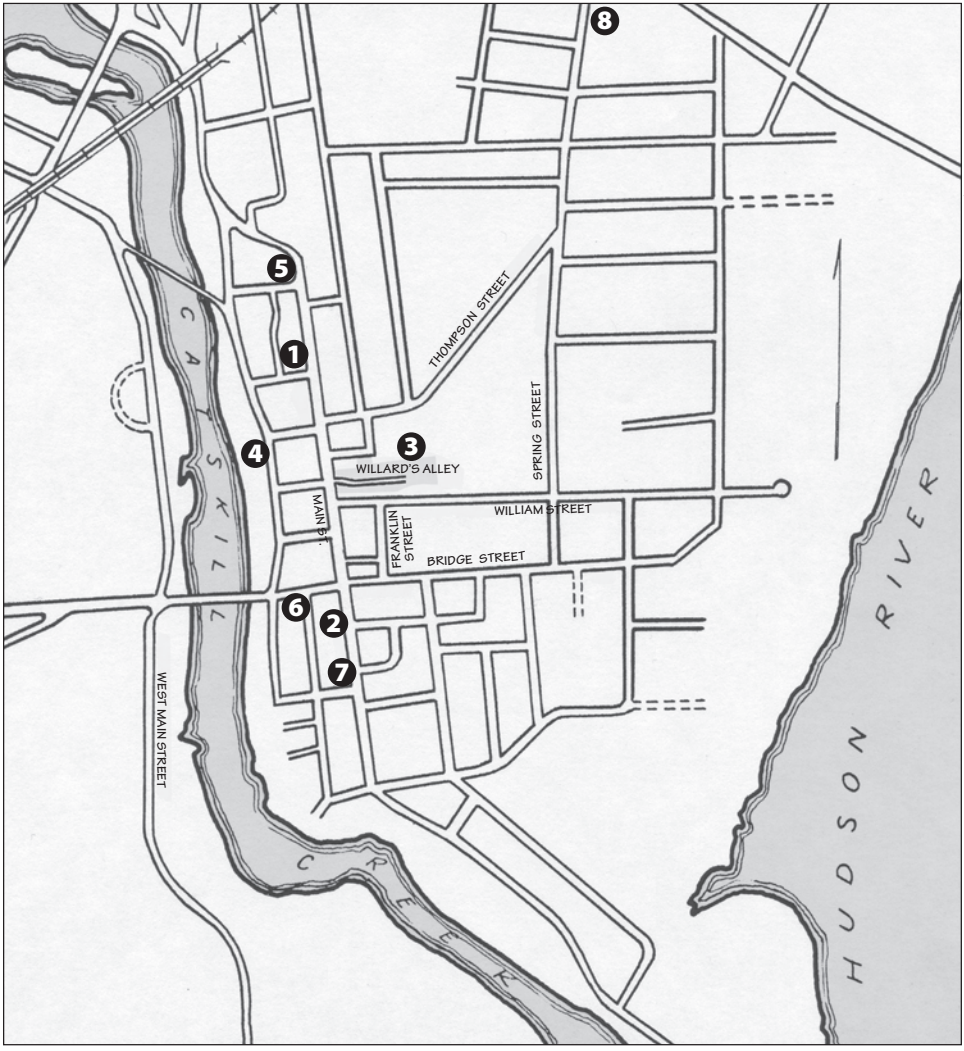
Regional Writing

"Winter: New York State"
Judith Saunders 96

Book Reviews

Edward J. Renehan, Jr., *Commodore: The Life of Cornelius Vanderbilt* 97
Matthew Spireng, *Young Farmer, Out of Body* 99
Suzanne Bordelon, *A Feminist Legacy: the Rhetoric and Pedagogy of Gertrude Buck* 102
Laurence Carr, ed., *Riverine: An Anthology of Hudson Valley Writers* 104
New and Noteworthy Books Received 106

On the cover:
A portrait of Melville as a young man by Asa Twitchell.
Courtesy of the Berkshire Athenaeum in Pittsfield, Mass.



RAYMOND AND MAY ASSOCIATES, 1959

1. Former Village Hall, burned—1935
2. Catskill Savings Bank Lot—1957
3. Willard's Alley, demolished—1960
4. Newberry's Lot—1960
5. Smith House, demolished—1962
6. CURE Lot—1972
7. Saulpaugh Hotel, demolished—1974
8. Thomas Cole's Cedar Grove

The Parking Lots of Main Street, Catskill

Theodore Hilscher

Main Street

One sunny morning in 1970, Catskill attorney Alan Ruf met insurance man Edwin Grossmann on the sidewalk in front of the DuBois Pharmacy at 379 Main Street in the Village of Catskill, in Greene County. As recalled by Grossman thirty years later, Ruf said to Grossmann, "I got a call from Sophie. She's sick and tired of collecting rent. She wants $10,000 for her building." "Sew it up," Grossmann said. "We'll get the money." Sophie was Sophie Richman Knopler, owner of an aging, three-story brick building at 48 Bridge Street. Grossmann, Ruf, and a third colleague, men's clothes shop owner Robert Winans, had mused many times over lunch how "wouldn't it be nice" if somebody could do something about "those slums" at Bridge and Hill Streets, one block west of Main. In short order, these sons of Catskill—each the second generation in his father's business—obtained private financing for the purchase of the Knopler property and several adjacent parcels, and leveled all standing buildings. Where Knopler's building once stood is today the parking lot serving the county courthouse and the professional offices near the corner of Main and Bridge.[1]

The development of the corner of Bridge and Hill Streets into a parking lot by a small cadre of business leaders underscores the haphazard nature of the creation of public parking in Catskill. No systematic response to parking needs was ever developed. For most of the lots serving the Main Street commercial district—and all of those built between 1960 and 1975—the creation of parking was a secondary result of other objectives. A response to the obsolescence of a prior commercial use or some notion of community-engineering involving the leveling of old housing stock and the displacement of black residents were the primary goals of which parking lots were a by-product. The incidental accommodation of the automobile in the pursuit of other goals has been long noted. In 1961, urban planner Jane Jacobs questioned "how much of the destruction wrought by automobiles on cities is really a response to transportation and traffic needs, and how

much of it is owing to sheer disrespect for other city needs, uses and functions?"[2]

This article will analyze when and how the parking lots of downtown Catskill came to be built, and demonstrate an inverse relationship between the existence of parking lots and the health of Main Street. During the first forty years of the automobile age, when there was at least as much vehicle traffic on Main Street as in the second forty years, only one parking lot was built—and that only after the accidental destruction of a building. During this time, Catskill enjoyed its status as county seat, as well as a regional center of employment, shopping, and banking, and a base of summer tourism. The village population reached its all-time high of over 5,800 residents. Business boomed, without off-street parking. The numbers and types of goods provided by the merchants met all the typical needs of local consumers. There were complaints about the lack of parking, about which the merchants did nothing as long as there were no practical shopping alternatives to Main Street.

When alternatives appeared, the creation of off-street parking was not enough to entice shoppers, and shops closed. As it turned out, the parking lot age also was the age of Main Street decline, as defined by a diminution of numbers and types of goods available. Major transportation routes (which bypassed Catskill and took Catskillians to work and shop in other places), a new commercial and residential orientation toward the west side of the village, and the move of many merchants from their Main Street apartments led to this decline.

Parking on the Main Street of small-town America has received no real attention from historians, except for the occasional, off-hand comments found in studies of sprawl and suburbanization. "By the 1920's… it became increasingly evident that Main Street was the invention of a bygone era and had not been designed for the automobile… motorists wishing to shop grew impatient with crowded streets and lack of parking," noted Chester Liebs in *Main Street to Miracle Mile*. In "From Town Center to Shopping Center: The Reconfiguration of Community Marketplaces in Postwar America," Lizabeth Cohen wrote: "traffic congestion and parking problems discouraged commercial expansion in central business districts of cities and smaller market towns, already hindered by a short supply of developable space." The claims of Liebs and Cohen are contradicted by what happened in Catskill, where the largest Main Street retailer expanded in 1955 and announced expansion again in 1960 before any construction of significant off-street parking on Main Street. Liebs and Cohen were not considering, or they underestimated, that characteristic of small-town life that can be described as spatial focus.[3]

In the forward to Richard Francaviglia's *Main Street Revisited,* Wayne Franklin

discusses the development of the typical Main Street in American history. Main Street is not simply a concentration of buildings and people. It requires, Franklin notes, "a spatially focused population indoctrinated in the virtues of consumption." Such a population goes to Main Street to spend money, even in the absence of parking, when there are no alternatives. Alternatives invite this population to lose its spatial focus.[4]

Main Street has been the commercial center of the Village of Catskill, and Greene County, since its earliest days. It runs two blocks east of and parallel to Catskill Creek, and below the spine of the peninsula of land between the Hudson River and the creek. Hills rise west of the creek and east and north of Main Street on the east side. Because of its location at the head of a narrow valley, Main Street began life as a gateway to the west. Beginning in 1801, Main Street was the eastern end of the Catskill-Susquehanna Turnpike on which settlers pressed into central New York and goods from the west headed to the Hudson and then to East Coast markets. Down Main Street came wagons loaded with Catskill Mountain lumber and bags of wheat milled along Catskill Creek. Droves of cattle, hogs, and turkeys—wings clipped, their feet tarred for durability—passed through, making noise and dust, and were herded into pens at the riverfront to await slaughtering. In the opposite direction came animal skins from South America, transported upriver and then up Main Street, on their way to the world's largest tannery in Prattsville, thirty-six miles to the west. The village grew up around Main Street. Eventually, some commerce extended along Bridge Street, perpendicular to Main, and then along West Bridge Street, on the west side of the creek. The west side otherwise remained the village outskirts before the automobile age.[5]

Catskill's era as one of the leading commercial centers in the state ended with the completion of the Erie Canal. The village then became well-known in another way. In 1825, a steamboat brought young Thomas Cole. Cole used the village as the base of his explorations of the mountains, where he made landscape paintings that drew great attention in New York City that fall. Cole and his followers went on to establish the Catskill region as a mecca for America's artists for the next half-century.[6]

Popularized as well by James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving in literature, the Catskills became a leading tourist destination. Presidents of the United States and European sightseers joined the elite of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston at the Catskill Mountain House, a few miles west of the village. By the end of the nineteenth century, middle-class urbanites visited hundreds of lesser resorts and boarding houses in Greene County. They arrived in Catskill by steamboat and train. The steamboat landing, or the Point, could also be reached

by ferry from the Greendale train station on the east bank of the Hudson in Columbia County. A narrow-gauge rail took passengers from Main Street to the Mountain House and nearby communities; an electric trolley ran up Main Street and west to Leeds. These rails carrying vacationers out from Catskill also brought residents from other parts of the county to Main Street.[7]

Catskill merchants benefited from a spatially focused population. Summer tourists and resort keepers from outlying areas; nearby farmers; the employees of the village mills, brickyards, and boatyards; and village residents all did their business on Main Street. Before the automobile, residents of southwestern Columbia County shopped on Main Street because it was closer to them by ferry or sleigh than the city of Hudson, Columbia County's seat. Main Street was the regional Wall Street—the home to three of the county's four banks. The county seat of government and law, the supervisors of fourteen towns met there to transact county business; clients met with attorneys to settle estates and close real estate deals; and trial juries sat.[8]

The merchants concentrated their shops. An 1856 map shows Main Street virtually solid with buildings north from Bridge Street for five blocks until it turns west to follow the creek. South of Bridge on Main there are open lots, side yards between buildings, and front yards, indicating a residential section. The intersection of Main and Bridge has always been the center of the village, and the early demarcation between storefronts and homes. Such a demarcation conflicts with the vision of modern urban planners, who believe they can recreate a nineteenth-century atmosphere by promoting a commercial district as a desirable place to live. Catskillians have always tried to live away from downtown, figuratively if not literally. One of the last two remaining buildings in the central commercial district built as a single-family residence is the Bogardus house, dating from before 1821. It sits facing the creek, its back to Main Street.[9]

The American desire to live away from urban density runs deeply, according to historians of the American landscape. Sam Bass Warner says we inherited this trait from our English ancestors. Eric Foner has noted that Philadelphia's aristocracy had built over 150 country estates within a dozen miles of the city by 1752. James Kunstler and Kenneth Jackson both credit none other than Thomas Cole and his landscapes with bringing nature safely to our homes and door yards, thus creating the ethic of suburbanization. So it was as part of a rich tradition that successful Catskillians moved off Main Street. On top of the hill between Main Street and the Hudson River, in 1856, were the Pruyn estate, the Bartow-Cole estate, Powers Place, and three Day houses. Stephen Day, one of the founders of the Susquehanna Turnpike and Tanners National Bank, built the first house on

the hill in 1803. He was soon followed by Isaac Pruyn, a lawyer and a businessman. The family of Thomas Cole's wife ran the ferry to Greendale and dealt in hardware, imports, and exports; attorney James Powers helped develop the Mountain House site. These wealthy Catskill businessmen built large homes on large parcels away from the sights, sounds, and smells of Main Street—but still close enough by a short carriage ride or walk. If Cole is indeed the founder of the suburban ideal, Catskill must be credited as the place where he lived that setting, neither city nor country, which became the landscape of the American dream.[10]

By the turn of the twentieth century, well-to-do businessmen developed almost all of the top of the hill above Main Street with expensive homes on lots measured in feet, not acres. With river-view lots along Prospect Avenue taken, the next street to the west, Liberty Street, was where Catskill Mountain Railway owner Charles Beach built his new home in 1904. Those not as prosperous but still seeking suburbia built along the trolley line, which ran through the countryside to Leeds between 1904 and 1917. The separation of work from home, as well as the construction of a home separated from the street by a lawn, indicated status. Main Street, by comparison, was dusty, devoid of pastoral elements like trees, and a place where any sort of person could pass by. Construction of churches and schools was acceptable in residential areas, but commercial enterprises located to Main Street or Bridge Street.[11]

The Automobile Age

In 1917, at the beginning of the automobile age, there were 165 businesses between 217 Main and 495 Main. Forty-seven, or 28 percent, were occupied by resident/merchants—businessmen or women living and working at the same address. (Physicians were the exception to the rule that those who could afford to moved off Main Street. All eight village physicians lived and worked at a Main Street address.) Twenty more Main Street merchants lived at another Main Street address, although some lived in the residential area of lower Main.[12]

The large increase in automobile use during the twenties resulted in only a small decrease in resident/merchants on Main Street. Motor-vehicle registrations increased in Greene County between 1921 and 1930 from 3,718 to 8,986, or from one automobile for every seven residents to one for every three. The car's new affordability and improved roads created much greater opportunity to live away from work. However, in 1930 there were still forty-two resident/merchants on Main Street, a decrease of just five since 1917.[13]

Many of the resident/merchants were immigrants. Margolius and Furman were Russian Jews; Cornelius (from Corniglia), Fontanella, Strozzo, Valente,

Yannone, and Migone were Italian; Eng and Sing were Chinese. Perhaps they were more likely to live on Main Street because they were acclimated to urban space in their native countries. Perhaps they had not yet saved enough to move away from Main Street. Whatever the reason, their strong presence filled what otherwise might have been a void on Main Street in types of goods offered for sale and degree of occupancy in and above storefronts. The number of so many immigrants in Main Street businesses reflects Catskill's overall cultural diversity. Consistently, ten to eleven percent of the village population from 1910 to 1930 was foreign born, including 625 in 1910.[14]

Because it was a residential as well as commercial center, Main Street was busy day and night with foot traffic. In 1930, shoppers had their choice of three bakeries, nine stores carrying men's clothing and one more selling only hats, ten butchers and one fish dealer, eleven grocers, three jewelers, a camera shop, six places to buy paint, and seven places to buy shoes. There were four banks, numerous attorneys, and insurance offices. Residents of the county's distant points came to Main Street for the banks, courthouse business, the moving pictures, and to buy finer clothing than that available where they lived. The 1930 directory notes the appearance of five chain stores on Main Street: department stores W.T Grant and J.J. Newberry, Endicott Johnson shoe store, and grocers Grand Union and A&P Tea Company. In contrast, there was only one chain in 1917, the Union Pacific Tea Company. Another development by 1930 was the arrival of indoor golf in three locations on Main Street. Evidently, indoor golf was a rainy-day diversion offered to the many vacationers who motored to the northern Catskills.[15]

The increase of automobiles during the twenties coincided with the elimination of the railroad as a means of transportation between Catskill and other points in the county. The electric trolley to Leeds was discontinued in 1917. Two years later, the Catskill Mountain Railway, with its routes to the mountaintop and Cairo, was torn up. Residents from these points west of the county seat, as well as the many summertime vacationers in Leeds and Cairo, could now travel to Main Street only by car.[16]

At the same time that automobile travel increased, the number of tourists traveling by water peaked. This, too, increased automobile traffic on Main Street. The Hudson River Day Boat, running between New York and Albany, landed at Catskill two times each day. Two million passengers made some part of that run in 1925, the Day Boat's best year. Each day over the course of a summer, river-goers poured onto Main Street by the thousands, to be transported from the Point in automobiles by the resort and boarding-house owners with whom they were staying.[17]

Hundreds of resorts and boarding houses were opened for the first time in Greene County in the 1920s and early 1930s. Resorts almost always started out as boarding houses, which were just farmhouses where guests were set up in spare rooms. The largest resort in the county to make it to the twenty-first century was Sausto's Pleasant Acres in Leeds, which started in a farmhouse in 1927; the five resorts in nearby Greenville to last through 2000 all were either started or expanded in this era. On Roberts Hill Road in New Baltimore, Mrs. Charles Roberts had an addition built onto the dining room at her boarding house in 1921. Just east of Oak Hill, Harriet "Hattie" Brand, recently widowed with three small children and unable to run her farm, started Elm Rest, which eventually grew to accommodate 150 guests at a time. The proliferation of the car was responsible for the resort boom; the percentage of increase in car registration in Greene County was mirrored nationwide. The automobile also empowered urbanites wanting to leave the city for good. Population in the village increased during the twenties, reversing a trend of at least two decades. The population of Greene County grew for the first time since the 1870s.[18]

An increase in car ownership was followed by an upgrade of the highway system, which in turn led to more traffic in Catskill. Main Street was a quick detour from US 9W, a new north-south route through the countryside on the west end of the village, which was completed in the 1930s. On July 2, 1935, the Rip Van Winkle Bridge over the Hudson River was opened, connecting Catskill by automobile to points east for the first time. The second part of the bridge project was the construction of a new road from the west side of the bridge to Route 9W, completed by December 1936. For the next thirty-three years, until Route 23 was rerouted to Cairo, westbound traffic over the bridge was directed via Route 9W to upper Main Street and out to the resort communities west of Catskill. This also brought more traffic to downtown, a minute or two by car east of the 9W-Upper Main Street intersection.[19]

The automobile age increased prosperity on Main Street, which witnessed an amount of new construction reflecting the general confidence in downtown. The Saulpaugh Hotel was enlarged in 1926. The U.S. Post Office, the Jewish temple, the Co-operative Mutual Insurance building, the Elks Lodge, and the 412-414 Main block, all were built between 1929 and 1936. The last two were replacements for buildings lost in the Kortz Furniture Store fire of May 1, 1928. The replacement of buildings lost to fire demonstrates that, in 1928, commercial land was too valuable to turn into parking.[20]

A Main Street address was such a hot ticket in 1924 that Philip Richman moved his apparel business from 48 Bridge Street, where he had been for 21 years,

to 395 Main Street—a five-minute walk away. Richman's decision to move was driven by the desire to reach pedestrian traffic, in disregard of vehicular traffic. His old location, being on the periphery of downtown at the demarcation of the non-commercial district, would have provided easier parking. Richman traded that for the increased number of potential customers passing on foot from one shop to another. There were many more cars on Main Street, but the absence of parking did not hurt business. Entrepreneurs were drawn to Main Street in Catskill from other places in upstate New York. In 1930, Alex Grossmann moved from Binghamton and opened an insurance office; and in 1936, Earl Winans came from Canajoharie, at age 50, and took over I. M. Margolius's men's shop.[21]

Fire led to the first parking lot on Main Street. On the morning of January 15, 1935, a blaze destroyed the Catskill Village Hall at 431 Main Street, just north of Church Street. It is not known exactly when the vacant lot was first utilized for parking. During the busy summer of 1936, the local newspaper, the *Catskill Daily Mail*, was reporting: "the fact remains that at times in the business section, not a place can be found in which to park. Some cities and villages have free parking places but thus far Catskill has none other than the streets." Despite this complaint, the need for parking could not have been so badly felt if the village lot was not yet pressed into service eighteen months after the fire. The village's 1958 Comprehensive Development Plan shows the village lot was used for parking by that time.[22]

While the absence of parking may have been bemoaned since at least the 1936 *Catskill Daily Mail* editorial, the absence of a downtown lot had not deterred business growth there. Thirty-five years into the automobile age—and without off-street parking—the Newberry department store made substantial investments in early 1955 by building a three-story addition to the rear along Water Street, renovating its soda fountain and lunch counter, and installing a sleek, modernistic facade of porcelain and enamel sheathing 65 feet wide across the second and third floors of its two storefronts. Main Street's largest retailer was not alone in its optimism. On April 19, 1958, *the Catskill Daily Mail* reported there were nine Main Street merchants spending between $75,000 to $80,000 on renovations or expansion. "Increasing business dictated the move to expanded quarters," reported one merchant. In 1960, a new Sherwin-Williams paint store came to Main Street. Newberry also announced that year that it was expanding into a third, adjacent store front, and acquiring 48,000 square feet of its own parking space—enough for 200 cars—on Water Street. This lot was created by the demolition of antiquated industrial buildings along the waterfront. For the first time, in 1960, a lot was created as an adjunct to a Main Street retailer.[23]

The Parking Lot Age

After World War II, transportation routes that had once pointed out-of-towners onto Main Street were being eliminated or replaced by alternative, faster routes that avoided downtown. In 1948, the Day Line stopped docking on a daily basis at Catskill. The ferry to Greendale had ceased running in 1939; no longer were there cars on Main Street going to and from the Point to pick up travelers arriving on the river. Then on October 25, 1954, Governor Thomas E. Dewey presided over festivities at the Catskill interchange of the New York State Thruway, opening from Newburgh to Utica that day. This route made Route 9W obsolete for long-distance travelers. Its impact on Catskill was immediate. In January 1955, Greyhound announced that five daily buses running to and from the terminal on Main Street would be cut. Instead, summer routes would run directly from New York City up the Thruway and on to Cairo, Freehold, and Greenville with no change-over in Catskill, as had been the case. The same month, the New York Central announced that passenger service through Catskill was being cut to one train a day in each direction.[24]

Not only did the Thruway direct out-of-towners away from Main Street, but it destroyed the spatial focus of the local population on downtown Catskill. In 1958, the Comprehensive Plan reported, "Due to recently improved transportation, Catskill residents can now commute to work as far away as Schenectady and Kingston." Those people taking the Thruway each day were not only commuters to work, but prospective patrons of stores near work. Once residents work outside the area in which they live, it becomes that much easier to shop outside the area in which they live. Catskill-area residents now began to choose to shop off Main Street.[25]

After 1969, the rerouting of Route 23, the major east-west artery, meant that travelers heading for Leeds, Greenville, Howe Caverns, or any other point west of Catskill were no longer directed to Main Street from the Rip Van Winkle Bridge. They avoided the village completely. Catskill had been bypassed twice—first by north/south traffic on the Thruway, and now by traffic on Route 23. Ironically, at the time new traffic routes were diverting cars off the village's Main Street, the era of the parking lot began.[26] Between 1957 and 1974, six large parking lots were constructed that changed Catskill's landscape significantly. In each case, they required the removal of buildings perceived as obsolete or in poor repair.

In 1957, Catskill Savings Bank bought the home of the widow of Dr. George L. Branch at 317 Main. It demolished the Second Empire house with green gables and grand first- and second-story porches, and created parking lot.[27] This was the

first lot intentionally created on Main Street. By 1963, the bank doubled the size of the parking lot by demolishing Dr. Frederick Goodrich's former home and office on the south side of the Branch house, and a second building formerly owned by Dr. Branch on the north side. This lot proved to be convenient for patrons of the courthouse as well as the bank. Catskill Savings Bank's demolition of the Branch and Goodrich residences further demonstrated the appeal of suburbia and the fading desirability of large, single-family residences so close to downtown. Perhaps the prospect of seeing them converted into multifamily residential dwellings across the street from the county courthouse played a role in their demolition.[28]

Each of the other three Main Street banks, following Catskill Savings' lead, later made small parking lots on either Bridge or Church Streets by razing buildings. However, the most important recognition of the automobile by the banks was not the parking lot, but the building of branch offices like the one Catskill Savings put on Route 9W. Branch offices were located where they were accessible by automobile, allowing customers to avoid walking on Main Street.

The first lot built inside the downtown core between Bridge and Church Streets came with the leveling of a small residential area known as Willard's Alley. The houses there were targeted as a result of a 1953 study commissioned by the Catskill Chamber of Commerce, which determined that space for 140 cars would be created. Willard's Alley was a name long applied to a hollow between William Street and Thomson Street, to the rear of the Willard Building on Main Street.[29]

There is no record of any consideration given in the 1950s to sacrificing any important commercial buildings for downtown parking. Willard's Alley became the sole focus. Along this dead-end dirt path, barely accessible by an automobile, stood eight wooden residences and several outbuildings. These buildings, most of them of two or three stories, dated back to the post-Civil War construction boom. Three of the dwellings were converted stables. According to the 1905 census, fifty-three residents—nineteen blacks and thirty-four whites—inhabited the buildings. Ten years later, thirty-nine persons lived in the alley. The white population had decreased to fourteen; the black population increased to twenty-five. Two of the multifamily buildings were racially mixed.[30]

Following World War I, the black migration reached Catskill. Most of the migrants came either from Macon or Warrenton, Georgia; years later, it seemed to Mrs. Mary Wilburn that "half of Warrenton must have come here." Men had been recruited in Macon to work at the Washburn Brick Company on West Main Street by an agent sent by the brickyard. Others followed the recommendations of family and friends who had already made the trip north and told them

jobs were available in places like American Valve in Coxsackie. Willard's Alley became a black enclave. By 1925, there were forty-five persons living there, all black. Sixteen women reported to the census taker that they were housekeepers. The next most common occupations were cement work (seven) and brickyard (five). One man worked as a bellboy, one worked in a chair factory, and another unloaded coal boats. While not invisible in village life, the alley's residents were certainly not in the foreground. A 1939 photograph of a fireman's parade shows a street full of white observers, except for a small group of blacks standing at the entrance to Willard's Alley. All the marchers appear to be white.[31]

According to census records, one family living in the alley in 1905—the Lipscombs—was still residing there in 1925. Seventeen people lived there both in 1915 and 1925, representing 38 percent of the 1925 population. Eddie Terry, a resident in 1915, was still there in 1957. Surely, it was a neighborhood in the sense that residency there was relatively static. It also served as a portal, a place where poor, uprooted southern blacks could land and begin to adjust to the north. When Charles Hawshaw moved up from Macon in 1954, he stayed with his aunts at 23 Willard's Alley. Emigrants could also find support from whites who themselves had once been outsiders in Catskill. Abraham and David Sherman, sons of a Polish Jew who immigrated to Catskill, hired teenager Harold Wilburn, whose family made the move to Willard's Alley from Macon in 1949, to work in their fruit store.[32]

In a lighthearted look at his boyhood written fifty years later, a white teenager who lived on Main Street in the 1950s remembered Willard's Alley as an alien and strange place:

> The Blacks in Catskill lived in one confined area, a wooded dale in the middle of town called Willard's Alley. Willard's Alley was a bit of the old South that had somehow been uprooted and transplanted in the middle of New York. The unpainted wooden houses were mostly one-story structures with shaky porches and tar paper roofs. The roads were dirt and became quagmires during hard rains. The smell of wood smoke and kerosene hung heavy over Willard's Alley through the cold days of winter and dogs barked and roosters crowed all year round… Few white people dared enter Willard's Alley alone. It was as if the world we understood ended where that dirt road began. Almost every kid knew someone who knew someone who had ventured into Willard's Alley by himself and never been seen again…[33]

The actual Willard's Alley was somewhat different from this mythical description. Former residents recalled no roosters, just goats kept by the one white

resident of this era, Mary Meracle.[34]

Were these buildings in need of demolition? Each had electricity and indoor toilets; the alley was served by water and sewer lines that tied into the village systems. Almost certainly, none of the buildings had central heat. The Fords, living on the first two floors at 17 Willard's Alley, cooked and heated with coal and wood. Above on the third floor, the Terrys used kerosene. However, this was during a time when many, if not most, middle-class homes in Greene County lacked central heat.[35]

A former resident of 17 Willard's Alley considered the building "old and raggedy," while 23 was remembered as well-maintained. Meracle was the alley's only owner/occupant. Surely, the rest of the buildings suffered in some degree from their absentee ownership. Nearly all needed paint. Yet, when the 1958 Comprehensive Plan identified fifteen "areas of blight or potential blight" in the village, Willard's Alley was not so designated. Was this omission an oversight or recognition that conditions in the alley were not that bad?[36]

In 1955, the state legislature passed a bill creating the Catskill Housing Authority, a vehicle through which federally backed bonds would fund "low cost" housing. Those people who lost their homes in the Willard's Alley demolition could utilize such housing, reported the *Catskill Daily Mail*. Soon to follow was the confirmation that the Urban Renewal Administration would fund two-thirds of the cost of the leveling of Willard's Alley, with the remaining third to be a local expense. In 1958, the Catskill Housing Authority razed a number of old buildings between Hill Street and the creek, some of them home to black families. Eighty units of low-income housing called Hop-O-Nose Apartments were built. Some alley residents moved to Hop-O-Nose, but not all. Reggie and Mabel Heath Deyo bought a house on Bushnell Avenue, which seems to indicate that residency in the alley had been a choice for them.[37]

The alley was leveled in August 1960. (The official name of the demolition, according to the engineering plans, was "Willard's Alley Renewal Project.") In order to provide better access into the new parking lot—the alley was too narrow for two lanes—the village government also tore down the Semonoff building at 376 Main, which at the time housed a drug store and meat market. Local leaders congratulated each other on the completion of three tasks—the clearing of two areas of old housing stock, creation of new housing, and new downtown parking.[38]

The unreported fourth accomplishment in the minds of some was the removal of blacks from the central business district. This era in which Catskill leaders removed the small black neighborhood in their little downtown also

THE COLLECTION OF MARK KRSTOVICH

Photo by Earl Cooper, c. 1959, looking west down the alley to Main Street

was one in which whites in Greene County either openly exhibited or quietly tolerated racial insensitivity. Spring seems to have been the time of year when minstrel shows were a norm for entertainment and fundraising in Greene County. The front page of the *Catskill Daily Mail* in April 1955 promoted one minstrel sponsored by the Lions Club at the Hunter-Tannersville school. It featured the county judge. In April 1958, the newspaper advertised a minstrel sponsored by the Knights of Columbus in Coxsackie. In fact, the Catskill Council Knights of Columbus minstrel show traveled from venue to venue, raising money for local Catholic churches. On April 4, 1960, a front page photograph showed a scene from the minstrel just given by the Cornell Hook & Ladder Company in New Baltimore. Four white men appearing in black face are identified as Jazzbo, Behop, Jughead, and Cupcake.[39]

Willard's Alley became the municipal parking lot, and the only lot located in the central commercial district between Bridge and Church streets for the next forty years. At this point, Main Street was still a good place to be in business. The village population in 1960 reached 5,825, the only time in the twentieth century that it passed the population of 1900. The Main Street shopper could consider four stores for men's clothing and six for women's apparel, two department stores; three "supermarkets" for groceries and meats; three more markets selling primarily

meat; the same three jewelers that were in business in 1930; three stores to buy paint; and six pharmacies. Insurance brokers, attorneys, and the four banks remained a constant. Eighty-five percent of working village residents worked in Greene County. Between 1920 and 1960, despite a dramatic increase in car ownership parking lots had not been deemed necessary by Main Street merchants. The 1958 Comprehensive Plan, completed in August 1958, provides a snapshot just as the village was about to enter the parking lot era. It stated that "Catskill retail sales were twice as great as the effective buying income of its residents," meaning merchants were doing far better business than they had a right to expect for a place of Catskill's size. This was primarily because of summer tourists and shoppers from nearby locations.[40]

But in spite of its apparent health, the perception of Main Street was changing. William Conine, a butcher, was representative of many Main Street merchants who moved out of their second-floor Main Street residences. Conine continued to tend the meat market started by his father at the turn of the century, but in 1953 he moved to Jefferson Heights, a new development, where he owned a small house with an apple tree on the front lawn and cherry and pear trees in the backyard. Each morning, he left his house, got into his car, and drove one mile to work instead of walking down one flight of stairs from the apartment over his store, as he had done for years. Conine's house was about the same size as the apartment he vacated; the convenience of living where he worked clearly became secondary to the goal of ownership of a detached, single-family home off Main Street. Likewise for druggist Jacob Furman and his wife Minnie. After twenty years above their storefront at 414 Main, they moved in 1954 into a new, one story residence with an attached garage at 10 Pruyn Place. Paul and Sylvia (Sherman) Tennenbaum, who worked in Sherman's Fruit Store, moved from their apartment above the store in 1956 to a new house at 17 Grace Court. Pruyn Place and Grace Court were both new subdivisions on the hill on the east side of the village, Pruyn Place being developed from the Pruyn Estate. At their new homes, Conine, Furman, and Tennenbaum enjoyed living on a quiet side street with a private yard that did not have to be shared—as sidewalks do—with whomever happened by. The automobile allowed them to escape what has been called "the intensity of public life," to tip the balance between public and private life much more heavily in favor of private life.[41]

Conine and Furman were not the last of the resident/merchants. However, resident/merchants now have become the exception. The 1958 Comprehensive Plan confirms the anecdotal evidence of the postwar residential exodus from Main Street. The most significant population decline of any area of the village between

1950 and 1958 occurred by far in the downtown area. Population there declined by 183 over those eight years, while the overall village population increased by 269. This demonstrated the incompatibility of mixing commercial and residential uses, noted the Comprehensive Plan.[42]

In comparison, the fastest growing residential area in the fifties was on the west side of Catskill Creek, along Koeppel Avenue and adjacent streets. The 1958 Comprehensive plan reported 104 new homes built there between 1950 and 1958, and 300 new residents. Two new streets were dedicated by the village, Willis Avenue in 1949 and Orchard Avenue in 1952. Lands originally owned by the Koeppel family that proved unsuitable for housing, the "cow lots," became the village park, which further oriented village residents to Catskill's west side. These new developments of single-family housing in the area of Koeppel Avenue as well as the village park, were close to Route 9W and its budding commercial district. In an historic move, the A&P left Main Street to move to Route 9W in June 1954. It joined the new Catskill movie theater, Hamm Buick, and Sarro's Drive-In. Local residents were now traveling to somewhere other than Main Street for groceries. By 1960, A&P was doubling the size of its store; before the decade's end, a chain department store, Big Scott, was anchoring newly built Simmons Plaza on Route 9W. These new shopping centers were on the way home for Catskill residents commuting to work to points south. IBM in Kingston and two cement plants in Cementon expanded in the fifties and employed many Catskill residents.[43]

All of this ultimately resulted in fewer cars on Main Street. Traffic counts were not recorded systematically over the decades, but some statistics are available, making observations possible. On Labor Day, 1925, 8,000 to 10,000 cars were reported coming through town. Certainly, summer months were the busiest; but equally as certain, traffic was as heavy at times, or heavier, in the twenties as it was forty years later. According to the 1958 Comprehensive Plan, the daily traffic count on Main Street during the previous five years was fairly steady at 6,000. The 1970 Comprehensive Plan reported little or no increase between 1960 and 1969. The rest of the information we have tells us that as shoppers were drawn to 9W and points further away, and as workers commuted more often to Albany and Kingston, there would have been a decrease in Main Street traffic in the years following the 1970 plan. Yet 1960 to 1975 was the time when parking lots were being built.[44]

By the sixties, out-of-towners as well as locals looked off Main Street for their needs. The first of the Main Street hotels to close was the 20-room Catskill Hotel, at the corner of Church and Main, in May 1954. This left the Saulpaugh, south of downtown, and the Smith House, at the north end of Main Street. Wooden,

two stories tall in the early days of the village, and then three, the Smith House became known far and wide in the twentieth century for the elm tree that grew out of the dining room and through the roof. During Prohibition, "the bar was open" and government agents were mollified with fine food, bribes, and free liquor.[45]

Between 1942 and 1958, the venerable establishment changed hands six times. The decline in out-of-town traffic made the operation of an old, twenty-two room hotel tenuous. Proprietor Luigi Caviglia tried to market it to locals looking for a night out. He advertised in the Friday editions of the local newspaper in the winter of 1954 to 1955: "The Amber Room of the Smith Arms Hotel; Dancing every Saturday nite from 10 p.m. to 2 a.m. with Bob Cooper and his all new four piece band."[46]

Caviglia died running the hotel in 1958, as did his successor, Paul H. Berg, in 1962. On June 25, 1962, Mrs. Berg sold what she had renamed the Old Heidelberg Inn—after her native city in Germany—to Oneida Realty, Inc. The hotel was demolished and a concrete-block building was erected and opened as Oneida Markets, one of a chain of stores with nearby locations in Hudson, Cairo, and Hensonville. The new building was placed deep in the lot, backing on Water Street, inviting automobiles to park between it and Main Street. This is the only time on Main Street a building was built behind a parking lot, and the only time a parking lot was built on commercial speculation.[47]

The chain grocery store had been on Main Street since the dawn of the automobile age. It changed things forever, in ways not apparent at the time. Grand Union and A&P drew customers away from the small grocers until the competition drained away. Oneida Markets and its shrink-wrapped meat was the death knell for Conine, whose shop was next door. Oneida, however, could not compete with A&P and Grand Union, now both on the west side. Oneida Markets lasted until 1969; ironically, it closed the same year as Conine's meat market. With all major markets now off Main Street, even those shoppers within walking distance of downtown had to drive for their most elemental need—food. Gone were the days when an order for meat could be placed by phone with Bill Conine and delivered at no charge, the height of service and convenience.[48]

Oneida Markets closed at a time when boom times on Main Street had passed. In 1970, the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) sponsored the preparation of a new Comprehensive Development Plan for the village and made new recommendations for Main Street revitalization. Not enough buildings have been knocked down, said HUD. The central business district should be consolidated between Bridge and Church; to make sure this

consolidation took hold, Main Street buildings south of Bridge would be demolished in favor of a new county office complex. North of Church, more buildings would be demolished for a re-routing of Main Street. Bridge Street would be widened.[49]

Increased parking was key to downtown Catskill's success. "A study of the parking in the Catskill business district shows that a substantial amount of new off-street parking space is required in order to improve the existing traffic flow and to encourage new or expanded development," the report said, but no further mention is made anywhere of the so-called "study of the parking." No evidence is given that anyone measured parking availability on weekdays, weeknights, or weekends, or collected any other type of data. Nor did the report suggest a return to diagonal parking along the west side of Main Street, which had increased on-street parking until it was discontinued well after World War II. No funding accompanied the plan and local government did nothing to implement it, at first.[50]

Shortly after the report was issued, a confluence of circumstances produced the suggested increase in large parking lots, beginning with one at Bridge and Hill. After Grossmann and Ruf's discussion about the Knopler building on that day in 1970, Grossmann turned to Catskill National Bank, which agreed to finance an ambitious plan to buy a total of nine buildings on Bridge Street between Main and Water for the purpose of demolishing them.[51]

Grossmann, Ruf, and Winans took the properties in the name of a not-for-profit corporation they called Catskill Urban Rejuvenation Energies, or CURE. The targeted buildings included a storefront black church at 44 Bridge Street and a "sporting goods store" at 36 Bridge where the baseball gloves on display could never be purchased. (It was commonly known to be a front for a numbers operation and Friday night card games.) To the rear was an empty lot where the state armory once stood, adjacent space that also could be used for parking. The county government had purchased the 1889 local landmark in 1964 and torn it down the following year, but had not yet improved the lot for parking.[52]

The sole holdout was Marie Galutch, who owned 40 Bridge Street and wanted $1,200 more than CURE offered. (Her building stands today.) Demolition of the acquired buildings began on March 31, 1972. Ten families, all of them black, lost their homes. Claude and Floree Rose, who had been renting 78 Hill Street before it was torn down, also had once lived in Willard's Alley. For the second time in twelve years, parking lots were considered an improvement over black housing.[53]

CURE planned to pay off the bank loan by selling the property to the village, which would then charge Main Street business owners a special assessment

through the establishment of a special district. Merchants would pay the extra tax on the theory that the vacant property could be used as a parking lot for new Main Street customers, thus generating revenue with which to offset the additional tax. The village board debated about the size of the district; village trustee and second-generation Main Street barber Joseph DiStefano wanted more demolition and a second parking lot north of Church as recommended in the HUD plan. Before the village board could move forward, the county government bought the lot, at CURE's cost, for use as parking and possible construction of a new county office complex there—as recommended in the 1970 HUD report. The adjacent, former armory lot also was blacktopped at this time.[54]

The county government next rented and then purchased the former location of the VanDusen car dealership at Main and Livingston, and converted it into much-needed office space. Across the street stood the old Saulpaugh Hotel.

The largest of the Main Street hotels, the Saulpaugh advertised "100 rooms —60 with bath" after its $200,000 renovation in 1926. Alex Grossmann moved from Binghamton in 1930 and opened the first office of Grossmann Insurance in the Saulpaugh. New York Telephone had its local office there; the Catskill Rotary met once a week; weddings and proms were celebrated. When I.B.M. officials came to Catskill after World War II to explore setting up a local plant, business leaders met them at the Saulpaugh. A different kind of business was run in the "horse room" in the basement level.[55]

Sold out of the Saulpaugh family in 1958, a succession of owners with grand plans all went bust. By October 1974, the hotel was closed and purchased by Greene County; that December it was demolished. The hotel site was paved over and used by county employees for parking, the last lot built on Main Street until the relocation of county offices thirty years later to the downtown.[56]

The long-discussed plans for the construction of a new Main Street county office building came closer to reality when the county legislature announced plans in 2001 to build on the site of the demolished Newberry department store. The footprint of the proposed building and adjacent parking required the razing of seven nineteenth-century buildings, including the former Episcopal Church designed by parishioner Thomas Cole. A lawsuit seeking an injunction against the demolition was dismissed; the dismissal was upheld by the appellate court in decisions that generated national attention, but the delay gave preservationists enough time to find a buyer for three of the threatened buildings and to convince the county to change that part of its plan. In 2004, the new county office building went up, along with Main Street's newest parking lots on its north and west sides.[57]

Until this most recent Demolition to create space for the county building, obsolescence of an earlier use—and not the need for parking—had determined the location and size of every one of Main Street's parking lots. The Willard's Alley lot and the CURE lot were created primarily to beautify the village by removing old housing stock that had been home to blacks. Another lot was the result of a fire. For two more—the Smith House and Saulpaugh Hotel lots—parking was a ready, if unimaginative, alternative to maintaining large, aging, empty buildings. The construction of the Oneida Market and the development of the Newberry lots on Water Street were the only instances where off-street parking was created as an adjunct to a commercial enterprise. If the lack of parking was hurting Main Street, the armory lot would not have sat vacant but unused from 1965 to 1972.

Only one Main Street parking lot existed before 1958. Main Street was healthy for the first forty years of the automobile age—investments in new construction and improvements to existing buildings were made, merchants relocated from other upstate localities, consumers found a full complement of goods—without off-street parking. Local Catskillians were spatially focused. The shoppers who filled Main Street stores from the 1920s to the 1950s, making them profitable, lived and worked in or near Catskill, or vacationed nearby. Looking back, one longtime Greene County resident succinctly explained the success of Main Street in the postwar years: "It was the only place to shop."[58]

One particularly important sub-group of those who had once lived, worked, and shopped locally were the Main Street resident/merchants. Then in the 1950s, the butcher and the druggist moved away from Main Street into homes with yards and trees, just like the banker and the railroad owner of the last century. In contrast to the early days of the automobile, no more than two or three merchants lived on Main Street above their storefronts at any times during the past two decades. While some former resident/merchants kept their shops and still lived elsewhere in Catskill, the loss of their around-the-clock presence changed Main Street in a subtle but profound manner. Tenants moved in above the storefronts, but there was no connection between the workday inhabitants of the street and the evening inhabitants, as there had been when daytime and nighttime users were often the same people. "On successful city streets, people must appear at different times," Jane Jacobs has observed. "All kinds of people can be present, but those who turn up for one reason at one time must not be sorted out in some totally incompatible fashion from those who turn up for another reason." When the nighttime downtown becomes alien to the daytime users, those daytime users will spend their evenings and make their evening purchases elsewhere. Furthermore, with the departure of the resident/merchants, those who once

would have opposed the turning of streetscape into parking lots were gone. When downtown was no longer home, they would not need to worry about living next to a parking lot.[59]

Main Street began to decline once improved automobile access to competition meant that its merchants no longer benefited from a spatially focused population. During the last third of the twentieth century, the parking lots were available but shoppers shopped in other places. There are many explanations for the choices shoppers make: other stores offer the same or similar items at less expense; people prefer shopping in new buildings to old buildings; other stores, banks, and supermarkets are on or near the transportation routes people take to work. The arrival of parking lots on Main Street did not change the decisions being made to shop elsewhere. Off-street parking came to symbolize not commerce, but a dearth of commerce.

The types of goods available on Main Street decreased; in 2007, a man's tie, a steak, a television, a best-selling book, or a baseball cannot be purchased on Main Street. Day and Holt Hardware closed in 2006, after almost two centuries, following the arrival of Wal-Mart on Catskill's west side. Yet today, foot traffic on Main Street is at a level not seen in decades. Specialty shops, most notably those selling home furnishings and fixtures, are benefiting from the synergy that comes from their close proximity to each other. Main Street is seeing new investment in the un-demolished nineteenth and early-twentieth landscape, as this generation becomes nostalgic for what prior generations abandoned.[60]

Endnotes

1. Conversation with Edwin G. Grossmann, January 2000.
2. Jacobs, Jane *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Modern Library Edition, 1993), p. 441.
3. Liebs, Chester H. *Main Street to Miracle Mile* (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1985), p. 9; Cohen, Lizabeth "From Town Center to Shopping Center: The Reconfiguration of Community Marketplaces in Postwar America," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 101, number 4 (October 1996), p. 1052; *Catskill Daily Mail*, January 1955, May 7, 1960.
4. Richard Francaviglia, *Main Street Revisited* (Ames, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1996).
5. On early Catskill see: Beers, J.B. & Co., *History of Greene County* (Cornwallville, NY: Hope Farm Press reprint, originally published 1884),p. 124-125;Dorothy Kubik, *West Through the Catskills* (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 2001), pp. 73-77; and Field Horne, *The Greene County Catskills* (Hensonville, NY: Black Dome Press, 1994), pp. 35-36, 59.
6. Thomas Cole's early Catskill adventures are treated well in Alf Evers, *The Catskills: From Wilderness to Woodstock* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Press, 1972) pp. 372-77.
7. Horne, p. 24-25; Roland Van Zandt's *The Catskill Mountain House* (Hensonville, NY: Black Dome Press, 1966) is the definitive work.
8. Yesteryear, *Catskill Daily Mail*, December 7, 2003.

9. Map of Greene County, E.A. Balch, publisher (Philadelphia, 1856); collection of the author; Duany, Andres and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, *Towns and Town- Making Principles* (New York: Harvard University Graduate School of Design, 1991), pp. 21-22, 25-31; see also Duany, Andres, Plater-Zyberk, Elizabeth and Speck, Jeff, *Suburban Nation*, (New York: North Point Press, 2000) In all of the new towns designed by Duany and Plater-Zyberk, apartments overtop street-level storefronts; Dunn, Shirley, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory & Nomination :East Side Historic District, Catskill, Greene County, NY* (1979), p. 3. The other Main Street building between Bridge and Church built as a residence is at the corner of William and Main Street.

10. Warner, Sam Bass *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston (1870 – 1900)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 13; Foner, Eric *Paine's Philadelphia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 23; Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) p. 57; Kunstler, James *The Geography of Nowhere* (New York: Touchstone, 1993), pp. 41-43; Gallt, J.A. *Dear Old Greene County* (Hope Farm Press reprint, originally published 1915), p. 506; Beecher, Ray, "The Thomsons of Catskill Landing" *Greene County Historical Journal,* vol. 23, no. 3 (1996); Van Zandt, pp. 31, 33.

11. Yesteryear, *Catskill Daily Mail*, January 25, 2004; undated conversation with Florence Hunter, who lived at 252 Jefferson Heights and told me it was built in 1914; Beecher, Ray "Let the Trolleys Come," *Greene County Historical Journal*, vol. 10, no. 1 and 2 (1986); St. Patrick's Catholic Church, St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Washington Irving Elementary School, and Grandview Elementary school were all built in residential areas between 1880 and 1905.

12. Craigie, F.R., editor, *The Greene County Directory*, 1917.

13. New York State Department of Motor Vehicles, *Registrations, Greene County, 1921 to 2000*; 1917 *Greene County Directory* and Manning's *Catskill, Coxsackie, Athens and Cairo 1930 Directory.*

14. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population Characteristics*, 1910, 1920, 1930, New York State Library; 1917 *Greene County Directory* and Manning's *1930 Directory.*

15. Conversation with Ray Beecher, Greene County Historian, February 8, 2002. Beecher lived in Greenville as a teenager from 1928-1934; 1917 *Greene County Directory* and Manning's *1930 Directory.*

16. Beecher, "Let the Trolleys Come."

17. Ringwald, D.C. *Hudson River Day Line* (Berkeley, CA: Howell-North Books, 1965); DuBois, Philip *A Catskills Boyhood* (Hensonville, NY: Black Done Press, 1992), p. 17.

18. Conversation of March 29, 1999, with Joseph Sausto, grandson of the "original" Joseph Sausto; undated conversation with Everett Roberts, son of Charles Roberts; conversation with John Winans, Hattie Brand Field's grandson, October 12, 2004; Greenville Press, February 19, 2004, June 10, 2004; *New York Times*; "Where Summer Just Isn't What It Used to Be," July 31, 2002; Census Records, New York State Library.

19. New York State Department of Public Works, plans filed at New York State Department of Transportation, Cairo, New York.

20. *Catskill Examiner*, August 14, 1930.

21. Ibid; conversation with Grossmann, January, 2000; obituary of Earl H. Winans in the *Catskill Daily Mail*, September 12, 1960.

22. *Catskill Daily Mail*, January 15, 1935; Raymond May Associates *Village of Catskill: Comprehensive Development Plan Part II* (White Plains, NY: August 15, 1958), map of existing land use following p. 50; *Catskill Daily Mail,* July 30, 1936.

23. *Catskill Daily Mail*, February 26, 1955; April 19, 1958; April 6, 1960; May 7, 1960; Greenville Press, April 18, 2004.

24. *Catskill Daily Mail*, October 26, 1954; January 4, 1955; January 5, 1955; January 22, 1955; Beecher, Ray "Greene County's Horse Ferries" *Greene County Historical Journal,* Vol. 8, No. 2, p. 13 (1984).

25. 1958 Comprehensive Plan, pp. 8 and 23.

26. New York State Department of Public Works, plans filed at New York State Department of Transportation, Cairo, New York.

27. Deed from Mrs. Branch to Catskill Savings Bank, Liber 364, p. 170, Greene County Clerk's Office.

28. Deed from Mrs. Goodrich to Catskill Savings Bank dated October 28, 1962, Liber 410, p. 675, Greene County Clerk's Office.

29. *Catskill Daily Mail*, February 26, 1955.

30. 1889 Sanborn Map, Drawer 7, Vedder Memorial Library, Coxsackie, New York; 1905 Census Records, Enumeration of Residents of Catskill Election District #2, pp. 5 and 6 and 1915 Census Records, Catskill Election District #2, pp. 8 and 9, filed at the Greene County Clerk's office.

31. Conversations with Charles Hawshaw, July 20, 2004, and Mrs. Mary Wilburn, October 29, 2004. Both were Alley residents and Macon natives; conversations with Eugene Heath, son of Wyman Heath and nephew of Moses Heath, and Charles Swain, Greene County minority historian, and grandson of Macon, Georgia, natives, March, 2004; photograph of Hudson Valley Volunteer Fireman's Association Parade courtesy of Catskill Volunteer Fire Company; 1925 Census Record, Catskill Election District #2, p. 1. Warrenton, Georgia, was the birthplace of the Heath brothers.

32. 1925 Census Record, Catskill Election District #2, p. 1; conversations with Hawshaw and Wilburn; conversation with Marlene Fischer, November 3, 2005. Marlene's mother, Sylvia, was David and Abraham's sister; conversation with Frances Heath, former alley resident, September 19, 2007.

33. Fried, Dennis *A Tongue in the Sink* (Osprey, Florida: Eiffel Press, 2004), pp. 30-31.

34. Conversations with Hawshaw and Wilburn; conversation with Dr. DuBois Jenkins, April, 2007. Jenkins was a veterinarian with an office adjacent to the alley from 1946 to 1958.

35. Conversation with Frances Heath; conversation with Harvey Durham, September 25, 2007, on the state of central heating in the county in the 1950s.

36. Conversation with Hawshaw and Frances Heath; 1958 Comprehensive Plan, map opposite p. 27.

37. *Catskill Daily Mail*, January 7, 1955; March 12, 1955; April 19, 1958; Laws of New York, 1955. *Catskill Examiner-Recorder*, July 31, 1958; *Catskill Daily Mail*, October 11, 1958; conversations with Hawshaw and Wilburn.

38. *Catskill Daily Mail*, August 4, 1960; Deeds recorded at Greene County Clerk's office at Liber 384, p. 187-196; Liber 385, p. 25, 171, and 380; Liber 386; p. 195; Liber 390, p. 408; "Willard's Alley Renewal Project", Map Drawer 7E, Vedder Memorial Library, Coxsackie, New York.

39. *Catskill Daily Mail*, April 29, 1955; April 21, 1958; April 4, 1960. By 1964, the Cornell Hook and Ladder minstrel show featured white performers with cosmetic white faces! See photograph collection of Cornell Hook and Ladder, New Baltimore. The *Catskill Daily Mail* of August 14, 1956 reported "an enthusiastic audience of 450" attended a recent benefit for the Greenville church. The Knights of Columbus show would be appearing next in Phelan's Hotel in Leeds for the benefit of St. Bridget's, the paper announced.

40. *Polk's Catskill Directory*, 1960; census records 1960; 1958 Comprehensive Plan.

41. Conversation with Bill Conine, son of William and Mabel Conine, April 29, 2002; Conversations with Cybil Furman Tannenbaum, August 2002, and Marlene Fischer, November 23, 2005; Conine deed recorded September 1, 1953, at Liber 334, p. 177 of the Greene County Clerk's Office; Furman deeds recorded June 9, 1954 at Liber 337, pp. 68 and 69 at Greene County Clerk's Office; Gruen, Victor *The Heart of Our Cities* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1964), p. 28; *Catskill Daily Mail*, April 5, 1960; 2 Wildwing Park was 1,177 square feet in size, not counting the garage. There is slightly more living space than in the apartment above the meat market. The

two apartments and the common space on the second floor above 479 Main Street total 1,700 square feet. Town of Catskill Assessor's office, Files #155.12-1-24 and 156.70-2-9.

42. 1958 Comprehensive Plan, p. 31.

43. 1958 Comprehensive Plan, pp. 8, 28, 31; *Catskill Daily Mail*, March 23, 1955; April 9, 1958; May 16, 1960. The Kingston IBM was advertising for assembly line workers and secretaries in the May 6, 1955, *Catskill Daily Mail*; Catskill Village Board Book of Minutes, April 19, 1949, and October 14, 1952.

44. Horne, p. 182; 1958 Comprehensive Plan, pp. 6, 54; Raymond, Parish and Pine, Inc. *Village of Catskill: Comprehensive Development Plan* (June 1970), p. 156.

45. *Greenville Press*, May 20, 2004; Conversation with Harold Kleinberg, May 1, 2002.

46. Deeds recorded at Greene County Clerk's office; *Catskill Daily Mail*, January and February, 1955.

47. Deeds recorded at the Greene County Clerk's Office.

48. The significance of the food stores moving to the west side was noted by long-time Catskill resident and town historian Betty Larsen; 1958 Comprehensive Plan, p. 12; Deeds recorded at the Greene County Clerk's Office; conversation with Conine.

49. Comprehensive Plan for the Village of Catskill, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1970.

50. Ibid.

51. Conversation with Grossmann.

52. Conversation with Grossmann; *Catskill Daily Mail*, March 22, 1971; June 6, 1972; Edwin G. Grossmann personal papers. Gene Heath recalled 36 Bridge Street on February 2, 2005.

53. Grossmann papers; conversation with Mrs. Rose, July 22, 2005.

54. Grossmann papers.

55. *Catskill Daily Mail* article, undated; Saulpaugh Hotel subject matter file, Vedder Memorial Library, Coxsackie, NY; conversation with Grossmann.

56. Deed recorded at Greene County Clerk's Office; *Catskill Daily Mail*, March 24, 1970; photographs, collection of Harold Post, Catskill.

57. Greene County Clerk's Office, Index #01-601, *Save Our Main Street Buildings vs. Greene County Legislature and Greene County.*

58. Conversation with Loris Alex, August 21, 2007.

59. Jacobs, *The Death and Life of American Cities*, p. 198.

60. A good academic treatment of the factors affecting the distance a shopper will travel can be found in Berger, R. M. *The Most Necessary Luxuries* (Penn State Press, 1993). In part, Professor Berger says (at pp. 49-50) "Several factors affect the distance a shopper will travel. These include the type of product being sought, the attractiveness of prices at competing outlets, the difficulty of the trip, and the availability of transport. Such factors as the ready availability of merchandise and credit facilities, convenience, the location of competitors, and customer service also affect marketing patterns. In addition, the consumer's awareness, habits, willingness to bear the costs of an extended search, and desire for a particular commodity, together with the number of trips necessary, will all be telling. A consumer might visit a single distant urban center with high prices rather than go to several nearby but dispersed shops—even those with low prices-because, despite higher search costs, there will be more choice… Consumers will also travel far afield for goods when the shopping trip itself has some entertainment value."

We invite you to subscribe to

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

To subscribe to the HRVR, simply complete this form and send to the address below. Two issues published each year.

Name_____

E-mail _____

Membership

- ❑ **Membership in the Hudson River Valley Institute Patriots Society includes a multiyear complimentary subscription; for more information please see the back of this form.**
- ❑ **A 1-year Individual subscription (two issues) is $20**
- ❑ **A 2-year Individual subscription (four issues) is $35**
- ❑ **A 1-year Library/Institutional subscription (two issues) is $30**
- ❑ **A 2-year Library/Institutional subscription (four issues) is $60**
- ❑ **A 1-year foreign subscription (two issues) is $30**

Subscription Preferences:

- ❑ **begin subscription with current issue**
- ❑ **begin subscription with next issue**

Back Issues **@$10.00/post paid for HVRR (ending with volume 19.1); $8.00 for each additional copy of same order.**
Vol._____ No._____ Quantity_____

Back Issues **@$15.00/post paid for HVRR (beginning with volume 19.2); $13.00 for each additional copy of same order.**
Vol._____ No._____ Quantity_____

The following issues are no longer available: Vol. and No.: 8.1, 8.2, 9.1, 11.2, 14.1, 15.2, 16.1, 16.2, 17.2, 19.2, and 20.2.

Mailing Address: _____

_____

Please complete form and return with your check or money order, payable to Marist College/HRVI, to:

Hudson River Valley Institute
Marist College
3399 North Rd.
Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

For more information, email hrvi@marist.edu, visit www.hudsonrivervalley.org, or call (845) 575-3052

The Hudson River Valley Institute

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

Patriots' Society

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

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

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

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

❑ **$100 Militia** (includes 1 issue of *The Hudson River Valley Review*)

❑ **$250 Minute Man** (includes 1-Year Subscription to *The HRVR* and choice of Thomas Wermuth's *Rip Van Winkle's Neighbors* or James Johnson's *Militiamen, Rangers, and Redcoats*) Please circle choice.

❑ **$500 Patriot** (Includes same as above and a 2-Year Subscription to *The HRVR*.)

❑ **$1,000 Sybil Ludington Sponsor**
(Includes all above with a 3-year subscription to *The HRVR*)

❑ **$2,500 Governor Clinton Patron**
(Includes all above with a 5-year subscription to *The HRVR*)

❑ **$5,000 General Washington's Circle** (Includes all above with 5-year subscription to *The HRVR* and a copy of Myra Armstead's *Mighty Change, Tall Within: Black Identity in the Hudson Valley*)

❑ Enclosed is my check, made payable to Marist College/HRVI.

❑ Please charge my credit card: #_____

Expiration Date _____ Signature _____

❑ Visa ❑ Discover ❑ Master Card

Phone: _____

Please fill out your contact information on the other side of this form.