

SPRING 2009

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

*Hudson • Fulton • Champlain
Quadricentennial
Commemorative Issue*



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THE
HUDSON
RIVER
VALLEY
REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST

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From the Publisher

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

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

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

Thomas S. Wermuth



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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*.

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

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

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



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

Introduction to the Quadricentennial Commemorative Edition

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tara Sullivan
Sarah Olson



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1609 · HUDSON-FULTON CELEBRATION · 1909 ·

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Sept. 25 Commencement Day N. Y. | Oct. 3 Religious Day Upper Hudson |
| " 26 Religious Observance Day N. Y. | " 4 Dutchess Co. Day |
| " 27 Reception Day N. Y. | " 5 Ulster Co. Day |
| " 28 Historical Parade N. Y. | " 6 Greene Co. Day |
| " 29 Commemoration Day N. Y. | " 7 Columbia Co. Day |
| " 30 Military Parade Day N. Y. | " 8 Albany Co. Day |
| Oct. 1 Naval Parade N. Y. | " 9 Rensselaer Co. Day |
| " 2 Naval Carnival Parade N. Y. | |

New York State and the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations of 1909

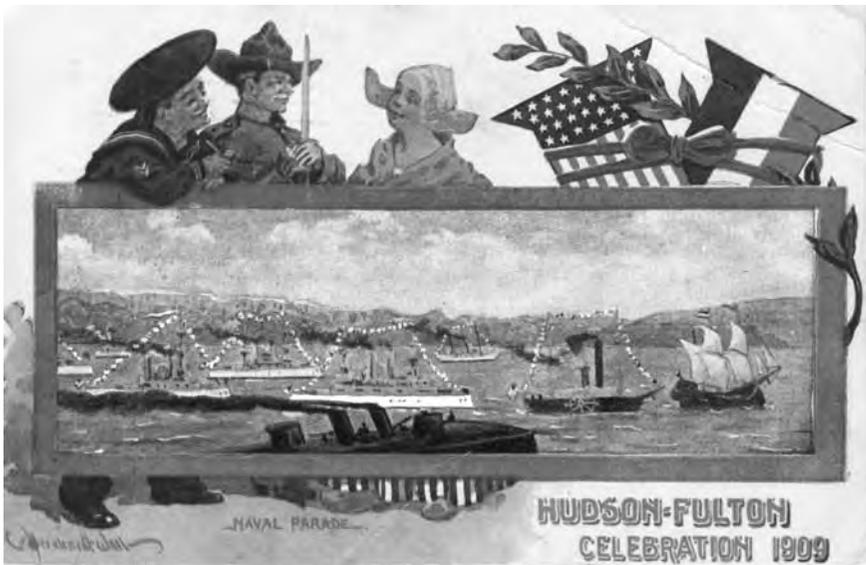
Kenneth Pearl

2009 will mark the 100th anniversary of one of the most unique and enduringly significant events in the history of New York State—the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations of 1909. For two weeks in late September and early October, New Yorkers along with a significant number of visitors marked two events that shaped the history of New York. The first was the voyage of Henry Hudson to North America in 1609, when he sailed up the river that would later bear his name. Little is known about the life of Hudson, yet unlike earlier explorers that had apparently reached the Hudson, such as Giovanni Da Verrazano or Esteban Gomez, Hudson made a record of his journey and also saw the economic potential for this waterway. Economic potential was central to the mind of Robert Fulton, the second person honored in 1909, when he displayed the first practical application of steam propulsion in a demonstration held on the Hudson River in 1807. Somewhat awkwardly, the granting of a monopoly to Fulton in 1809 was used to justify blending the two events into a combined celebration to be held in 1909. While hopefully avoiding any undue awkwardness of my own, this paper will not be concerned with the individual achievements of Henry Hudson and Robert Fulton. Instead I wish to first focus on the reasons that lay behind the decision to hold the anniversary celebrations and then deal with the numerous ways the Hudson-Fulton Celebration left an enduring mark on New York State.

Before I get to that, however, it's important to note that the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations would be interesting if for no other reason than the myriad ways it stands at the cusp of a new age. The recently completed Metropolitan Life tower on Madison Avenue, at the time the tallest building in the world, was one of the many structures that took part in the first illumination spectacle ever held in New York City. If Hudson's voyage of 1609 took place at a time when much of the world was still unknown, then the presence of Admiral Peary and his crew onboard the *Roosevelt*, recently returned from their voyage to the North Pole, serves as a

reminder of how by 1909 few places on earth were untouched by the presence of mankind. A new age in powered flight was dawning as both Glenn Curtiss and the Wright Brothers were invited to put their increasingly bitter aerial rivalry on display. (Wilbur Wright came out on top. In the first recorded flight in New York State, he circled the Statue of Liberty and flew from Governor's Island to Grant's Tomb and back, a distance of twenty-one miles.) Finally, amid signs of the increasingly tense naval rivalry between Great Britain and Germany, both nations sent battleships to take part in a naval flotilla that involved nearly 1,000 ships, the high point of the celebrations. The war that would break out in five short years would lead to the sinking of the *Lusitania*, which as it happens was present at the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations and was rewarding the passengers on its deck with some of the best views of the flotilla as it steamed down the Hudson.

The first suggestion for a commemoration to mark Hudson's voyage apparently came in the form of letters to the *New York Times* and the *Herald Tribune* from the Rev. J. H. Suydam of Rhinebeck. Impressed by the success of the World's Columbian Exhibition held in Chicago in 1893, he suggested that either the St. Nicholas Society or the Holland Society, the two prestigious Dutch social clubs in New York, pick up the mantle and organize some sort of fete to honor the man they referred to as Hendrick Hudson. One of the founders of the St. Nicholas Society, the older of the two organizations, was Washington Irving. Not incidentally, 1909



COURTESY OF THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY HERITAGE.
FROM THE COLLECTION OF VIVIAN YESS WADLIN

Commemorative Postcard from the 1909 Celebration



COURTESY OF THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY HERITAGE.
FROM THE COLLECTION OF VIVIAN YESS WADDEN

Commemorative Postcard from the 1909 Celebration

marked the 100th anniversary of the publication of his *A History of New York*. While Irving was of English and Scottish descent, he was fascinated by the Dutch community as shown in this satirical but affectionate book published under the Dutch pseudonym Diedrich Knickerbocker. During Irving's lifetime, the influence of New York's Dutch community remained very strong, but 100 years later, their place at the top of New York's social pyramid was being challenged by others, such as those of English descent, and it was this that led the Dutch community to view Hudson, despite his English ancestry, as an imagined Dutch hero. Unfortunately, the contract for Hudson's 1609 voyage was located in an archive in Amsterdam and instead of Hendrick he had apparently signed his name three times as Henry, even though the document was written in Dutch. Having lost this battle, New York's Dutch community imagined they could find comfort in the name of his ship, the *Halve Maene*, but this also turned out to be a disappointment, since when a replica arrived in New York after being painstakingly crafted in a Dutch shipyard, no name was painted on its stern. (Naval historians pointed out that wasn't done in the seventeenth century.) Throughout the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations, promotional materials repeatedly referred to the ship as the *Half Moon*, in what must have been a bitter reality for the community that had summoned the inspiration for this event in the first place.

While New York's elite battled it out on one end of the social spectrum, another search for identity was taking place among an increasingly significant



Statue of Verrazano

Italian-American community. Led by the publisher and editor of *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, the most prominent Italian-language daily in New York City, they fought for and won official recognition from the Hudson-Fulton Celebration Commission for the building of a monument in honor of their fellow countryman, Verrazano.

In another sign of the growing confidence of the Italian-American community, three days after the close of the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations, New York celebrated its first official Columbus Day with a parade down Fifth Avenue that featured Italian sailors who had participated in the naval flotilla of the previous week.

Early on, two critical decisions made the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations more than just a footnote of interest for historians of New York State. The first took place toward the end of 1905, when the decision was made to reconsider the initial plan to hold a grand exhibition and instead consider the possibility of creating permanent memorials and parks. Three public hearings were held in December and January 1906. While the precedent of recent successful exhibitions, such as the World's Columbian Exhibition of 1893 and St. Louis' Louisiana Purchase Exhibition in 1904 were considered, the single-exhibition route proved to have few supporters, since opponents pointed out such potential problems as the infrastructure in New York City, which was woefully inadequate for the anticipated crowds, with only two bridges across the East River, no tunnels under either the East or Hudson Rivers, and only limited mass transit. In addition, those communities located along the Hudson River north of the city were concerned they would be ignored if a centrally located exhibition were held. These considerations led to the decision to hold numerous celebratory events along the entire length of the Hudson and also to extend the celebrations to two weeks, with a particular emphasis on the upper Hudson in the second week of the festival.

The second critical decision was to make the commemoration non-commercial—absolutely no advertising was allowed—and to focus on the educational benefits that could accrue from marking the anniversaries. A Committee on

Public Lectures was appointed to organize lectures using stereopticon photos in seventy locations, while Wednesday, September 29, was specifically set aside as Education Day, with the public reading of essay-contest winners drawn from selected topics such as “How the beaver influenced New York” and the “The League of the Iroquois.”

With a brief stemming from these instructions, a Plan and Scope Committee was formed under the chairmanship of Frederick William Seward, a former Assistant Secretary of State during the Lincoln administration. Ultimately, over 800 members of New York’s political and social elite would involve themselves in the planning, including J.P. Morgan, who (as was fairly typical in this period) owned a summer estate in the Hudson Highlands, and a young Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who served on the Hudson-Fulton Public Health and Convenience Committee, a sort of public coming out prior to his first run for elected office in 1910.

Besides the interest of New York’s Dutch community in wanting to honor a voyage they viewed as being intimately connected with their own past, the question can be asked as to what other factors led to the desire to mark these dual historical anniversaries? After all, in 1809 no celebration was held to mark the bicentennial of Hudson’s voyage. Part of the explanation stems from an increasing historical consciousness that was taking hold throughout the United States, sparked in part by the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Examples of this growing interest in history can be found in the large readership for Henry Adams’ multivolume *History of the United States*, the establishment of organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1896, and the creation of German-style graduate programs in history.

This growing interest in America’s past led to one of the most important legacies of the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations, the establishment of a wing in the Metropolitan Museum of Art dedicated to American art. In 1909, two exhibits were held at the museum in conjunction with the festivities. The first was a major showing of Dutch Old Masters, including thirty-four Rembrandts, twenty portraits by Frans Hals, and five works by Vermeer. The other major show consisted of the first comprehensive exhibition of American art in a major museum. Besides displaying paintings and sculptures, however, the show was noteworthy for its emphasis on the so-called “domestic arts,” including furniture and silver, which were displayed in model rooms, a method previously found only in European museums. Most of the pieces exhibited in 1909 were later purchased on behalf of the museum by the noted philanthropist Margaret Slocum Sage; they formed the basis for the establishment of the museum’s American Wing, which opened in 1924.

There was a general sentiment among organizers of the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations that New York's critical role in the nation's development, both during the Revolution and in its subsequent economic transformation, was not receiving due recognition. States such as Virginia were viewed as being far more successful in framing their respective role in the nation's past, a development that would ultimately culminate in 1926 with John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s support for the preservation of Colonial Williamsburg. As the official report of the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations noted, "The State of New York, as compared with her neighbors on the east and south, has heretofore shown questionable modesty in refraining from exploiting her own history." Significantly, this remains an issue to this day. In recent discussions on the appropriate way to mark the 400th anniversary of Hudson's voyage, noted historian Kenneth Jackson commented, "Jamestown disappeared. New York City went on to be the greatest city in the world.... New York history tends to get a little bit overshadowed by Massachusetts and Virginia, so we need to tell our story."

If celebrating New York's history was central to the events of 1909, there was also a belief among the organizers that education could serve as an essential tool in bringing about the desired goal of assimilating New York's various immigrant communities. In this the organizers were actively supporting a Progressive-era goal of cultural assimilation, a key theme in what would later be labeled the Americanization Movement. While this movement has often been criticized by historians as a blind drive for cultural conformity, ethnic and religious community leaders at the time were often quick to embrace such ideas as a fast-track means of achieving an American identity. A sermon delivered by Rabbi Henry Klein of Temple Beth Jacob in Newburgh entitled, "The Hudson-Fulton Celebration and the Day of Atonement Ideals," while clearly a somewhat awkward attempt to blend the Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur with more general American values, reveals the extent to which this was deemed to be a desirable goal.

Those interested in the process of Americanization made use of other pedagogic tools such as parades consisting of immigrants who had passed their nationalization tests and the presentation of historical pageants, such as those that marked the centennial of George Washington's inauguration in 1889. Since the children of immigrants were specifically targeted for Americanization, an entire day during the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations was set aside for various displays both by and for children. Echoing on a larger scale what would be done throughout New York State, New York City was divided into fifty pageant districts; ultimately around 300,000 children from both public and private schools participated in various displays. Adults also participated in these historical pageants, the largest being one



Commemorative Postcard from the 1909 Celebration

held on Fifth Avenue consisting of fifty-three floats marking various events in the history of the Hudson River, including the building of the Erie Canal and capture of Major André. Other historically related events during the festivities included the placing of plaques at sites related to the American Revolution, such as those found today in Fort Tryon Park, or with the dedication of monuments such as the Stony Point Arch, the location of one of the last Revolutionary War battles in the Northeast. Arguably the most significant act of historical preservation stemming from the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations was the preservation and opening to the general public of Fort Ticonderoga, which previously lay in ruins.



Writing just two years after Fulton's *Clermont* made its maiden voyage, Washington Irving expressed his fear that something was inevitably going to be lost as the Hudson River became more commercialized. "Happy would it have been for New Amsterdam," wrote Irving, if it could "always have existed in this state of blissful ignorance and lowly simplicity, but alas! The days of childhood are too sweet to last!" By 1909, the economic exploitation of the Hudson was taking place at a rate that would have been beyond Irving's imagination. The somewhat picturesque harvesting of ice for several weeks toward the end of winter may not have been ecologically damaging, but other industries such as brick making and the production of paper were leaving scars along the shores of the river, a situation

made worse by the introduction of dynamite in the quarrying process.

The response to this ecological exploitation led some Progressive-era politicians and private citizens to support what has been called the “First Wave” in American conservation efforts, a movement that had a champion in the White House during the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt. Tentative initial steps to preserve the Hudson from pollution had already taken place prior to 1909, such as the establishment in 1903 by Governor Benjamin Odell of a New York Bay Pollution Commission to study the problem. At the same time, New York City organized the Metropolitan Sewage Commission of New York, but like many environmental efforts from this period, it lacked teeth, since the commission had only the power to make recommendations. Private organizations, often with the participation of wealthy individuals who had built great estates along the river, also formed with the goal of preserving the Hudson Highlands. They succeeded in getting the revised report of the Hudson-Fulton Plan and Scope Committee to acknowledge the importance of these efforts. Nevertheless, the events of 1909 achieved relatively little in terms of conservation as noted by a frustrated letter writer to the *New York Times*, who criticized the organizers for focusing on the “creation of pretty parks...or the erection of a memorial bridge,” while at the same time, “The most impressive monument of the discovery and navigation of the Hudson, its shores, is being torn asunder and ground to bits...”

While conservation efforts were not at the forefront, either in terms of educating people for the need to preserve the river in as pristine a condition as possible or by legislating change in the way companies exploited its resources, we should not be entirely dismissive of the ways that 1909 marked the beginning of a more environmentally conscious age in New York. For example, ground was broken for the establishment of Inwood Hill Park, which upon completion in 1916 contained the last natural forest and salt marsh in New York City. The most environmentally significant event during the course of the two-week-long celebrations was the dedication of the Palisades Interstate Park. While planning began in 1900 with the creation of the Palisades Interstate Park Commission, this noteworthy example of interstate cooperation between New York State and New Jersey received increased attention as a result of the upcoming Hudson-Fulton Celebrations and would provide a domino effect leading to other conservation efforts, including the establishment of Bear Mountain and Harriman State Parks.

If the Hudson-Fulton Celebrations provided an inspiration for later conservation efforts, it also left a legacy concerning the clear need for future infrastructure development. The Plan and Scope Committee had made much of the infrastructure failings in New York, leading to the decision to not have a centrally located

exhibition. However, in the two decades after 1909, the automobile was beginning to transform the American landscape, and while the Hudson-Fulton planners had thought in terms of the development of urban mass transit and rail links, the ambitious plan put forward in 1927 by Robert Moses for the transformation of the Upper West Side of Manhattan focused primarily on automobile-centric projects, such as the construction of the Henry Hudson Parkway.



On October 9, 1909, fires were lit along the shore from the mouth of the Hudson up to Troy to mark the end of what was considered by contemporaries to have been a highly successful celebration. For those interested in the past, the New-York Historical Society is planning an exhibition on the events of 1909 that will feature photos and artifacts. This year, New York State again will mark the achievements of Hudson and Fulton while also honoring the French explorer Samuel de Champlain. In 2002, the Hudson-Fulton-Champlain Quadricentennial Commission was organized with a mandate to raise money from private donors, oversee the construction of new facilities, and educate students about the Hudson River, Lake Champlain, and their surrounding communities. Unfortunately, as a result of the poor fiscal situation in New York State, the initial budget of \$7 million has been cut in half and the private funds the commission has sought to raise are not as plentiful as had been hoped. Nonetheless, money or the lack thereof will not diminish the vital work of the commission in reminding individuals of the essential role the Hudson River has played in the history of New York State and the need to preserve its beauty for future generations.

New York's Dutch Records: A Historiographical Note —Updated

Charles Gehring

Cervantes said of translating: It is “like viewing a piece of tapestry on the wrong side through which the figures are distinguishable yet there are so many ends and threads that the beauty of the work is obscured.” This quote not only describes the nature of translated works, it also expresses what we know about New Netherland. Our knowledge of this important period in American colonial history is, for the most part, based on the records and sometimes prejudiced judgments of New Netherland's English neighbors. For this reason, the reverse side of a tapestry has for years passed for the true side. It is often stated that the story of New Netherland is one of the best-kept secrets in American history. This secret is not, however, being maintained by ignorance or a conspiracy of American historians; it endures because of the lack of primary source material on New Netherland. Not only are the Dutch records inaccessible to the historian who has no knowledge of seventeenth-century Dutch, but those translations of the records which were made in the nineteenth century are extremely selective and unreliable.

In 1974 (300 years after New Netherland was returned to the English at the end of the third Anglo-Dutch war), a first step was taken to make the needed materials available to scholars. That year saw the publication of volumes one through four of the Dutch records in the New York State Library.¹ These volumes had been translated over sixty years earlier by A.J.F. Van Laer, but owing to a lack of funds and interest, they were never published during his lifetime. It is unfortunate that he did not receive the necessary support to continue work on the records. Van Laer knew the people and history of New Netherland intimately, and could make the records speak accurately and in a way that reflected the original language of the documents. Without the determination and support of Kenneth Scott of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, Ralph L. De Groff of the Holland Society of New York, and Kenn Stryker-Rodda of the National Genealogical Society, these volumes would still not be in print.²

These four volumes are an important addition to the source material on New Netherland. The first three contain the minutes of the Provincial Secretary, in which contracts, leases, wills, bonds, and other miscellaneous items are recorded. Volume four comprises about 300 pages of the 4,400 pages of council minutes. These minutes contain the executive and judicial proceedings of the Director-General and Council of New Netherland. In addition to the 4,100 pages of council minutes which await translation, there also are some 2,000 pages of correspondence between Director-General Petrus Stuyvesant and the directors of the West India Company.

These letters will provide historians with new insights into the character and ability of Stuyvesant and will form the basis for a much-needed reevaluation of him. For scholars interested in the Dutch West Indies, there are 350 pages of correspondence and instructions relating to the administration of Curaçao. The story of the southern region of New Netherland is recorded in 650 pages of Delaware papers, which include letters and instructions that describe the struggle between the Dutch and the Swedes for control of the Delaware River. The short-lived reconquest of New Netherland by the Dutch in 1673 is described in 650 pages of documents relating to the Colve administration. Less exciting to read, perhaps, but necessary for a complete assessment of the province are the 800 pages of ordinances, writs of appeal, land patents, and deeds.³ For a colony so neglected in our early history it is an impressive amount of primary source material.⁴

Despite the notorious delay in publication, the 12,000 pages of Dutch records have not been entirely neglected and have an interesting history of their own. As early as 1708, a bill was passed by the Legislative Council of New York to assure their preservation. In 1740, Pennsylvania sent an agent to New York to transcribe certain documents from the records, which were needed to settle a boundary dispute with Maryland. Disputes involving New York's eastern boundaries led to the appointment of Jacob Goelet in 1754 as "Interpreter and Translator of the Low Dutch Language." It is doubtful whether he ever intended to undertake a translation of all the Dutch records. He was, however, responsible for arranging the records into forty-seven volumes and the drafting of a calendar for the council minutes. He probably also made the 140 pages of transcriptions from the Dutch records, now among the New-York Historical Society's holdings, which relate to the Dutch colony on what is now the Connecticut River. In 1776 the records, which had been kept in the office of the Provincial Secretary, were transported to Kingston. At the end of the American Revolution, they were deposited with the Secretary of State, first in New York City, then in Albany. There they remained until 1881, when they were transferred to the state library.

In 1805, James Van Ingen was hired at public expense to translate certain volumes of the Dutch records that would be useful to the Rev. Samuel Miller for his projected history of New York. But by 1826 he had translated only one volume of deeds and patents and twenty-six pages of council minutes. It was, perhaps, Van Ingen's cautious pace that induced Governor DeWitt Clinton to look for another translator. He found his man in the person of Francis Adrian van der Kemp. In 1818, at the age of 65 and with failing eyesight, Van der Kemp reluctantly undertook the task of translating the entire body of material. Working at his home in Barneveld, New York, he completed the translation four years later. These "Albany Records," as his translation was called, contained everything except the two volumes of land papers that were still in Van Ingen's hands.

Van Laer was well acquainted with Van der Kemp's work and in an appraisal of previous translations wrote the following about the "Albany Records": "They have long since been regarded by competent students as absolutely worthless for critical historical work. Owing to the difficulties under which Van der Kemp labored, consisting chiefly in an imperfect knowledge of the English language, impaired eyesight, and the urgency to complete the task during Governor Clinton's administration, the translations are filled with mistakes that destroy them as an historical source." For years, however, the "Albany Records" were the only source for research on New Netherland. Samuel Hazard quotes extensively from them in his *Annals of Pennsylvania*, as does John Romeyn Brodhead in his *History of the State of New York*, and Edmund B. O'Callaghan in his *History of New Netherland*.

O'Callaghan recognized the need for a new translation, and in 1865 he was employed as translator. He finished *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland* in 1868, and a few years later completed translations of the three volumes of secretary's minutes and one volume of council minutes; only the laws and ordinances were ever published. Van Laer notes that O'Callaghan is not free from error, but is a great improvement over Van der Kemp.

In 1876 Berthold Fernow followed O'Callaghan as translator of the Dutch records. He planned a publication of records, both Dutch and English, relating to the Delaware, Long Island, and Hudson Valley settlements. His efforts comprise volumes 12 to 14 of *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. Altogether, Fernow translated about a quarter of the Dutch records. Unfortunately, he selected only those documents which he considered important and arranged them topographically, which, in effect, separates chronologically related material; in some cases three separate paragraphs from the same document appear in three different volumes.

The most traumatic event in the history of the Dutch records was the state capitol fire of 1911. Occurring just one year before the state Education Building and library was completed, the fire broke out in the west wing of the capitol, where the library was then located. The Dutch records were more fortunate than other manuscript collections, but did not survive without damage. Some injury was done to the volumes of council minutes and to the first few volumes of correspondence. Volume 1 of the “Register,” which was on Van Laer’s desk at the time, was entirely lost, but fortunately the previous translation by E.B. O’Callaghan survived. Thus the first volume of the register is O’Callaghan’s translation with corrections made by Van Laer from memory. The material was fresh in his mind since he had recently completed a manuscript translation of this volume, which also was destroyed in the fire. The most extensive damage was that suffered by Van der Kemp’s 1822 translation. Of twenty-four folio volumes, only 200 pages survived the fire, and these were found in the vault of the Education Building just before the library’s move to the Empire State Plaza. O’Callaghan’s manuscript translation did survive, but, as has been noted, of these, only the laws and ordinances were published.⁵

When the present translation project was first discussed, it was decided to delay continuation of the council minutes and to begin with the Delaware papers (volumes 18 to 21). The decision was based on the following factors: First, the Delaware papers stand out among the Dutch records as a distinct unit, which appeared manageable in a short period of time; second, they suffered comparatively little damage as a result of the fire; and finally, Fernow had already translated most of the Dutch and transcribed the English for volume 12 of *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York*. Thus, the task seemed to be merely a matter of checking Fernow’s translations for accuracy and adjusting his language to conform to the already published volumes. But it was soon realized that there were serious problems not only in Fernow’s translations but also in his transcriptions of the English documents. Volumes 20 and 21 discuss the period in the Delaware Valley after the English takeover of 1664. Therefore, about ninety percent of the documents are in English. In volumes 18 and 19, Dutch documents comprise almost ninety-nine percent of the total. In order to have the English volumes ready for publication as soon as possible, work was begun on the fifty pages in Dutch, which Fernow either had not translated or had omitted.

Van Laer’s evaluation of Fernow’s translating ability—that “his knowledge is apt to fail him when it comes to anything particularly involved or technical”—proved to be an understatement. A few random examples of inaccuracies in Fernow are as follows:

In a patent, he has a creek running “towards the west” instead of “from the west.” In a proclamation, he has the hogs doing “great damage in the company’s high [roads]” instead of “in the company’s grain.” A significant mistranslation occurs in a letter from Stuyvesant to the Council in New Amsterdam a few days after the Indian uprisings of 1655. He asks the council to find out whether the Mohawks were involved and, if not, whether they would punish the Indians who were involved. Fernow reads: “...Your Honors will...inquire...whether it might not be possible that we could get provoked by them [the Mohawks]... Instead of: “...if it might not be possible for them to avenge us...” Numerous incorrect transcriptions of geographical and proper names occur: “Tornaborg” for “Tinnekonck,” “Pieter Smith” for “Pieter Hansen,” “Antony Sander” for “Antony Hansen,” “Jan Insten” for “Jan Justen,” “Gele Eyfgrauw” for “Oelle Eysgrauw.”

In preparing volumes 20 and 21 for publication, it also was necessary to transcribe those English documents that Fernow had omitted. After discovering the numerous errors in his transcriptions of names in the Dutch documents, it was decided to check those English transcriptions that already appeared in his volume 12 of the colonial documents. Peter Christoph, head of the Manuscripts and History section of the New York State Library, undertook the task of comparing the originals with Fernow. The first document turned up over fifty errors in his published transcriptions. Not only is this number of errors typical, but it was also found that many documents were not completely transcribed. For example, the presentation of a series of court cases was transcribed, but the resolution of the cases were omitted. Some typical examples of his errors are: “woods” for “sweeds,” “beatt a downe” for “beatt a drom,” “bitter answer” for “bill or answer,” and “tould” for “asked.” The boundary of one patent appears as “fifty perches” in length instead of “forty.” Another patent has a line running “W” instead of “WSW.”⁶

Damage done to the documents varied dramatically according to their position on the shelves the day of the 1911 fire. Those on the top shelves were damaged the most, as the shelves carrying English documents above collapsed on the Dutch records below. Most seriously damaged were the final four years of council minutes, especially volume 10, which represent the last two years of Stuyvesant’s administration—some 2,000 pages of manuscripts. Generally, the damage is minor in comparison, such as the Delaware Papers. Although these documents, in general, survived the fire with minor damage, some pages have suffered serious damage, not all of which is related to the fire. Dutch secretaries habitually left a two-inch margin on the left side of the paper and then wrote to the edge of the right side. Thus, whenever a document has been damaged along the right edge there is considerable loss of text. Previous translators experimented on faded lines

by smearing ink on them in the hope of providing, evidently, a darker background for the faded words. Fortunately, this method of recovery was given up before more than a few documents were ruined. Sections of some documents have been cut out by signature collectors leaving a gap in the text on the obverse.

But the most serious damage, of course, was caused by the 1911 fire. Volumes 5 to 10 of council minutes and volume 11 of correspondence have all had from one to three inches burned off the tops. This means that the headings of many documents are gone, but more importantly, a considerable amount of text on the reverse side has been lost. There are two possible methods to recover this loss: First, to find copies or originals of the documents; second, to fill in the gaps from previous translations. The latter will be done to retain continuity but with a note that these portions may be unreliable.

Many Dutch records and transcriptions relating to the records in the state archives are scattered about the country in various historical societies and libraries, as well as in the archives of the Netherlands. In order to have these sources available when needed, microfilm copies of all documents relating to New Netherland are being acquired. In 1978, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission funded the research and publication of the *Guide to Dutch Documents in U.S. Repositories*. The guide not only locates related collections of Dutch documents but also indicates whether the New Netherland Project has a copy. Not only will acquisition of these additional manuscripts assist the translating project, but it will bring together in one place all of the source material necessary for scholarly research on New Netherland. An update to the guide, which will also include Dutch repositories, will form the basis for a Center of New Netherlandic Studies at the New York State Library.

With the publication of over half of the surviving records of the Dutch colony, another corner of the tapestry of New Netherland has been turned over. When all of the Dutch records eventually appear in print, historians will, at long last, have in their hands the material needed to tell the true story of the Dutch in colonial America.

Endnotes

1. The Dutch records were held by the Manuscripts and History section of the New York State Library until 1976 when they were transferred to the newly established New York State Archives. Public records went to the archives while private records remained in the library. As the Dutch records were deemed a precursor of state or government records, they became a part of the archives' holdings.
2. A.J.F. Van Laer, trans. and ed., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*. Edited with added indexes by Kenneth Scott and Kenn Stryker-Rodda (Baltimore: Published under the direction of the Holland Society of New York by the Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc. 1974.)
3. Since writing this article some thirty years ago, much of what has been outlined above has been accomplished: the Delaware Papers, a volume of Council Minutes 1652-1654, and the land papers labeled GG, HH, and II were all published by Genealogical Publishing of Baltimore; Curaçao Papers by Heart of the Lakes; and Council Minutes 1655-1656, two volumes of Correspondence 1647-1658, Fort Orange Court Minutes 1652-1660, Laws and Writs of Appeal 1647-1663, and two volumes of Fort Orange Records 1654-1679 published by Syracuse University Press. Still remaining are three volumes of correspondence, three volumes of council minutes, and the Colve Papers.
4. Some gaps in the records are irremediable. Though the Provincial Secretary of New Netherland retained a copy of every document that went through his office, some documents were lost or destroyed during the Dutch period and later. In 1647, for example, materials relating to the administration of Director-General Willem Kieft were lost in a shipwreck. Other records such as the Book of Resolutions, the Book of Petitions, and the copybooks of correspondence are referred to in the council minutes but are no longer in the collection. We can only hope they will some day surface.
5. E. B. O'Callaghan ed. and tr., *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland 1638-1674*. Albany, 1868.
6. The warning to use Fernow's translations with "extreme caution" has been borne out by over thirty years of retranslating from the originals. Unfortunately, nothing can be done about the text that has been lost because of the 1911 fire. In such cases our translations have used Fernow's text to fill in the damaged areas; however, such text appears between brackets which serve as a *caveat lector*. It should be noted that no matter who the previous translator might be, whether Fernow, O'Callaghan, or Van der Kemp, they were all translating with a minimal amount of reference material. Today we have so much more with which to confirm or check our translations: The massive Dutch dictionary *Het Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, dialect studies, specialized vocabularies such as the *Zeemans Lexicon*, and thousands of articles on the various families of New Netherland. At best, nineteenth-century translators had only a simple Dutch dictionary such as Sewell at their disposal. I find it amazing that they accomplished as much as they did.



“View of the Steamboat Passing the Highlands”

The Triumph of “Fulton’s Folly”

Cynthia Owen Philip

It seems a miracle that within the twenty-four hours it took Robert Fulton’s boat to steam from New York City to Chancellor Robert R. Livingston’s estate at Clermont in August 1807, the serene Hudson River, with its wherries, skiffs, and sturdy sloops, was thrust into the industrial age. America was set agog by the feat, either through terror for what it meant to customary modes of transportation or in eager anticipation of finding ways to profit from it. It was an immense boost to national pride; there was no other vessel in the world capable of achieving reliable scheduled service.

Of course, neither Fulton nor Livingston, his partner, was the first to think of applying steam as a propelling force in navigation. One has to go back to the ancient Greeks for that honor. More recently, men on the Continent, in Britain, and in the United States had experimented with varying degrees of success. But only Fulton’s steamboats functioned well from the first and never faltered thereafter.

The success of “Fulton’s Folly,” now Fulton’s triumph, was built on solid foundations. By the time he began his experiments, Robert Fulton had spent seven years endeavoring to become a professional artist, first in Philadelphia, then in England. Realizing he could not compete with the likes of Copley, Turner, or even Stubbs, he gave up that dream and became a civil engineer. However, he never stopped painting—to illustrate his works and for recreation. In fact, his artistic ability was a principal underpinning of his success as an inventor. Instead of building expensive full-scale models for his experiments as others were forced to do, he could design with a pencil; it was he who created modern mechanical drawing.

Fulton’s first major invention was a system for raising and lowering boats on canals where the terrain was hilly and water levels low. It brought him work on the Peak Forest Canal north of Manchester, England, and eventually was used on the Bude Canal in southwestern England. (In 1828 it was incorporated in the Delaware and Hudson Canal that ran between the Pennsylvania coal fields and the Hudson River at Kingston.) In 1796 he published a beautifully written book on his system, complete with cost-benefit ratios, fine explanatory illustrations, and a letter to Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania telling how it could benefit that state.

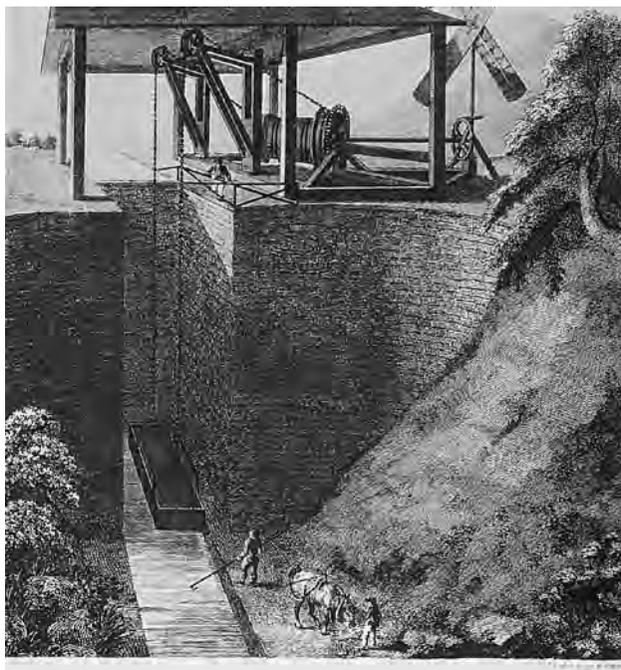


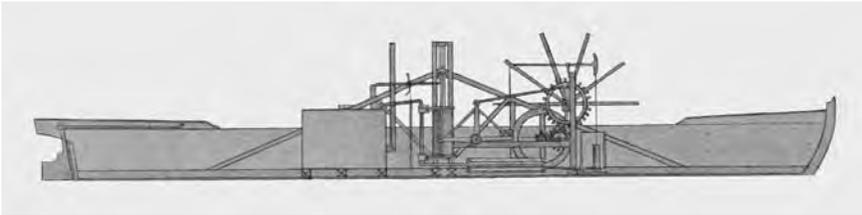
Illustration from Fulton's A Treatise on the Improvement of Canal Navigation Exhibiting the Numerous Advantages to be Derived from Small Canals and Boats of Two to Five Feet Wide, Containing from Two to Five Tons Burthen with a Description of the Machinery for facilitating Conveyance by Water through the most Mountainous Countries, independent of Locks and Aqueducts: Including Observations of the great Importance of Water Communications with Thoughts on, and Designs for, Aqueducts and Bridges of Iron and Wood

This handsome book became his *passé partout* when he journeyed to France the following year.

When Fulton met Robert R. Livingston, United States Minister Plenipotentiary to France, probably sometime early in 1802, Fulton had already established himself as an able inventor. His canal book had been well received and was translated into French, Portuguese (for Brazil), and Russian. He had received patents for the system, as well as for a rope-making machine, and a new way of displaying panoramas that he exploited in a pair of buildings that enthralled the populace. (The link between the two structures still exists as the Passage des Panoramas. There is also a rue Fulton in Paris.) But his most extraordinary invention was a submarine boat that he demonstrated on the Seine in 1800 before a huge gathering of Parisians. Supported by important scientists as well as a succession of marine min-

isters (and, for a fleeting moment between land campaigns, General Bonaparte), it was excitedly proclaimed *le bateau-poisson* by the committee of eminent men assigned to assess its performance. It could, they said, do everything a boat could do and everything a fish could do. When improved, it could stay underwater for eight hours with five men aboard. (They were provided with compressed air released from a spherical brass container Fulton had also invented.)

When he and Livingston were introduced, Fulton's whirlwind career was in a temporary lull. Learning that Livingston's experiments with steamboats in America had met with disaster, he quickly saw in him a patron, for he himself had considered applying steam to boats since 1793. Livingston, who had acquired a patent for steam navigation on the Hudson, thought Fulton might help him succeed in exploiting what he fondly called his "hobby horse." On October 10, 1802, they signed a partnership agreement whereby Livingston would provide the monopoly and infusions of money and Fulton would build the boat; they would share the profits. (The agreement was, in fact, a proto-corporation for it dealt with the continuance of their enterprise should either or both of them die. In day-to-day operations, Fulton was generally "in advance" of Livingston on money spent, and would have to pry Livingston's share out of him.)



Seine river boat from H.W. Dickinson, *Robert Fulton: Engineer and Artist*,
London 1913

Fulton went right to work and by August 1803 was ready to demonstrate on the Seine a boat fabricated entirely in Paris under his direction. Once again all Paris, from aristocrats to riverbank laundresses, turned out. A brilliant success, the boat steamed three miles per hour against the strong current and twice as fast with it. Always the impresario as well as a hands-on member of the crew, Fulton gave rides to distinguished personages in the two small boats towed behind. The only disappointment was that Livingston was not there to enjoy the performance. He had gone to Switzerland with his family, purportedly in search of cooler weather, but probably because he did not wish to be connected with the boat in any way if it failed.

Fulton promised Livingston he would order a custom-made Boulton and Watt engine in England, then return to New York to build a boat to run on the Hudson River. Instead he stayed in England for three years, pushing his system of submarine warfare with the naval and political establishments, who were persuaded he had a serious weapon after watching his submarine bombs blow a brig to smithereens. Scorning stealthy combat as cowardly, however, they paid him a handsome sum and suppressed it.

On his arrival in New York in December 1806, Fulton declared to anyone who would listen that his real interest lay in placing steamboats on the Mississippi. Livingston kept him in line, and nine months later, in August 1807, the steamboat made her transforming maiden voyage from New York City to Albany and back. Fulton made a few adjustments, then ran her for enthusiastic passengers until ice threatened to smash the paddlewheels. Over the winter he lengthened her and made her accommodation more comfortable. She also got a proper name, *North River*.

As popularity and profits exceeded all expectations, competitors weighed in. Some were former Livingston partners, dropped in favor of Fulton. Two were relatives: the able and wily John Stevens, Livingston's brother-in-law, and his younger brother, the mad-for-money John R. Livingston. These they tried unsuccessfully "to weave into the web," along with Nicholas Roosevelt, who owned the best foundry in New York; having built Livingston's early engines, he had nothing but scorn for his ability to invent. In addition were twenty Albany men—"picaroons," according to Fulton—who shamelessly copied the *North River* and ran two steamships, the *Hope* and then the *Perseverance*, in bold defiance of the monopoly. Perhaps even more trying from Fulton's point of view was the animosity of William Thornton, who was always on the lookout for some way to profit by his position as the superintendent of the Patent Office. He held back on registering Fulton's patent so he could slip in a dubious one of his own. He also tried to lure John Stevens into a partnership.

Thus, in 1811 a complexity of lawsuits was launched against the monopoly, which, after Livingston's death in February 1813, Fulton shouldered on his own while extending his steamboat empire to the Mississippi. He sent Benjamin Henry Latrobe, the now famous but then out-of-work architect, to set up a shop in newly industrializing Pittsburgh, on the Mississippi's Ohio River tributary. Latrobe alternated between euphoria and depression, arrogance and servility. He hired his new son in law, Nicholas Roosevelt, to work for him. Neither was faithful to Fulton. In New Orleans, a pair of competitors copied his boats. The sole bright light in the entire Mississippi enterprise was Edward Livingston, the Chancellor's youngest



North River Steam Boat.

THE STEAM-BOAT.

For the Information of the Public.

THE STEAM-BOAT will leave New-York for ALBANY every Saturday afternoon, exactly at 5 o'clock—and will pass—

West Point	about 2 o'clock on Sunday
Newburgh,	6 do. [morning,
Poughkeepsie,	10 do.
Esopus,	1 in the afternoon,
Redhook,	3 do.
Catskill,	6 do.
Hudson,	8 in the evening.

She will leave ALBANY for New-York every Wednesday morning, exactly at 8 o'clock, and pass Hudson about 3 in the afternoon,

Esopus,	8 in the evening,
Poughkeepsie,	12 at night,
Newburgh,	4 Thursday morning,
West Point,	7 do.

As the time at which the Boat may arrive at the different places above-mentioned may vary an hour more or less according to the advantage or disadvantage of wind and tide, those who wish to come on board will see the necessity of being on the spot an hour before the time. Persons wishing to come on board from any other landing than here specified, can calculate the time the Boat will pass, and be ready on their arrival. Inn-keepers or boatmen, who bring passengers on board, or take them ashore, from any part of the river, must be allowed one shilling for each person.

Prices of passage—from New-York,

To West Point,	\$ 3
Newburgh,	3 25
Poughkeepsie,	4
Esopus,	4 25
Redhook,	6 30
Hudson,	5
Albany,	7
<i>From Albany,</i>	
To Hudson,	2
Redhook,	3
Esopus,	3 50
Poughkeepsie,	4
Newburgh and West Point,	4 50
New-York,	7

All other way passengers are to pay at the rate of one dollar for every twenty miles, and half a dollar for every meal they think proper to have.

No one can be taken on board and put on shore, however short the distance, for less than 2 dollars.

Young persons from 2 to 10 years of age to pay half price, or two thirds, if he or she sit at table with the company.

Children under the age of 2 years to pay one fourth price.

Servants who pay two thirds price are entitled to a berth; they pay half price if no berth.

Every person paying full price is allowed 60 lbs. of baggage; if less than whole price 40 lbs. They are to pay at the rate of three cents a pound for all surplus baggage.

Any person taking a berth, shall have no right to change it without permission of the captain.

A person entering their name in the book for a passage, shall pay half price, although they shall decline. Half the price of the passage to be paid at the time of entering, or the berth will be considered free for any other subscriber.

Passengers will breakfast before they come

on board; dinner will be served up exactly at 2 o'clock; tea; with meats, which is also supper, at 6 in the evening; and breakfast at 9 in the morning; no one has a claim on the steward for victuals at any other hour.

REGULATIONS,

FOR THE NORTH RIVER STEAM-BOAT.

The rules which are made for order and safety in the boats are not to be violated. Judgment shall be according to the letter of the law. Gentlemen wishing to go public and useful so establishment, will see the propriety of strict justice, and the impropriety of the least imposition on the purse or feelings of any individual.

The Back Cabin, of 12 berths, but which will accommodate 18 persons, is exclusively for the Ladies and their children. They who first apply and enter their names on the book, and at the same time pay their passage-money, shall have the choice of 12 berths. Any greater number of persons will be accommodated with sofas or cross lockers.

The Great Cabin, of 24 berths, which will accommodate 36 persons, is for Gentlemen. The first who apply and enter their names in the book, at the same time paying their passage-money, will have their choice of the 24 berths. Any greater number of persons will be accommodated with sofas.

The Fore Cabin, of 16 berths, will accommodate 24 persons. The first who apply, on entering their names and paying their passage-money, will have the choice of the berths. Any greater number of persons will be accommodated with sofas.

Way-Passengers, who are not out for more than half the night, are not entitled to lie down in a berth.

As the comfort of all persons must be considered, cleanliness, neatness, and order are necessary; it is therefore not permitted that any person shall smoke in the ladies' cabin, or in the great cabin, under a penalty, first of one dollar and an half, and half a dollar for each half hour they offend against this rule; the money to be spent in wine for the company.

It is not permitted for any person to lie down in a berth with their boots or shoes on, under a penalty of one dollar and a half, and half a dollar for every half hour they may offend against this rule.

A shelf has been added to each berth, on which gentlemen will please to put their boots, shoes, and clothes, that the cabin may not be incumbered.

On deck and in the fore cabin it is allowed to smoke.

In the ladies' cabin and in the great cabin, cards and all games are to cease at 10 o'clock in the evening, that those persons who wish to sleep might not be disturbed.

As the Steam-Boat has been fitted up in an elegant style, order is necessary to keep it so; gentlemen will therefore please to observe cleanliness, and a reasonable attention not to injure the furniture; for this purpose no one must sit on a table under the penalty of half a dollar for each time, and every breakage of tables, chairs, sofas, or windows, tearing of curtains, or injury of any kind, must be paid for before leaving the Boat.

Steamboat Handbill c. 1812



NEW YORK STATE OFFICE OF PARKS, RECREATION, AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION CLEMONT STATE HISTORIC SITE (CL.2004.1)

Miniature on ivory portrait of Robert Fulton, 1800-1814

brother, who then resided in New Orleans. Only Edward fully understood Fulton's overarching vision of a national transportation system.

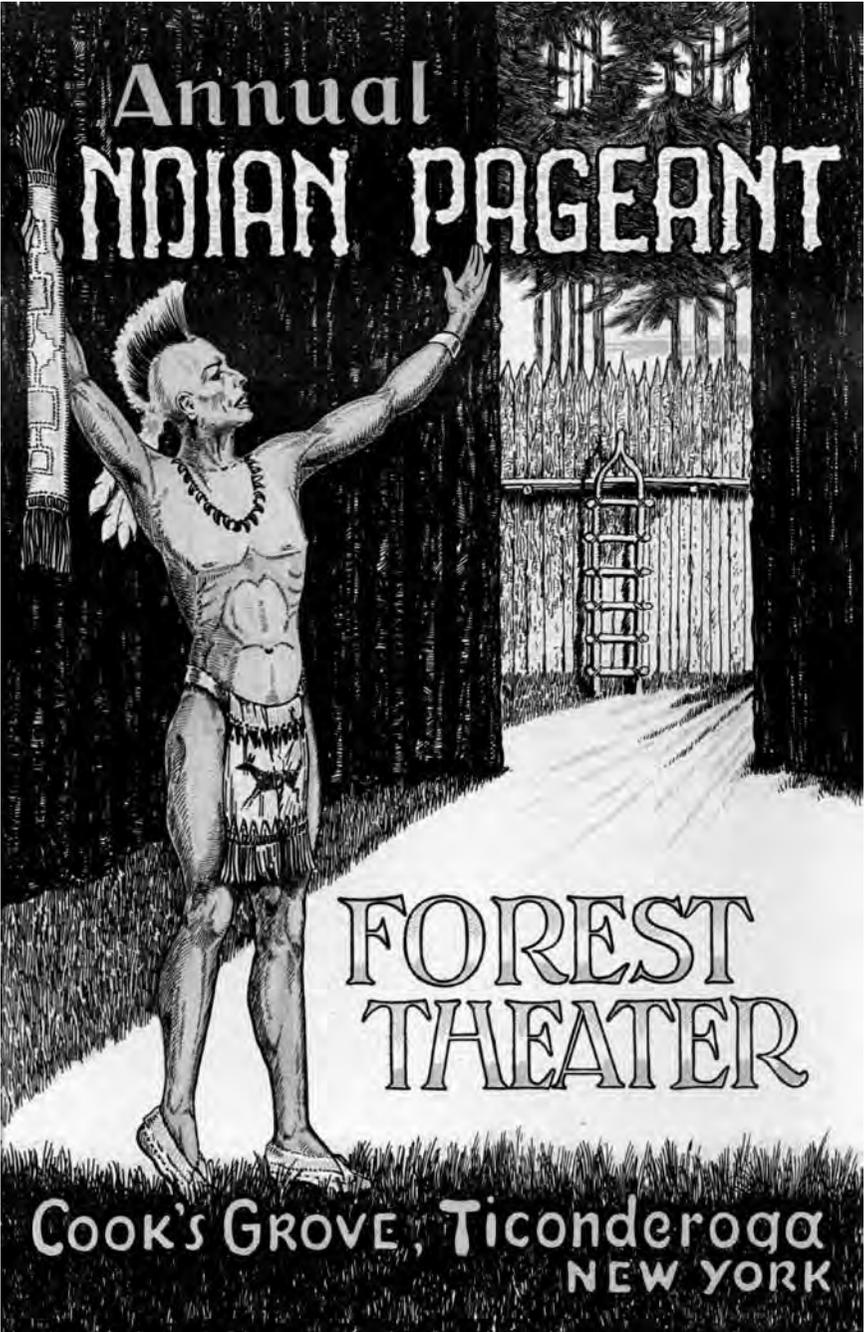
By this time, the War of 1812 against the British was raging. To defend America's coastline from invasion, Fulton designed a mighty steam frigate and Congress appropriated the money to build it. Called the *Demologos* (Voice of the People), it was a double-ended, cannon-proof, 167-foot-long catamaran, with the boiler in one twenty-foot-wide hull, the engine in the other, and the giant paddlewheel secure from grapeshot in between. Launched just two months after

British troops had burned Washington, she was taken to Fulton's workshops in New Jersey for outfitting. Philadelphia and Baltimore pleaded with Fulton to make copies of it to protect their harbors.

In January 1815, hearings began in New Jersey centering on Nicholas Roosevelt's claim of being the originator of steamboats with vertical wheels, as well as on John R. Livingston's petition to run a ferry in that state. The array of angry competitors against Fulton was astonishing; he was, as one of them proclaimed, "a stag at bay." On February 4, only John R. Livingston's petition was granted. It was a fragile victory.

On the way back to New York, Fulton spent three cold hours inspecting his steam frigate. Then, accompanied by a small entourage of supporters, he set out on foot across the frozen bay. The great Thomas Addis Emmet, his lawyer, fell through the ice. Fulton pulled him out; soaked through, the party pushed on. Soon afterwards, Fulton came down with pneumonia; nineteen days later he died. The populace was stunned. The city, festively decorated to celebrate the just-arrived news that the Treaty of Ghent had been signed, went into mourning. Only forty-nine years old, Fulton was given the largest public funeral accorded a private citizen. "While he was mediating plans of mighty import for his future fame and his country's good, he was cut down in the midst of his usefulness," DeWitt Clinton proclaimed in his eulogy. "Like the self-burning tree of Gambia, he was destroyed by the fire of his own genius and the never-ceasing activity of a vigorous mind."

After Fulton's death, Livingston's sons-in-law—both Livingstons—took over the partnership. (It was only then that the *North River* was called the *Clermont*.) As their sole interest was in reaping profits for personal use rather than plowing them back into the enterprise (as Fulton had always insisted be done), they were no match for the anti-monopolists. (Apparently, Fulton's wife, also a Livingston, did not object. She had three small daughters and a son, still a babe in arms, and was accustomed to living in a fine manner.) However, it would take until 1824 to overturn the monopoly. In the fiercely fought landmark case *Gibbons v. Ogden*, the renowned Thomas Addis Emmet for the monopolists battled against the equally renowned Daniel Webster for the antis. Webster won. In his powerful opinion, Chief Justice John Marshall declared that navigation was included in the Constitution's commerce clause and therefore was under congressional jurisdiction. By that time it was obvious that to allow individual states to prevent such commerce would signal the death knell of the nation's growth. The repercussions of that decision, as well as the endless proliferation of the steamboat, have affected the development of the United States to this day.



Indian Histories at Ticonderoga¹

Nicholas Westbrook

For the past 250 years, Fort Ticonderoga (today a National Historic Landmark) has stood on a limestone peninsula 100 feet above Lake Champlain, dominating the strategic portage linking it with Lake George. This is the central portage in a principal natural waterway from the interior of the North American continent through the Appalachian Mountains and into the Atlantic Ocean.

Looking north from their homelands, the Iroquoian Mohawk called this place “Ticonderoga,” the junction of two waterways.² Looking south, from the eastern shore of Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence River, the Western Abenaki people called it “tsitôtégwihlá,” the place where the waterway forks and continues.³ Since Jacques Cartier’s voyages of discovery in the mid-sixteenth century, the Richelieu-Champlain waterway has been described by Europeans as draining north into the St. Lawrence from the southwest, and forking into two waterways deep at its southern end. That place between the two forking waterways, Ticonderoga, marked for cartographer Gerardus Mercator and his informants as early as 1569 the beginning of the territory of the “Mocosa,” the Maquas, or the Mohawk.⁴

A rich archeological record suggests an Indian presence in the area around Ticonderoga for the past 10,000 years. Indian peoples were drawn to this place by the rich food resources in nearby wetlands, the fish migrating every spring up LaChute falls toward Lake George, and by the excellent chert found in the limestone bedrock of the Ticonderoga and Mount Independence (VT) peninsulas.⁵ Long-term settlement sites have not yet been identified. Native knowledge indicates that camp sites and flint-working sites were separated to protect the bare feet of children from the sharp flakes that resulted from working flint. Hence we may infer that camp sites in the East Creek basin near the Mount Independence chert deposits and flint-working sites on the Ticonderoga peninsula shoreline (and the absence of camp sites) are linked.⁶

Early Woodland-era (“Meadowood”) habitation and burial sites (ca. 1200+ BC) exist on both sides of the Ticonderoga narrows on Lake Champlain, and were the subject of some of the earliest formal archeological investigations in the valley,

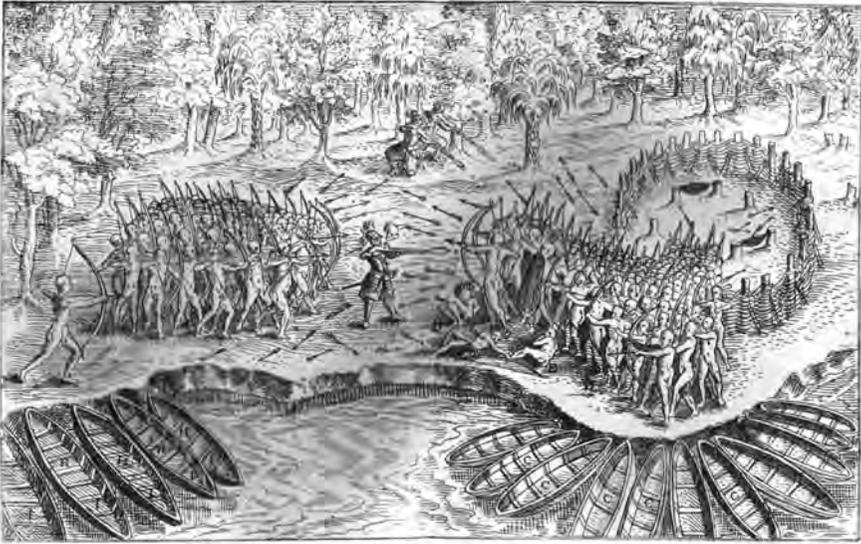
in the 1930s. These sites are distinguished by semi-permanent habitations, the advent of ceramics, and elaborate grave sites.⁷ The story of native peoples in the Champlain Valley during the next two millennia (1000 BC-1000 AD) probably has roots in oral history but cannot yet be documented systematically through archeology. Archeologists and anthropologists currently understand that a Point Peninsula culture emerged (ca. 1 AD-1000 AD) in northern New York defined, in part, by the transition from the thrown spear (atlatl) to the bow and arrow.⁸ By 1000 AD, that shift, and its additional ramifications, had created a “Laurentian [cultural] tradition” extending in an arc from the St. Lawrence Valley to Long Island.⁹

At the beginning of the last millennium, the general warming called the Medieval Climatic Optimum (900-1350 AD) led to fateful population shifts in the Northeast. People of a proto-Iroquoian culture aggressively followed the general environmental warming (ca. 900-1150 AD) from their homelands in the Susquehanna River basin toward the Mohawk Valley and Lake Champlain basins about 300 miles away. That settlement of those proto-Iroquoian people in the Mohawk Valley is known by archeologists as the Owasco Culture. Arrival of the proto-Iroquoians displaced earlier hunter-gatherers of the Champlain Valley.

Sixteenth-century European geographers and cartographers, beginning with Cartier in 1535, describe the region as unsettled because of decades of warfare.¹⁰ During the most recent four or five centuries, place name and other evidence suggest that Ticonderoga was a contested border ground at the intersection of Mohawk, Abenaki, and Mahican homelands.¹¹

During the first decade of the seventeenth century, Samuel de Champlain renewed the series of French explorations begun by Cartier almost seventy years earlier. In 1603, the newly appointed Royal Geographer to Henry IV voyaged up the St. Lawrence to the location of modern Montréal, and gathered sufficient information from his Montagnais informants to write the first detailed description of Ticonderoga, although he had not yet visited the place himself.¹² Six years later, the viability of Champlain’s enterprise in New France was being questioned by administrators at home. Champlain opportunistically took advantage of competition between Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples to accompany a large Huron and Montagnais war party on a journey up the lake (which he then named after himself) in order to extend his burgeoning fur trade and to cement alliances with the Algonquians by bringing war to their enemy, the Iroquois.

In late June 1609, Champlain and two French companions embarked in birchbark canoes with sixty Montagnais, Algonquin, and Huron warriors. They paddled deeper and deeper toward the land of the “Mocosa,” the Mohawks. Late



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Champlain's depiction of the encounter with the Mohawks at Ticonderoga, July 30, 1609

on 29 July 1609 they encountered a party of some 200 Iroquois in elm-bark canoes. Both forces agreed to a ritual battle the following day. The Iroquois war party beached their canoes on the Ticonderoga peninsula and built a small temporary palisade for protection (the first recorded fort at Ticonderoga). On 30 July 1609, the war party from the St. Lawrence landed on the Ticonderoga peninsula with their three European companions. Early in the fighting, Champlain fired his arquebus, which he claimed killed two Iroquois “chiefs” and wounded a third. The Mohawks had encountered their first Europeans, and their first firearms. The Iroquois left the battlefield, but Euro-Indian alliances across a region well beyond the Champlain Valley were cemented by the Frenchmen’s gunfire for the next 150 years.¹³ The age of ritual warfare (largely non-mortal combat) between large Indian forces wearing wooden armor was virtually over.¹⁴

During the seventeenth century, Ticonderoga increasingly lay at the strategic frontier between expanding French, Dutch, and English efforts to dominate the fur trade and the Indian peoples essential to that trade. As early as 1614, just five years after Champlain’s battle with the Mohawks, Captain Adriaen Block recorded French traders engaged in exchange with Mohawks at Ticonderoga.¹⁵ Native people developed a steady but unsanctioned trade along the north-south waterway linking Montréal in French Canada and Orange/Albany on the Hudson River, traversing the central portage at Ticonderoga.¹⁶ By the 1750s, the French garrison at Crown Point enjoyed a wide variety of merchandise, including prohib-

ited items “provided by the savages of New England.”¹⁷

In the early 1640s, three Jesuits were captured by Mohawks while returning with a twelve-canoe Huron party from Sault Ste. Marie to Québec. The Mohawks escorted Father Isaac Jogues and his companions south, past the Ticonderoga peninsula, to their village, Ossernenon (Auriesville). Jogues eventually escaped to France (via Beverwyck/Albany), but soon returned again to New France, where he resumed his mission to the Mohawks after peace was re-established. During his spring 1646 return journey, Jogues was escorted across the Ticonderoga peninsula and over Lake George (which he named Lac St. Sacrement) to Mohawk country, where he left behind a box containing clothes for the winter, gifts, and religious vessels. When Jogues returned to Ossernenon the following autumn, he found the Mohawk village devastated by smallpox, drought, and famine—disasters the Mohawk believed had been unleashed from Jogues’ small box left behind six months earlier. Jogues shortly paid the final price for the changes he had wrought in Iroquoia.¹⁸

Twenty years later, in 1667, another Mohawk party brought three willing Jesuits from Montréal to become missionaries in their homeland in the Mohawk Valley. In passing along the Ticonderoga peninsula, the sauvages halted there to gather “flints which were almost all cut into shape” along the shoreline. One of the Jesuits wrote, “Our Iroquois told us that they never fail to halt at this place, to pay homage to a race of invisible men who dwell there at the bottom of the lake. These beings occupy themselves in preparing flints, nearly all cut, for the passers-by, provided the latter pay their respects to them by giving them tobacco. If they give these beings much of it, the latter give them a liberal supply of these stones.”¹⁹

At the same time, war parties, traders, and ambassadors of the European powers passed continually over the portage and/or along the peninsula enroute between their bases of power in New France, New England, and New York. They almost always traveled with Indian guides or allies. Twice in 1666, the French attempted devastating raids on the Iroquois: on the first attempt, a European army marching into the wilderness in winter, without Indian assistance; on the second, successful attempt, accompanied by Indian allies, Hurons and Algonquins. On both expeditions, the French force fortified the Ticonderoga peninsula as a forward base camp.²⁰ During King William’s War (1689-1697), Euro-Indian forces surged back and forth past Ticonderoga, refortifying the place. Every contingent included major Indian participation (typically a third to half of the force): Mohawk and Schaghticoke accompanying the English/Dutch raiders, and Algonquin, Huron, Mohawk, and Abenaki allied with the French. For all sides, Ticonderoga was the

rendezvous point or the forward camp in the face of the enemy.²¹ During Queen Anne's War (1702-1713) and its aftermath, armed forces and peaceful ambassadors repeatedly passed Ticonderoga to achieve victory and to win the return of captives. In 1711, Major John Livingston, representing the New England colonies, returned from New France, having failed to win the redemption of several captives taken in the Deerfield raid (1704). During his return, he encountered several seasonal camps of Abenaki in the Ticonderoga vicinity.²² During King George's War (1740-1748), French, Canadian, and Native forces had by now penetrated south, beyond St. Frédéric (built in 1731) at Crown Point, beyond Ticonderoga, far enough south to destroy Saratoga and threaten Orange/Albany. At war's end, conditions returned to status quo ante. But the outbreak of an Anglo-Abenaki war in 1750 made the Ticonderoga area a "no man's land" once again.²³ European travelers along the waterway in the early 1750s reported traveling with Indian guides, and repeatedly emphasized encountering burned-out habitations as a result of the recent war. Swedish botanist Per Kalm noted in October 1750 that "Not a human being lives in these waste regions and no Indian villages are found here. . . . At this time in the autumn, Indians come hither from various localities; even natives who sometimes wage war against one another. They live here for several months by hunting alone. . . ." for deer and then for beaver through the winter and spring months.²⁴

The French and Indian War threw Indian alliances with European powers into a new range of challenges. In 1755, both eighteenth-century European superpowers sent enormous regular-army contingents to North America for the first time. Again, native nations negotiated independently to maximize their own diplomatic and economic integrity, while they attempted to negotiate strategic alliances that wavered with the fortunes of war. In this conflict, Indian nations pursued a "parallel war," engaging in alliances when it suited Indian purposes and resisting being drawn into conflict when it did not. The failure of European commanders in the 1750s to understand Indian war methods and goals planted the seeds for the end of an effective native voice in diplomacy at the end of the American Revolution.²⁵

In the 1750s, both European powers struggled to project decisive power in the North American wilderness. British colonial officials struggled to fashion a firmer alliance with the Six Nations, depending heavily upon the skills of William Johnson as Superintendent of Indian Affairs (April 1755).²⁶ New France adjusted to the arrival of a new Governor General, Vaudreuil, in late June 1755. New generals from Europe (Dieskau, Montcalm, Loudoun, Abercromby) were given supreme command, but were unfamiliar with "American ways" of war.²⁷ At the



Reenactors at Fort Ticonderoga

outset, European commanders rejected insights from the “American way” and attempted unsuccessfully to pursue warfare according to European principles. After an intermediate phase, wherein both sides experimented with the practices of “American war,” which they had pursued in three previous wars,²⁸ the war climaxed in a series of decisive eighteenth-century

style sieges and battles. At each step of the new conflict, the Europeans sought to refresh old alliances. The Indian nations struggled to maintain independence.

In 1755, the French pressed southward from their post at St. Frédéric to make a pre-emptive strike at British colonial forces mobilizing on the Hudson River and on “French” land in the Lake George basin. Dieskau’s allied army consisted of 760 Caughnawaga Iroquois, Abenakis, Algonquins, Hurons from Lorette, Nipissings, and a small group from the Great Lakes, along with 3,000 French regulars and Canadian militia. In the Battle of Lake George (8 September 1755), they met an Indian and British colonial force commanded by Tiyanoga (old King Hendrick), a Mohawk sachem, and William Johnson, colonel of the Six Nations and superintendent of Indian Affairs. The outcome of the ensuing battle hinged on the unwillingness of Iroquoian people on both sides to fight one another. On the British side, Tiyanoga was killed in the opening ambush; about forty of the 200 Iroquois (Mohawks, Oneida, Onondaga, and Tuscarora) and Mohegans also died. Both European commanders were wounded; Dieskau was captured. The leaderless French forces withdrew to the Ticonderoga peninsula and began constructing there a new fort, Carillon, to protect the southern gateway to New France.²⁹

For the next four years, construction of the French fort at Ticonderoga continued. Indians intermittently supported the military efforts of both European powers. Indians and Canadians assisted the French regulars by scouting British strength at the south end of Lake George, raiding deep into British territory, and occasionally helping to meet food requirements by hunting.³⁰ For example, in the summer of 1756, “the French had 600 Indians at Ticonderoga, and expected 600 more”; by October “the Indians were all gone off, 200 of whom talked of returning to spend the winter at Carillon.”³¹ Both sides used Indian allies to wage war in the

“American” fashion: relentless small-scale terror on the frontier borders.³² British scouts, largely comprised of New Englanders and Stockbridge Indian rangers, scouted out the strength of French positions at Ticonderoga. French scouts ranged over at least a fifty-mile radius, “commanded” by veteran French-Canadian officers of *la marine*, but largely composed of allied Indians. Journals are full of reports of the typically two-week scouting expeditions.³³

The Indian history of participation in the French and Indian War and in the American Revolution has been well analyzed during the past twenty years. There is no need to recount the details here.³⁴

On two occasions, the presence of native allies was conspicuous. In summer 1757, the Marquis de Montcalm mustered at Ticonderoga a force of 1,800 Indians from seventeen nations coming from thirty-nine communities from as far away as the *pays d'en haut* (the western Great Lakes) to assist his effort to drive the British from this strategic waterway. We believe that this gathering was the largest, most diverse occurring in North America until that time, even larger than the Indians gathered in Montréal for the Great Peace of 1701. Cultural and linguistic gaps in communication later resulted in the so-called “massacre” at Fort William Henry.³⁵ In 1758, neither the French nor the British were particularly successful in motivating their native allies. William Johnson produced a 400-man force of Mohawk Valley inhabitants “dressed as Indians” when Mohawks long loyal to him and the British cause declined to participate.³⁶ Nonetheless, Johnson had assembled the largest gathering of “Indians” to fight on the British side during this war.

In 1759, the British again attacked the French Fort Carillon, this time under the command of General Jeffery Amherst. After a three-day siege, the British were successful. British losses were minimal, just ten or twelve, but included Lt. Col. Roger Townshend, serving as Amherst’s deputy adjutant general. Townshend was buried in Albany, next to Lord Howe, a casualty of the previous year’s campaign. The siege at Ticonderoga is memorialized in the 1761 monument to Townshend erected in Westminster Abbey. The memorial sarcophagus, designed by Robert Adam, is supported by two putative Indian veterans of the Ticonderoga siege.³⁷ The success of British arms in the siege meant that the French name of the fort was replaced by the Mohawk name for the place, Ticonderoga. But by the end of October 1759, General Amherst had had enough of his Indian allies: “To save unnecessary expenses to the Government & our provisions I got rid of the Indians. Sent them to Albany to return to their own homes, 43 in number & as idle good for nothing crew as ever was.”³⁸

During the American Revolution, both white sides again engaged native people as allies. There was a recurring struggle on both sides to distinguish

“friendly Indians” from enemy combatants. Both the British and the rebels used Indian allies as scouts, light forces, and even as infantry.³⁹ In 1777, a large British, German, and Indian force invaded the Champlain Valley from Canada with the expectation of cutting off the rebellious New Englanders. In June, General John Burgoyne issued a proclamation demanding affirmations of loyalty to the crown, and threatening the civilian population that “I have but to give Stretch to the Indian forces under my command—and they amount to Thousands—to overtake the hardened Enemies of Great Britain and America.”⁴⁰ Two weeks later, Ticonderoga fell, and Burgoyne’s army pursued the retreating rebel army.

In 1820, William Ferris Pell acquired the “Garrison Grounds” at Ticonderoga and began the preservation of the fort ruins. In the 1820s and ’30s, according to Pell family oral history, Indians continued to make winter camps below the fort near The Pavilion. In late 1908, Stephen H.P. Pell launched the restoration of the fort, and President William Howard Taft spoke in July 1909 in commemoration of the Iroquois’ fateful battle with Champlain and his Indian allies. The celebration included a “sham battle” between the natives and Champlain as a “warm-up” for the President’s appearance later that afternoon. One of the highlights of the celebration was an extensive “Indian pageant” including 150 natives, based on a “camp” on barges in the lake below the fort. The Indians were recruited from among the Algonquin, Huron, and Mohawk communities (“descendants of the original tribes that occupied portions of the Champlain Valley”) along the St.



The 1909 “Indian Pageant” floating island



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Abenaki Museum interpreter, Red Hawk, with re-enactors at Fort Ticonderoga

Lawrence river. On six barges, “an artificial island has been constructed by covering floating barges with earth and rocks. Trees, bushes and grass will be growing on the island, and stockades, wigwams, tepees and sandy beaches will lend a realistic setting to the pageants.” The “island” (or the “Hiawatha barges”) measured some 300 feet by fifty feet, and was anchored for several days below the fort.⁴¹ The “island” barges were towed from place to place in the Champlain Valley during the week-long celebration. At Fort Ticonderoga, the “Hiawatha pageants” were presented on 5 to 6 July 1909 at 4 p.m. and 8 p.m. followed by fireworks. On the morning of 6 July, the Indians made a surprise attack on the fort, and captured it from the New York State National Guard, “scattering the spectators right and left and pulled down the flag...with a series of rousing war whoops... When [the guardsmen] announced themselves in readiness for the joint number on the programme, they received word that they were too late; the battle was over.”⁴²

The museum founders’ interest in Indian history continued strong. In the 1930s, Pell worked closely with local historian Thomas J. Cook to research and launch an annual Indian pageant, “Feast of the Green Corn,” which continued until the early 1960s.⁴³ In the course of that work, Pell and the museum developed a friendship with Ray Tehanetorens Fadden (1910-2008), who went on to establish the Six Nations Indian Museum at Onchiota, New York, in 1954.⁴⁴ In the mid-1930s, Pell undertook extensive archeological research in the Ticonderoga vicinity in conjunction with the remarkable collector George Gustav Heye and his Heye



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Abenaki Museum educator, Red Hawk, working with school group

Foundation. Heye's collection today is the core of the Smithsonian's National Museum of the American Indian.⁴⁵ The work sponsored by Pell and Heye led, in turn, to the short-lived creation of the Champlain Valley Archeological Society, which sponsored and published pioneering archeological research on the prehistory of the southern Champlain Valley.⁴⁶

In recent years, the museum has renewed its commitment to interpretation of the Indian role in the fort's history. Since 1990, natives have always played a significant role in the museum's growing re-enactment events. In 1998, the museum hired Wes (Red Hawk) Dikeman, a St. Francis Sokoki Abenaki, as a full-time interpreter of Abenaki and Indian history; his work included extensive outreach to area schools. Shortly thereafter, the museum launched a seasonal "Harvest Moon" festival to expand the opportunities for natives to return to this site during the traditional autumn hunting season in order to focus educational attention solely on the Indian experience of this site. In 2004, the museum elected Margaret Bruchac, a distinguished Abenaki educator, a trustee of the museum.

The museum continues to present Indian collections in exhibitions, in daily interpretive activities, and by research appointment. The Indian collections (other than the archeological collections) are thin but significant: Thomas Pell's 1654 treaty with the Siwanoy Mahicans to acquire the land in Westchester County that became Pelham Manor; a 1756 powder horn belonging to Captain Jacob, the Stockbridge Mahican ranger; William Johnson's 1753 commission to treat with

the Six Nations at Onondaga; in addition to artifact and archeological collections amassed during the past century. Among the significant donations during the past half-century are Mohawk artifacts donated in the late 1940s by Ray Fadden and two pictograms interpreting Mohawk history, painted on the museum's walls by Mr. Fadden, ca. 1950.⁴⁷

Endnotes

1. An abbreviated version of this essay appeared first in Wes (Red Hawk) Dikeman and Nicholas Westbrook, *American Indian Places: A Historical Guidebook*, Frances H. Kennedy, ed., New York, Houghton Mifflin, 2008, pp. 56-57.
2. Floyd G. Lounsbury, "Iroquois Place-Names in the Champlain Valley," in Report of the New York-Vermont Interstate Commission on the Lake Champlain Basin, Legislative Document No. 9 (1960), pp. 46-53.
3. Gordon M. Day, "Abenaki Place-Names in the Champlain Valley," in *International Journal of American Linguistics*, vol. 47 no. 2 (1981), pp. 143-171. Reprinted in *In Search of New England's Native Past: Selected Essays in Honor of Gordon M. Day* (ed. Michael K. Foster and William Cowan), Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1998, pp. 229-262. *Ticonderoga* is discussed on pp. 260-261.
4. Stephen P. Dechame, "'History is only a catalogue of the forgotten': Samuel Champlain at Ticonderoga, 1609" (unpublished essay, 2001), pp. 4-14. Abraham Ortelius, *Americae Sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio*, Antwerp, 1592, discussed in Margaret Beck Pritchard and Henry G. Talliaferro, *Degrees of Latitude: Mapping Colonial America*, New York and Williamsburg, Harry N. Abrams and Colonial Williamsburg, 2002, pp. 56-59. The fork in the waterway was first depicted cartographically (without comment) by Pierre Desceliers in 1546, reproduced in Raymonde Italien and Denis Vaugeois, eds., *Champlain: The Birth of French America*, Montréal, McGill-Queens University Press, 2004, p. 60. See also Stephen B. Sulavik, *Adirondack: Of Indians and Mountains, 1535-1838*, Fleischmanns and Blue Mountain Lake, N.Y., Purple Mountain Press and Adirondack Museum, 2005. On the Maquas, see Bernard G. Hoffman, *Cabot to Cartier: Sources for a Historical Ethnography of Northeastern North America, 1497-1550*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961, pp. 175-176, 209. Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1992, p. 1.
5. Documented in the archeological collections of projectile points assembled at the Fort Ticonderoga Museum during the past century by John H. Bailey, Audrey Barber Clark, George Colette, Godfrey J. Olson, Frank P. Schlamp, and Frederick Stevens.
6. Personal communication from Wes (Red Hawk) Dikeman, 2000.
7. Godfrey J. Olsen, "Archeology of Ticonderoga," *New York History*, vol. XV no. 4 (1934), pp. 409-411. Stanley Gifford, "A Brief Summary of Three Years Digging on the Orwell Site, Vermont," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VIII no. 1 (January 1948), pp. 25-28. Stephen Loring, "Boundary Maintenance, Mortuary Ceremonialism and Resource Control in the Early Woodland: Three Cemetery Sites in Vermont," *Archeology of Eastern North America*, vol. 13 (1985), pp. 93-127. Stirling Martin, "Memoir of a Summer Dig," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XV no. 4 (1992), pp. 316-322. Giovanna M. Peebles, "Orwell's East Creek Valley: A Window into Vermont's Early Woodland Past," *Journal of Vermont Archeology*, vol. 5 (2004), pp. 1-22.
8. Dean R. Snow, *The Iroquois*, Cambridge, Mass., Blackwell, 1994, pp. 64-65.
9. Snow, *The Iroquois*, pp. 64-65.

10. Jacques Cartier, *Voyages*, H.P. Biggar, ed., Ottawa, Public Archives of Canada, 1924, p. 202. Champlain describes the Champlain Valley as “not inhabited by any Indians, in consequence of their wars.... The [lakeshore was] formerly inhabited, as well as the Iroquois [Richelieu] River by Indians, but abandoned since they have been at war one with the other.” Samuel de Champlain, *Les Voyages* (1613), Champlain Society, Biggar, ed., vol. II, p. 93. Colin G. Calloway suggests that the absence of population have been the result of epidemic disease. Calloway, *The Western Abenaki of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1990, p. 35.
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12. Champlain, *Des Sauvages* (1603); *Of Savages or Voyage of Samuel Champlain of Brouage made to New France, in the year one thousand six hundred and three*, Champlain Society, H.P. Biggar, ed., vol. I.
13. Marc Lescarbot, *La Conversion des Sauvages* (1610) and *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (2nd ed., 1611); Samuel de Champlain, *Les Voyages* (1613), Champlain Society, Biggar, ed., vol. II, p. 99. See Éric Thierry, “Champlain and Lescarbot: An Impossible Friendship,” pp. 121-134, and Alain Beaulieu, “The Birth of the Franco-American Alliance,” pp. 153-161, in *Champlain: The Birth of French America*, Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004. Ray Gonyea, an Onondaga, suggests that the battle was a gratuitous slaughter of a Mohawk diplomatic party seeking to cement trade connections with Indians in the St. Lawrence Valley. Ray Gonyea, *The Original People: Native Americans in the Champlain Valley*, Plattsburgh, NY, Clinton County Historical Society, 1988, p. 26. I thank my colleague, Colin Calloway, for pointing out Gonyea's interpretation. David Hackett Fischer, *Champlain's Dream: The European Founding of North America*, New York, Simon & Schuster, 2008; see esp. Chapter 12, “Iroquoia,” pp. 254-280, and Appendix J, “The Battle with the Mohawk in 1609,” pp. 614-615.
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17. Louis Franquet, *Voyages et Mémoires sur le Canada par Franquet*, Québec, Imprimerie Générale A. Coté et C:ie, 1889, pp. 69-74.

18. Barthelemy Vimont, *Jesuit Relations* [1642-1644], Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., vol. 24, pp. 270-297 and vol. 25, pp. 42-73, quoted in *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives*, Snow, Gehring, and Starna, eds., Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1996, pp. 14-28. Isaac Jogues, "Novum Belgium," *Jesuit Relations* [1644], Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., vol. 28, pp. 104-135, quoted in *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives*, Snow, Gehring, and Starna, eds., Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1996, pp. 29-37. For Jogues, see *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. I. Jogues was canonized in 1930. C.R. Heidenreich, "An Analysis of the Seventeenth-Century Map Nouvelle France," *Cartographica*, vol. 25 no. 3 (1988), pp. 67-111 suggests that Thomas Godefroy and François Marguerie de la Haye passed through Ticonderoga as captives of the Iroquois in 1640-1641. See also Sulavik, Adirondack, (Map 12, 1641) pp. 134-135.
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36. Dr. Richard Huck to Earl of Loudoun, Albany, 29 June 1758 (LO 5866), Huntington Library.
37. Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1975, p. 129. Stephanie Pratt, *American Indians in British Art*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 2005, pp. 45-49 (figs. 2.4 and 2.5). Nicholas Westbrook, ed., "A Family Letter to the Secretary of State, 1759," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XV no. 5 (1993), pp. 388-391.
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40. Major General John Burgoyne, Proclamation, Camp at River Bouquett, 23 June 1777. Manuscript in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum [M-3026].
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42. "Restoration of Fort Ticonderoga Is the Hobby of Its Private Owner," *New-York Daily Tribune* (14 January 1912), p. 8.
43. Pell began lending Cook books on Indian history from the museum's library in autumn 1930. In summer 1931, Cook presented the first "Feast of the Green Corn" as a picnic for a small circle of friends. In 1932, Cook's group held the first scripted pageant, attended by 30 people. In 1936, management responsibility for the Indian Pageant was absorbed by the Champlain Valley Archeological Society. (See footnote 46 below.) By 1939, 3,000 people were attending the pageant, which regularly included Mohawk performers from the St. Regis Reservation. By 1961, Cook was in ill health, and the "Annual Indian Pageant" was terminated. Fort Ticonderoga absorbed the accumulated deficits. *Annual Indian Pageant, Forest Theater, Cook's Grove, Ticonderoga, New York*; published by the Society for the Preservation of Indian Lore, ca. 1950. Jane M. Lape, "Ticonderoga's Indian Festival," *New York Folklore Quarterly*, August 1945, pp. 167-174. *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VII no. 5 (January 1947), p. 1. Obituary of Thomas Jackson Cook, *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. XII no. 1 (1966), p. 100.
44. Obituary of Ray Tehanetorens Fadden, *Plattsburgh Press-Republican*, 19 November 2008. On line at http://www.pressrepublican.com/0100_news/local_story_324044600.html
45. Obituary of George Gustav Heye, *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. X no. 1 (1957), p. 18.
46. The Society's archives and a complete set of the Champlain Valley Archeological Society's *Bulletin* (vol. I nos. 1-3, December 1937-1940) are preserved at Fort Ticonderoga's Thompson-Pell Research Center. [re Godfrey J. Olsen project], *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. III no. 3 (July 1934), p. 125. Godfrey J. Olsen, "Archeology of Ticonderoga," *New York History*, vol. XV no. 4 (1934), pp. 407-411. Godfrey J. Olsen, Certain Archeological Investigations in the Champlain Valley, Including the Orwell (Vermont) Burial Site. Undated transcript of a lecture. Manuscript at the Robert S. Peabody Foundation, Andover, Massachusetts. *Ticonderoga Sentinel*, 8 November 1934.
47. Treaty between Mahican elders and Thomas Pell, 1654. "William Johnson's 1753 Commission," *Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VI no. 2 (July 1941), pp. 61-63. Chief Jacob's powder horn is in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum collection [FTA #PH4191]. Mr. Fadden's donations of Mohawk artifacts from the St. Regis Reservation in Hogsburg, New York, are summarized in the rosters of collection accessions in several numbers of *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, vol. VIII nos. 1-7, (January 1948-1951). Ray Fadden, pictograms, ca. 1950, Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

Henry Hudson: Mariner of His Time

William T. Reynolds

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What Makes Henry Hudson Distinctive?

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

Dutch Republic.²

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

Hudson's Encounters with Indians

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

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

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

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

Cultural and Intellectual Context

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

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

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

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

Hudson's Legacy

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

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

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Endnotes

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

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

Juet's Journal of Hudson's 1609 Voyage, from the 1625 Edition of *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (modified version)

By Robert Juet

Transcribed by Brea Barthel for the New Netherland Museum and its replica ship Half Moon.

Welcome to 1609. This document shows the full text of a portion of a journal kept by Robert Juet, one of the crew members during Hudson's voyage on the *Half Moon* (*Halve Maen*). The material has been transcribed from a facsimile of the journal's first publication in the 1625 edition of *Purchas His Pilgrimes* by Samuel Purchas (London: Henrie Fetherstone; The Third Part, pp. 581-595). All capitalization, inconsistent spelling, italics, and punctuation have been maintained. For example, the letters u and v are inconsistently interchanged, as are i and j (thus "Juet" appears as "Ivet"). Some updates have been introduced, however: the occasional ligatures (two letters represented in one character) have been replaced by individual letters, and the "long s" (as in "Compaffe") common in the seventeenth century has been changed to a "plain s" to enhance readability. This version has also been modified with date headings, line spacing, and other alterations for ease of reading. To read the full journal of the 1609 voyage—and for information about current programs aboard the replica ship *Half Moon*—visit www.halfmoon.mus.ny.us.

Chap. XVI.

The third Voyage of Master HENRIE HUDSON toward NOUA ZEMBLA, and at his returne, his passing from Farre Ilands, to New-found Land, and along to fortie foure degrees and ten minutes, and thence to Cape Cod, and so to thirtie three degrees; and along the Coast to the Northward, to fortie two degrees and an halfe, and up the Riuer neere to fortie three degrees. Written by ROBERT IVET of

Lime-house.

[September 1]

The first of September, faire weather, the wind variable betweene East and South, we steered away North North-west. At noone we found our height to bee 39.degrees 3.minutes. Wee had soundings thirties, twentie seuen, twentie foure, and twentie two fathomes, as wee went to the Northward. At sixe of the clocke wee had one and twentie fathomes. And all the third watch till twelue of the clocke at mid-night, we had soundings one and twentie, two and twentie, eighteene, two and twentie, one and twentie, eighteene, and two and twentie fathoms, and went sixe leagues neere hand North North-west.

[September 2]

The second, in the morning close weather, the winde at South in the morning; from twelue vntill two of the clocke we steered North North-west, and had sounding one and twentie fathoms, and in running one Glasse we had but sixteene fathoms, then seuateene, and so shoalder and shoalder vntill it came to twelue fathoms. We saw a great Fire, but could not see the Land, then we came to ten fathoms, whereupon we brought our tackes aboard, and stood to the Eastward East South-east four Glasses. Then the Sunne arose, and we steered away North againe, and saw the Land from the West by North, to the North-west by North, all like broken Ilands, and our soundings were eleuen and ten fathoms. Then wee looft in for the shoare, and faire by the shoare, we had seuen fathoms. The course along the Land we found to be Northeast by North. From the Land which we had first sight of, vntill we came to a great Lake of water, as wee could judge it to be, being drowned Land, which made it rise like Ilands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of that Lake hath many shoalds, and the Sea breaketh on them as

it is cast out of the mouth of it. And from that Lake or Bay, the Land lyeth North by East, and wee had a great streame out of the Bay ; and from thence our sounding was ten fathoms, two leagues from the Land. At fieve of the clocke we Anchored, being little winde, and rode in eight fathoms water, the night was faire. This night I found the Land to hall the Compasse 8.degrees. For to the Northward of vs we saw high Hills. For the day before we found not about 2. degrees of Variation. This is a very good Land to fall with, and a pleasant Land to see.

[September 3]

The third, the morning mystie vntill ten of the clocke, then it cleered, and the wind came to the South South-east, so wee weighed and stood to the Northward. The Land is very pleasant and high, and bold to fall withall. At three of the clocke in the after-noone, wee came to three great Riuers. Wee stood along to the Northermost, thinking to haue gone into it, but we found it to haue a very shoald barre before it, for we had but ten foot water. Then wee cast about to the Southward, and found two fathomes, three fathoms, and three and a quarter, till we came to the Souther side of them, then we had fieve and sixe fathoms, and Anchored. So wee sent in our Boate to sound, and they found no lesse water then foure, fieve, sixe, and seuen fathoms, and returned in an hour and a halfe. So wee weighed and went in, and rode in fieve fathoms, Ozie ground, and saw many Salmons, and Mulletts, and Rayes very great. The height is 40. degrees 30. minutes.

[September 4]

The fourth, in the morning as soone as the day was light, wee saw that it was good riding farther vp. So we sent our Boate to sound, and found that it was a very good Harbour; and foure and fieve fathoms, two Cables length from the shoare. Then we weighed and went in with our ship. Then our Boate went on Land with our Net to Fish, and caught ten great Mulletts, of a foot and a halfe long a peece, and a Ray as great as foure men could hale into the ship. So wee trimmed our Boate and rode still all day. At night the wind blew hard at the North-west, and our Anchor came home, and we droue on shoare, but tooke no hurt, thanked bee God, for the ground is soft sand and Oze. This day the people of the Countrey came aboard of vs, seeming very glad of our coming, and brought greene Tabacco, and gaue vs of it for Kniues and Beads. They goe in Deere skins loose, well dressed. Thay haue yellow Copper. They desire Cloathes, and are very ciuill. They haue great store of

Maiz or Indian Wheate, whereof they make good Bread. The Countrey is full of great and tall Oakes.

[September 5]

The fifth, in the morning as soone as the day was light, the wind ceased and the Flood came. So we heaued off our ship againe into fiue fathoms water, and sent our Boate to sound the Bay, and we found that there was three fathoms hard by the Souther shoare. Our men went on Land there, and saw great store of Men, Women, and Children, who gaue them Tabacco at their coming on Land. So they went vp into the Woods, and saw great store of very goodly Oakes, and some Currants. For one of them came aboard and brought some dryed, and gaue me some, which were sweet and good. This day many of the people came aboard, some in Mantles of Feathers, and some in Skins of diuers sorts of good Fures. Some women also came to vs with Hempe. They had red Copper Tabacco pipes, and other things of Copper they did weare about their neckes. At night they went on Land againe, so wee rode very quiet, but durst not trust them.

[September 6]

The sixth, in the morning was faire weather, and our Master sent Iohn Colman, with foure other men in our Boate ouer to the North-side, to sound the other Riuer, being foure leagues from vs. They found by the way shoald water two fathomes; but at the North of the Riuer eighteen, and twentie fathoms, and very good riding for Ships; and a narrow Riuer to the Westward betweene two Ilands. The Lands they told vs were as pleasant with Grasse and Flowers, and goodly Trees, as euer they had seene, and very sweet smells came from them. So they went in two leagues and saw an open Sea, and returned; and as they came backe, they were set vpon by two Canoes, the one hauing twelue, the other fourteene men. The night came on, and it began to rayne, so that their Match went out; and they had one man slaine in the fight, which was an English-man, named Iohn Colman, with an Arrow shot into his throat, and two more hurt. It grew so darke that they could not find the ship that night, but labored too and fro on their Oares. They had so great a streame, that their grapnell would not hold them.

[September 7]

The seuenth, was faire, and by ten of the clocke they returned aboard the ship, and brought our dead man with them, whom we carryed on Land and

buried, and named the point after his name, Colmans Point. Then we hoysed in our Boate. and raised her side with waste boords for defence of our men. So we rode still all night, hauing good regard to our Watch.

[September 8]

The eight, was very faire weather, wee rode still very quietly. The people came aboard vs, and brought Tabacco and Indian Wheat, to exchange for Knives and Beades, and offered vs no violence. So we sitting vp our Boate did marke them, to see if they would make any shew of the Death of our man; which they did not.

[September 9]

The ninth, faire weather. In the morning, two great Canoes came aboard full of men; the one with their Bowes and Arrowes, and the other in shew of buying of knives to betray vs; but we perceiued their intent. Wee tooke two of them to haue kept them, and put red Coates on them, and would not suffer the other to come neere vs. So they went on Land, and two other came aboard in a Canoe : we tooke the one and let the other goe ; but hee which wee had taken, got vp and leapt ouer-board. Then we weighed and went off into the channell of the Riuer, and Anchored there all night.

[September 10]

The tenth, faire weather, we rode still till twelue of the clocke. Then we weighed and went ouer, and found it shoald all the middle of the Riuer, for wee could finde but two fathoms and a halfe, and three fathomes for the space of a league ; then wee came to three fathomes, and foure fathomes, and so to sueuen fathomes, and Anchored, and rode all night in soft Ozie ground. The banke is Sand.

[September 11]

The eleuenth, was faire and very hot weather. At one of the clocke in the after-noone, wee weighed and went into the Riuer, the wind at South South-west, little winde. Our soundings were seuen, sixe, fwe, sixe, seuen, eight, nine, ten, twelue, thirteene, and fourteene fathomes. Then it shoalded againe, and came to fwe fathomes. Then wee Anchored, and saw that it was a very good Harbour for all windes, and rode all night. The people of the Country came aboard of vs, making shew of loue, and gaue vs Tabacco and Indian Wheat and departed for that night; but we durst not trust them.

[September 12]

The twelfth, very faire and hot. In the after-noon at two of the clocke wee weighed, the winde being variable, betweene the North and the North-west. So we turned into the Riuer two leagues and Anchored. This morning at our first rode in the Riuer, there came eight and twentie Canoes full of men, men, and children to betray vs; but we saw their intent, and suffered noone of them to come aboard of vs. At twelue of the clocke they departed. They brought with them Oysters and Beanes, whereof wee bought some. They haue great Tabacco pipes of yellow Copper, and Pots of Earth to dresse their meate in. It floweth South-east by South within.

[September 13]

The thirteenth, faire weather, the wind Northerly. At seuen of the clocke in the morning, as the flood came we weighed, and turned foure miles into the Riuer. The tide being done wee anchored. Then there came foure Canoes aboard : but suffered none of them to come into our ship. They brought great store of very good Oysters aboard, which we bought for trifles. In the night I set the variation of the Compasse, and found it to be 13.degrees. In the after-noon we weighed, and turned in with the flood, two leagues and a halfe further, and anchored all night, and had fiew fathoms soft Ozie ground, and had an high point of Land, which shewed out to vs, bearing North by East seuen leagues off vs.

[September 14]

The fourteenth, in the morning being very faire weather, the wind South-east, we sayled vp the Riuer twelue leagues, and had fiew fathoms, and fiew fathoms and a quarter lesse ; and came to a Streight betweene two Points, and had eight, nine, and ten fathoms : and it trended Northeast by North, one league : and wee had twelue, thirteene and fourtene fathomes. The Riuer is a mile broad : there is very high Land on both sides. Then wee went vp North-west, a league and an halfe deepe water. Then North-east by North fiew miles ; then North-west by North two leagues, and anchored. The Land grew very high and Mountainous. The Riuer is full of fish.

[September 15]

The fifteenth, in the morning was misty vntill the Sunne arose : then it cleered. So wee weighed with the wind at South, and ran vp into the Riuer twentie leagues, passing by high Mountaines. Wee had a very good depth, as

sixe, seuen, eight, nine, ten, twelue, and thirteene fathoms, and great store of Salmons in the Riuer. This morning our two Sauages got out of a Port and swam away. After we were vnder sayle, they called to vs in scorn. At night we came to other Mountaines, which lie from the Riuers side. There wee found very louing people, and very old men : where wee were well vsed. Our Boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish.

[September 16]

The sixteenth, faire and very hot weather. In the morning our Boat went againe to fishing, but could catch but few, by reason their Canoes had been there all night. This morning the people came aboard, and brought vs ears of Indian Corne, and Pompions, and Tabacco : which wee bought for trifles. Wee rode still all day, and filled fresh water ; at night wee weighed and went two leagues higher, and had shoaled water ; so wee anchored till day.

[September 17]

The seuteenth, faire Sun-shining weather, and very hot. In the morning as soone as the Sun was vp, we set sayle, and ran vp sixe leagues higher, and found shoalds in the middle of the channell, and small Ilands, but seuen fathoms water on both sides. Toward night we borrowed so neere the shoare, that we grounded ; so we layed out our small anchor, and heaued off againe. Then we borrowed on the banke in the channell, and came aground againe ; while the flood ran we heaued off againe, and anchored all night.

[September 18]

The eighteenth, in the morning was faire weather, and we rode still. In the after-noon our Masters Mate went on land with an old Sauage, a Gouvernour of the Countrey ; who carried him to his house, and made him good cheere. The nineteenth, was faire and hot weather ; at the flood being neere eleuen of the clocke, wee weighed, and ran higher vp two leagues about the Shoalds, and had no lesse water then fve fathoms : wee anchored, and rode in eight fathomes. The people of the Countrie came flocking aboard, and brought vs Grapes, and Pompions, which wee bought for trifles. And many brought vs Beuers skinned, and Otters skinned, which wee bought for Beades, Kniues, and Hatchets. So we rode there all night.

[September 20]

The twentieth, in the morning was faire weather. Our Masters Mate with foure men more went vp with our Boat to sound the Riuer, and found two leagues aboue vs but two fathomes water, and the channell very narrow ; and aboue that place seuen or eight fathomes. Toward night they returned : and we rode still all night. The one and twentieth, was faire weather, and the wind all Southerly : we determined yet once more to goe farther vp into the Riuer, to trie what depth and breadth it did beare ; but much people resorted aboard, so wee went not this

day. Our Carpenter went on land, and made a Fore-yard. And our Master and his Mate determined to trie some of the chiefe men of the Countrey, whether they had any treacherie in them. So they took them downe into the Cabbin, and gaue them so much Wine and Aqua vita, that they were all merrie : and one of them had his wife with him, which sate so modestly, as any of our Countrey women would doe in a strange place. In the end one of them was drunke, which had been aboard of our ship all the time that we had beene there ; and that was strange to them ; for they could not tell how to take it. The Canoes and folke went all on shoare: but some of them came againe, and brought stropes of Beades : some had sixe, seuen, eight, nine, ten, and gaue him. So he slept all night quietly.

[September 22]

The two and twentieth, was faire weather : in the morning our Masters Mate and foure more of the companie went vp with our Boat to sound the Riuer higher vp. The people of the Countrey came not aboard till noone : but when they came, and saw the Sauages well, they were glad. So at three of the clocke in the after-noone they came aboard, and brought Tabacco, and more Beades, and gaue them to our Master, and made an Oration, and shewed him all the Countrey round about. Then they sent one of their companie on land, who presently returned, and brought a great Platter full of Venison, dressed by themselues; and they caused him to eate with them : then they made him reuerence, and departed all saue the old man that layd aboard. This night at ten of the clocke, our Boat returned in a showre of raine from sounding of the Riuer; and found it to bee at an end for shipping to goe in. For they had beene vp eight or nine leagues, and found but seuen foot water, and vnconstant soundings.

[September 23]

The three and twentieth, faire weather. At twelue of the clocke wee weighed, and went downe two leagues to a shoald that had two channels, one on the one side, and another on the other, and had little winde, whereby the tide layed vs vpon it. So, there wee sate on ground the space of an houre till the flood came. Then we had a little gale of wind at the West. So wee got our ship into deeper water, and rode all night very well.

[September 24]

The foure and twentieth was faire weather : the winde at the North-west, wee weighed, and went downe the Riuer seuen or eight leagues; and at halfe ebbe wee came on ground on a banke of Oze in the middle of the Riuer, and sate there till the flood. Then we went on Land, and gathered good store of Chestnuts. At ten of the clocke wee came off into deepe water, and anchored.

[September 25]

The fiue and twentieth was faire weather, and the wind at South a stiffe gale. We rode still, and went on Land to walke on the West side of the Riuer, and found good ground for Corne, and other Garden herbs, with great store of goodly Oakes, and Wal-nut trees, and Chest-nut trees, Ewe trees, and trees of sweet wood in great abundance, and great store of Slate for houses, and other good stones.

[September 26]

The sixe and twentieth was faire weather, and the wind at South a stiff gale, wee rode still. In the morning our Carpenter went on Land with our Masters Mate, and foure more of our companie to cut wood. This morning, two Canoes came vp the Riuer from the place where we first found louing people, and in one of them was the old man that had lyen aboard of vs at the other place. He brought another old man with him, which brought more stropes of Beades, and gaue them to our Master, and shewed him all the Countrey there about, as though it were at his command. So he made the two old men dine with him, and the old mans wife : for they brought two old women, and two young maidens of the age of sixteene or seuteene yeeeres with them, who behaed themselues very modestly. Our Master gaue one of the old men a Knife, and they gave him and vs Tabacco. And at one of the clccke they departed downe the Riuer, making signes that wee should come downe to them ; for wee were within two leagues of the place where they dwelt

[September 27]

The seuen and twentieth, in the morning was faire weather, but much wind at the North, we weighed and set our fore top-sayle, and our ship would not flat, but ran on the Ozie banke at halfe ebbe. Wee layed out anchor to heaue her off, but could not. So wee sate from halfe ebbe to halfe floud; then wee set our fore-sayle and mayne top-sayle, and got downe sixe leagues. The old man came aboard, and would haue had vs anchor, and goe on Land to eate with him : but the wind being faire, we would not yield to his request ; So hee left vs, being very sorrowfull for our departure. At fieve of the clocke in the after-noon, the wind came to the South South-west. So wee made a boord or two, and anchored in fourteene fathomes water. Then our Boat went on shoare to fish right against the ship. Our Masters Mate and Boat-swaine, and three or more of the companie went on land to fish, but coule not finde a good place. They tooke four or fieve and twentie Mulletts, Breames, Bases, and Barbils; and returned in an houre. We rode still all night.

[September 28]

The eight and twentieth, being faire weather, as soone as the day was light, wee weighed at halfe ebbe, and turned downe two leagues belowe water; for, the streame doth runne the last quarter ebbe : then we anchored till high water. At three of the clocke in the after-noon we weighed, and turned downe three leagues, vntill it was darke : then wee anchored.

[September 29]

The nine and twentieth was drie close weather : the wind at South, and South and by West, we weighed early in the morning, and turned downe three leagues by a lowe water, and anchored at the low end of the long Reach; for it is sixe leagues long. Then there came certaine Indians in a Canoe to vs, but would not come aboard . After dinner there came the Canoe with other men, whereof three came aboard vs. They brought Indian Wheat, which wee bought for trifles. At three of the clocke in the after-noon wee weighed , as soone as the ebbe came, and turned downe to the edge of the Mountaines, or the Northermost of the Mountaines, and anchored : because the high Land hath many Points, and a narrow channell, and hath many eddie winds. So we rode quietly all night in seuen fathoms water.

[September 30]

The thirtieth was fair weather, and the wind at South-east a stiffe gale betwene the Mountaynes. We rode still the after-noone, The people of the Countrey came aboard vs, and brought some small skinnes with them, which we bought for Kniues and Trifles. This a very pleasant place to build a Towne on. The Road is very neere, and very good for all winds, saue an East North-east wind. The Mountaynes looke as if some Metall or Minerall were in them. For the Trees that grow on them were all blasted, and some of them barren with few or no Trees on

them. The people brought a stone aboard like to Emery (a stone vsed by Glasiers to cut Glasse) it would cut Iron or Steele : Yet being bruised small, and water put to it, it made a colour like blacke Lead glistering; It is also good for Painters Colours. At three of the clocke they departed, and we rode still all night.

[October 1]

The first of October, faire weather, the wind variable betweene the West and the North. In the morning we weighed at seuen of the clocke with the ebbe, and got downe below the Mountaynes, which was seuen leagues. Then it fell calme and the floud was come, and wee anchored at twelue of the clocke. The people of the Mountaynes came aboard vs, wondring at our ship and weapons. We bought some small skinnes of them for Trifles. This after-noone, one Canoe kept hanging vnder our sterne with one man in it, which we could not keepe from thence, who got vp by our Rudder to the Cabin window, and stole out my Pillow, and two Shirts, and two Bandeleeres. Our Masters Mate shot at him, and strooke him on the brest, and killed him. Whereupon all the rest fled away, some in their Canoes, and so leapt out of them into the water. We manned our Boat, and got our things againe. Then one of them that swamme got hold of our Boat, thinking to ouerthrow it. But our Cooke tooke a Sword, and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned. By this time the ebbe was come, and we weighed and got downe two leagues, by that time it was darke. So we anchored in foure fathomes water, and rode well.

[October 2]

The second, faire weather. At breake of day wee weighed, the wind being at North-west, and got downe seuen leagues; then the floud was come strong, so we anchored. Then came one of the Sauages that swamme away from vs at

our going vp the Riuer with many others, thinking to betray vs. But wee perceiued their intent, and suffered none of them to enter our ship, Whereupon two Canoes full of men, with their Bowes and Arrowes shot at vs after our sterne: in recompence whereof we discharged sixe Muskets, and killed two or three of them. Then about an hundred of them came to a point of Land to shoot at vs. There I shot a Falcon at them, and killed two of them : whereupon the rest fled into the Woods. Yet they manned off another Canoe with nine or ten men, which came to meet vs. So I shot at it also a Falcon and shot it through, and killed one of them Then our men with their Muskets, killed three or foure more of them. So they went their way, within a while after , wee got downe two leagues beyond that place, and anchored in a Bay, cleere from all danger of them on the other side of the Riuer, where we saw a very good piece of ground : and hard by it there was a Cliffe, that looked of the colour of a white greene, as though it were either Copper, or Siluer Myne : and I thinke it to be one of them, by the Trees that grow vpon it. For they be all burned, and the other places are greene as grasse, it is on that side of the Riuer that is called Manna-hata. There we saw no people to trouble vs: and rode quietly all night; but had much wind and raine.

[October 3]

The third, was very stormie; the wind at East North-east. In the morning, in a gust of wind and raine our Anchor came home, and we droue on ground, but it was Ozie. Then as we were about to haue out an Anchor, the wind came to the North North-west, and droue vs off againe. Then we shot an Anchor, and let it fall in foure fathomes water, and weighed the other. Wee had much wind and raine, with thicke weather: so we roade still all night.

[October 4]

The fourth, was faire weather, and the wind at North North-west, wee weighed and came out of the Riuer, into which we had runne so farre. Within a while after, we came out also of The great mouth of the great Riuer, that runneth vp to the North-west, borrowing vpon the Norther side of the same, thinking to haue deepe water : for wee had sounded a great way with our Boat at our first going in, and found seuen, six, and fiae fathomes. So we came out that way, but we were deceiued, for we had but eight foot & an halfe water: and so to three, fiae, three, and two fathomes and an halfe. And then three, foure, fiae, sixe, seuen, eight, nine and ten fathomes. And by twelue of the clocke we were cleere of all the Inlet. Then we tooke in our

Boat, and set our mayne-sayle and sprit-sayle, and our top-sayles, and steered away East South-east, and South-east by East off into the mayne sea : and the Land on the Souther-side of the Bay or Inlet, did beare at noone West and by South foure leagues from vs.

[October 5]

The fift, was faire weather, and the wind variable betweene the North and the East. Wee held on our course South-east by East. At noone I obserued and found our height to bee 39. degrees 30.minutes. Our Compasse varied sixe degrees to the West.

[Arrival in Dartmouth November 7]

We continued our course toward England, without seeing any Land by the way, all the rest of this moneth of October : And on the seuenth day of Nouember, stilo nouo, being Saturday : by the Grace of God we safely arrived in the Range of Dartmouth in Deuonshire, in the yeere 1609.

The Cultural Metamorphosis of Domine Lambertus De Ronde

Joyce D. Goodfriend

Domine Lambertus De Ronde conventionally has been cast as the antihero in the drama of New York City's Dutch march toward respectability in the eighteenth-century Anglo-American world. Condemned for his association with the retrograde Dutch party in the Reformed Church language dispute of the 1750s and 1760s, ridiculed for his clumsy efforts at preaching in English, and ignominiously ousted from the pulpit after the American Revolution, De Ronde has received scant recognition for his intellectual breadth and his linguistic versatility as the first Dutch Reformed clergyman to publish a book in English.

The failure to acknowledge De Ronde for what might be considered his heroic efforts to bridge Dutch and English cultures is directly related to his decision to forge a bicultural identity at precisely the moment when the city's Dutch elite had concluded that absorbing English ways was the only means to ensure the Dutch community's survival.

Scrutinizing De Ronde's cultural metamorphosis against the backdrop of the widening breach in New York City's Dutch Reformed congregation reveals a clash of personal goals and practical concerns in a community that was not only polarized but politicized. I aim to show that De Ronde's aspiration to participate in the Republic of Letters led him to make a fatal miscalculation when it came to politics on the ground in New York City.

Lambertus De Ronde was thirty years old when he arrived in New York in 1750 on a journey from Surinam to the Netherlands. He had served as minister at Zuilichem and Nieuwaal in Gelderland, the Netherlands, before being appointed minister of the Dutch church in Surinam by the directors of the Suriname Society in 1745.¹ Ill health as well as frustration at dealing with strife in his congregation caused him to request leave from his ministry in Surinam.² When he reached New York, he was approached by leading men of the city's Dutch Reformed Church who anticipated their congregation soon would need another minister, since the venerable Domine Gualtherus Du Bois was nearing eighty years of age. They persuaded De Ronde to remain in the city and accept a post as one of the

church's ministers.³

Initially embedded in what looked like a familiar Dutch world, De Ronde was honored by having his inaugural sermon of October 14, 1750, *De Gekruicigde Christus, Als Het Voornaamste Toeleg Van Gods Getrouw Kruisgesanten, in Hunne Prediking...* [*The Christ crucified, as the principal subject of God's faithful servant of the cross in their sermons*], published with a preface by Domine Du Bois.⁴ When Du Bois died in 1752, De Ronde delivered his funeral sermon, *De Ware Gedagt'nis, Gelovige Navolging En Salig Uiteinde, Van Getrouwe Voorgangers, verklaart en Toegepast, in Ene Lykrede* [*The true remembrance, faithful imitation, and peaceful death of true leaders, explained and applied in a funeral sermon*], which subsequently was printed as well.⁵

The death of the irenic Du Bois brought to the surface the difference of opinion among adherents of the local Dutch Reformed Church over calling a minister to preach in the English language. The notion of introducing English preaching into the church, first made public in a 1747 newspaper article, was known to Du Bois, who observed in 1748 that "the Dutch language is gradually more and more being neglected," and noted that "several begin to speak of calling a minister, after my death, to preach in the English language, but in accordance with our manner and doctrine."⁶ The disagreement escalated in 1754, when a group of men and women of high status petitioned for an English preacher.⁷ After prolonged debate and strong resistance by the Dutch party, Archibald Laidlie, a Scottish minister who had been serving in the Netherlands, was called to New York and commenced a highly successful career in 1764.⁸

As the congregation's deliberations over calling an English preacher had unfolded, De Ronde became conscious of the complexity of the Dutch American historical experience in New York. Recognizing the liabilities that would accrue to those who clung to the Dutch language in New York, he assessed his own position in the congregation, the city, and the wider provincial world and concluded that, despite his years of schooling in the Netherlands, his influence in Anglo America would be limited unless he could communicate in English. To make an impression on congregational leaders who were fluent in English, not to mention Anglo clergymen in the city and beyond, he felt he had to master English. Initially resistant, he was eventually swayed by the direction of church politics. "I had to learn a language, against which I had an antipathy for twelve or thirteen years," he reflected in 1765. But once he started, his progress was swift. "I only commenced to study [English] a short time previous to the arrival of Rev. Laidlie. Yet I so far acquired it during the first year... that I composed a short 'System', which I used for catechetical instruction; and in the second year, I preached in it. Before the

coming of Rev. Laidlie, I had over eighty catechumens (in English).”⁹ De Ronde had discovered how intertwined matters of language and religion could become during his stint in Surinam, when he attempted to reconcile competing Dutch and French factions in the Reformed consistory of Paramaribo. In Surinam, De Ronde also displayed his willingness to learn a foreign tongue in order to convey the essence of the Reformed faith to African slaves by writing “some current pieces (*Loop stukken*) of Divine Truth, in Dutch and Negro-English.”¹⁰

In New York City, De Ronde again confronted a linguistic barrier to communicating Reformed values and resolved to meet the needs of his congregation’s English-speaking adherents. A man very much attuned to the medium of print, De Ronde rushed to complete a book titled *A System: Containing the Principles of the Christian Religion, Suitable to the Heidelberg Catechism*, which was published in New York in 1763, prior to the arrival of Archibald Laidlie.¹¹ Anticipating praise from the Amsterdam Classis for his zeal and energy, he sent the Dutch ministers a copy of his book, only to be admonished for leaving out an essential piece of doctrine.¹² Explaining that his eagerness to see the work in print precluded sending the manuscript to Amsterdam for approval, he promised to add an appendix containing the requisite material.¹³ Warming to his new mission of reaching the English-speaking portion of his congregation, De Ronde confided to the Amsterdam ministers that “I am also at present writing little Tracts in the English language, whose titles will be as follows.”¹⁴

One need not question De Ronde’s dedication to spreading the gospel to suggest that another motive lay behind the alacrity with which he moved to commence instruction in English to congregants. De Ronde coveted the esteem of the powerful laymen who were behind the campaign for English worship, which explains why he threw his support behind the call to Laidlie. He may have envisioned himself as a partner to Laidlie in efforts to recapture congregants who had been spending Sundays in churches where sermons were delivered in English. While the Reformed Church’s other minister, Johannes Ritzema, continued to minister to Dutch speakers, De Ronde, on his own initiative, began to teach and preach in English to select audiences. The result was catastrophic.

Instead of being rewarded for his accomplishments, he was rebuffed by Elders and Deacons who mocked the “passion which he has for preaching English, for which he is not in the least qualified” and deplored the fact that “This has led him to hold English services in private houses; and subsequently he went also to New Jersey, to preach in Presbyterian churches there.”¹⁵ When the Consistory put an end to these practices as well as to his catechism classes in English, De Ronde registered his grievances with the Amsterdam Classis and defended his activi-

ties, underscoring the appreciative audiences for his English-language preaching. He felt most humiliated by the Consistory's effort to confine his ministry to the church's Dutch speakers. "Am I not to be allowed to preach the Gospel in this English tongue as well as in the Dutch?... am I only a Dutch speaking minister" he railed. "Well, [I] do, indeed, preach in Dutch; yet, as a fact, I am able to speak, preach or write, in whichever language I choose."¹⁶ Forced to discontinue his "special services in private houses," he reaffirmed that "so long as I am requested by the Supervisors of the Poor House to preach to the poor, every six or seven weeks, in English, in turns with the other ministers, I intend to continue in this work." With more than a trace of bitterness, he elaborated: "The Consistory has nothing against this arrangement, only that I preach the "Word" to other people. Yea, they are actually pleased with it."¹⁷

The heart of the criticism leveled at De Ronde related to his command of English, and there appeared to him no better way to prove his competency in this language than to write in it. In particular, he sought validation from authorities outside the local church for the products of his pen. By the time De Ronde published his second work in English in 1767, *The True Spiritual Religion, or Delightful service of the Lord, with fear, solely due and acceptable unto the most holy and glorious God, As Distinguished from Idolatrous Heathenism, Legal Judaism, and lofty Pharisaism; in two discourses, on the address of Christ's ministers, to the enemies of His Kingdom*, it is clear that he was writing for a wider audience than the readers of his Dutch publications. In the preface to *The True Spiritual Religion*, he spoke of the pressing need to revive "the languishing cause of vital Christianity and substantial piety" that caused him to "compose this treatise and communicate it to the American world in that language which is more universally understood."¹⁸

Having crossed the language barrier and expanded his horizons, the Domine now hoped to be noticed by the ministers of sister churches. Referring to David Bostwick, the minister of New York City's Wall Street Presbyterian Church, as "a beloved and intimate friend of mine," he wrote the Classis in 1763 that this "highly educated, godly and faithful pastor" had "recommended my 'System of Truth' to many, as being conformable in all respects to the 'Confession of Faith' of the pure Protestant Church."¹⁹ In a 1769 letter to Eleazer Wheelock, a minister known for his educational work among New England's Native Americans, De Ronde noted that he had sent him "my Book Spiritual Religion for which you have been so kind as to Subscribe."²⁰ De Ronde had entered into correspondence [in English] with the New England cleric in 1765 regarding collections made in New York's Dutch congregation for Wheelock's Indian school, and clearly was gratified at being included in the circle of those committed to "promot[ing] the Kingdom of Christ

among the Heathen Nations of North America.”²¹ Informing Wheelock that he “had the pleasure of enjoying the company of the Rev’d Nathaniel Whitaker at my house relating to me the present state of the indians affaires,” he reported that he had “offered my Self to him, even as I still do to you.”²²

De Ronde’s cultivation of ties with English-speaking clerics rested on his entry into their intellectual space, a feat accomplished through rapid-fire immersion in the Anglo-American literature of religious controversy. Dumbfounded by his discoveries, De Ronde confided in 1763 that “I never knew before, nor could I have imagined what other kinds of errorists dwelt in our very midst, but these have now burst suddenly forth upon my vision, since I have come to understand English and have published my System of Truth in that tongue.”²³ In a short space of time, De Ronde had become conversant with “Antinomians and Fanatics, who have issued writings prepared in a very subtle way and under the guise of Gospel truths.”²⁴ Scorning “a so-called minister...of the Seceders of the Scotch Church... who recommends these heretical books,” he extolled the “men here (in America) who are able to reply to such erroneous books.... The highly educated Mr. Edward Dickson has done that very thing; and lately especially, Mr. Bellamy, by means of a “Dialogue”, has exhibited their errors to the full light of day, and refuted them with most powerful arguments.”²⁵

How widely De Ronde read in English remains a matter of conjecture, but he clearly was well read enough to be conscious of contemporary English literary conventions. Yet given his recent initiation into a heretofore foreign tongue, it is not surprising that he exhibited concern about his comprehension of English. In a revealing passage in a 1764 letter, he requested a member of the Amsterdam Classis to send him a copy of a controversial theological work, Marshall (on Sanctification). “Although I understand the sentiments expressed in that book, in the English language,” De Ronde wrote, “yet since...informs me that it is also extant in Dutch, I would feel greatly obliged to you, if you would send a Dutch copy to me. I will gladly pay the charges.”²⁶

Acutely aware of the imperfections of his English, De Ronde anguished over not measuring up to the standards of New York City’s arbiters of politeness. Nevertheless, he was determined to meet the needs of “all those who are truly desirous of Information in the Principles of the Protestant Religion in the English Language,” and planned to disarm his detractors by acknowledging his limitations forthrightly. Describing his book *A System: Containing the Principles of the Christian Religion, Suitable to the Heidelberg Catechism* as “a bold Undertaking, by a person so little versed in the English Language,” de Ronde declared that “it would be Presumption to pretend to write it with Ease and Elegance.” He hoped only

“to express my Sentiments intelligibly” in a “Work...designed, rather to adorn the Mind with divine Truths, than to please the Imagination with the Flowers of Rhetorick.”²⁷ In *The True Spiritual Religion*, he explained to prospective readers that “flowers of rethorick [sic], fine style, fancy, wit, and such other ornaments” were “more than my skill in the English language, could produce.” Cloaking himself in the garb of one who eschewed the artificiality of ornamented prose, he stressed that “my intention is by no means to fill men’s head [sic] with notions, but to quicken and influence their affections.”

De Ronde’s publications and his relationships with Anglo-American clergymen could not salvage his reputation among the men and women of the city’s Dutch elite who had staked their all on Laidlie, whom they praised effusively while disparaging De Ronde. Even though De Ronde had published four books and Laidlie none, they did not see him as measuring up to the Scot. “We cannot say,” church leaders asserted in 1765, that “his Rev. equally bears the ‘Ark of God’ on his shoulders as do his colleagues.”²⁸ Belittled for daring to perform a tightrope act—preaching and publishing in English, while fulfilling his duties as a Dutch-language preacher—De Ronde deluged the Amsterdam Classis with reports of ostensible errors committed by Laidlie. The Scottish preacher had deviated from Dutch Reformed practice, De Ronde charged, since he “was not willing to preach from Passion-texts or holiday sermons, as he ought to have done.” More significantly, De Ronde condemned Laidlie’s innovations and questioned his methods, such as organizing “special meetings where women by themselves, and men and youths by themselves expound the Scriptures by turns, repeat prayers from memory, discuss questions of conscience, etc...with closed doors, and without the supervision of the Consistory or of his colleagues.”²⁹

Though some of the points he raised carried weight, for instance his defense of legal preaching against Laidlie’s evangelical style of preaching, these serious objections were lost in a flood of criticism that at times bordered on the petty, as when De Ronde objected to books that Laidlie had recommended or complained about the appointment of “a Dutch tailor as a catechist in English, although this man had never before done any such work.”³⁰

Becoming a detractor of Laidlie at a time when the church’s Anglicized lay leaders had given the Scot their wholehearted support and the Amsterdam Classis was exulting over the ample accessions to the congregation that followed his arrival was risky. Laidlie’s demonstrable success in reviving the congregation shielded him from criticism. De Ronde harmed his own credibility by calling attention to Laidlie’s alleged flaws. His unseemly agitation, evident in his diatribes against those who sought to curb his outreach to English-speaking audiences, sullied his

reputation even further.

Far from presenting a shining example of the viability of a bicultural way of life, De Ronde alienated and was shunned by the Anglicizers whom he yearned to please. With Laidlie's appearance on the scene only accentuating the polarization of the congregation, De Ronde had little choice but to consent to fill the role of Dutch-language preacher that was thrust on him by a Consistory dominated by English partisans. Though De Ronde clearly was averse to limiting his options in this way, he must have been heartened by the eagerness with which Dutch members of the congregation welcomed him as their leader. Laidlie commented that "the Dutch party have now entirely given over coming to church when I preach and hear only Mr. De Ronde, whom they call their wettige predikant [lawful minister]."³¹ Domine Ritzema, representing himself as a peacemaker, laid the blame for the conflict on "my colleague De Ronde [who] has united himself with... the Dutch party... and would like to see our beloved Laidlie expelled from the congregation."³² Once De Ronde had cast his lot with the backers of Dutch preaching, he became their champion, preaching to them in the old Garden Street Church and acting as their advocate in demanding a fair share of congregational resources. Convinced that Dutch loyalists were being treated unjustly, he complained to the Classis that "the large 'New Dutch Church' is, inside and out, most sumptuously fitted up, while the old building is left to decay, just for the purpose of having the upper hand."³³

The approach of the American Revolution did not heal the breach between factions in the city's Reformed Church, yet all four ministers—De Ronde, Ritzema, Laidlie, and the congregation's second English-language preacher, John Henry Livingston—supported the revolutionary cause and went into exile in various locations in the Hudson Valley. After the war ended, the congregation's two Dutch-language preachers, De Ronde and Ritzema, attempted to regain their pulpits, but were forcibly retired by a Consistory under the control of Anglicizers allied with John Henry Livingston. In 1785, an aggrieved Domine Ritzema reported to the Amsterdam Classis that "I and Rev. de Ronde were deposed by five elders and seven deacons."³⁴ The demand for Dutch-language sermons by a segment of the congregation persisted and was finally met in 1789 by installing Curacao-born Gerardus A. Kuypers, who preached in Dutch until 1803.³⁵ In his later years, De Ronde preached to Dutch auditors in the Hudson Valley, serving as the minister at Schaghticoke from 1784 until his death in 1795.³⁶ He seized one last opportunity to put his knowledge of English to use when he translated the Constitution into Dutch during the ratification debates in 1788.³⁷

Lambertus De Ronde's poignant saga complicates our understanding of the

formation of cultural identity in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world by underscoring the political dimensions of a process frequently conceptualized in neutral terms with reference primarily to family values and educational influences. Only by taking into account the highly charged atmosphere in which cultural adaptation occurred in New York can we understand why De Ronde's career faltered, while that of his ministerial colleague, Archibald Laidlie, had an entirely different outcome. Laidlie responded effectively to cues in the political environment. De Ronde did not.

Educated at the University of Edinburgh, Archibald Laidlie was a Scot whose first pulpit was in the Scottish church in Vlissingen, the Netherlands, where he served from 1759 to 1763. Laidlie, who articulated his desire to "Comply with the Customs of that people among whom providence has called me to live," deliberately learned to speak Dutch in order to be accepted by Vlissingen's Dutch elite.³⁸ When he took up his post as minister to New York's Dutch Church in 1764, he carefully inserted himself into the slot defined for him by his sponsors in the English party. Though his acquaintance with the Dutch language was known, and some even had suggested that he might occasionally preach in Dutch, from the outset he directed his efforts toward satisfying the Anglicized leaders of the congregation, who had specified in their call that they wanted a good orator used to elegant language and a person whose English dialect was pure and untainted, without any brogue of other languages.³⁹ In New York, Laidlie cultivated an English persona, going so far as to disassociate himself from the city's Scottish community. "There are many Scotch people here," he wrote his brother in 1765, "but as I belong to another Congregation I have but little Acquaintance with my Countrymen."⁴⁰ When it came to marrying, he chose the daughter of a well-to-do Anglicized Dutchman, not a woman of Scottish descent.⁴¹

In the Netherlands, Laidlie made every effort to adjust to the Dutch cultural milieu. Transplanted to New York City, he chose not to publicize his familiarity with the Dutch language, nor did he trade on his native Scottish culture. Laidlie shaped himself as an Englishman and never tried to be both Dutch and English or Scottish and English. De Ronde, on the other hand, cherished a vision of becoming a bicultural intermediary between the church's parties, equally honored by traditionalist Dutch artisans and worldly Anglicized merchants. Thwarted in his design, he reshuffled his cultural deck and cast himself as the vindicator of the Dutch partisans in their struggle against the innovations of the Anglicized Dutch. Throughout his career in New York City, De Ronde resisted being defined by others, in contrast to Laidlie, who molded his behavior to conform to expectations. De Ronde, then, despite his mastery of English, was remanded to the role of Dutch

preacher, even as Archibald Laidlie savored the rewards that came from being the favorite of the congregation's victorious English party, all the while concealing his own bilingualism.

Endnotes

1. Acts of the Classis of Amsterdam, Lambertus De Ronde, September 6, 1745, E. T. Corwin, ed., *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, 7 vols. (Albany 1901-1916), vol. 4, 2877.
2. Classis of Amsterdam, Acts of the Deputies, Letter from Rev. Lambertus de Ronde, minister at Paramaribo, March 9, 1748, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 4, 3014-3017; Classis of Amsterdam, Acts of the Deputies, Letter from Rev. De Ronde of Paramaribo, January 17, 1750, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 4, 3120; Classis of Amsterdam, Acts of the Deputies, Letter of Rev. De Ronde, from Paramaribo, February 28, 1750, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 4, 3120, 3121.
3. Church of New York, Proposal to Call Rev. Lambertus De Ronde, July 31, 1750, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 4, 3123; Church of New York, August 20, 1750, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 4, 3127.
4. *De Gekruicigde Christus, Als Het Voornaamste Toeleg Van Gods Getrouw Kruisgesanten*, in *Hunne Prediking* (Nieuw York, Hendrikus De Foreest, 1751). For information on this book see, Hendrik Edelman, *Dutch-American Bibliography 1693-1794: A descriptive Catalog of Dutch-language Books, Pamphlets and Almanacs printed in America* (Nieuwkoop, 1974), 67.
5. *De Ware Gedagt'nis, Gelovige Navolging En Salig Uiteinde, Van Getrouwe Voorgangers, verklaart en Toegepast*, in *Ene Lykrede* (New York, Hendricus De Foreest, 1752). For information on this book see, Edelman, *Dutch-American Bibliography 1693-1794*, 69.
6. *The New-York Evening Post*, February 29, 1747. For a discussion of this article in the context of the congregation's language dispute, see Joyce D. Goodfriend, "Archibald Laidlie and the Transformation of the Dutch Reformed Church in Eighteenth-Century New York City," *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 81 (2003), 149-162. Rev. Gualterus Du Bois to the Classis of Amsterdam, November 2, 1748, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 4, 3038.
7. The petition can be found in Alexander J. Wall, "The Controversy in the Dutch Church in New York over Preaching in English, 1754-1768," *New York Historical Society Quarterly* 12 (1928), 39-58.
8. On Laidlie, see Goodfriend, "Archibald Laidlie and the Transformation of the Dutch Reformed Church in Eighteenth-Century New York City."
9. Rev Lambertus De Ronde to the Rev. John Kalkoen, September 9, 1765, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 4007.
10. Letter from Rev. De Ronde from Paramaribo, December 10, 1749, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 4, 3109.
11. Lambertus De Ronde, *A System: Containing the Principles of the Christian Religion, Suitable to the Heidelberg Catechism* (New York, H. Gaine, 1763).
12. The Classis of Amsterdam to Rev. De Ronde, June 4, 1764, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 3923.
13. Rev. Lambertus De Ronde to Rev. Winoldus Budde, October 13, 1764, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 3967.
14. Rev. Lambertus De Ronde to Rev. Winoldus Budde, October 13, 1764, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 3967.
15. The Elders and Deacons of the Church of New York to the Classis of Amsterdam, October 20, 1765, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 4016.

16. Rev. Lambertus De Ronde to his own Consistory, August 20, 1765, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 4004.
17. Lambertus De Ronde to the Classis of Amsterdam, New York, July 3, 1766, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 4063.
18. Lambertus De Ronde, *The True Spiritual Religion, or delightful service of the Lord, with fear, solely due and acceptable unto the most holy and glorious God, As Distinguished from Idolatrous Heathenism, Legal Judaism, and lofty Pharisaism; in two discourses, on the address of Christ's ministers, to the enemies of His Kingdom* (New York, John Holt, 1767), vi, vii, xiv-xv.
19. Rev. Lambertus De Ronde to one of the Deputies of the Classis of Amsterdam, November 24, 1763; with a Postscript, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 3905-3906.
20. Lambert De Ronde to Eleazer Wheelock, New York, September 6, 1769, Wheelock Papers, Dartmouth College Archives, Hanover, New Hampshire.
21. Lambert De Ronde to Eleazer Wheelock, New York, August 30, 1765.
22. Lambert De Ronde to Eleazer Wheelock, New York, August 30, 1765.
23. Rev. Lambertus De Ronde to one of the Deputies of the Classis of Amsterdam, November 24, 1763; with a Postscript, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 3904.
24. Rev. Lambertus De Ronde to one of the Deputies of the Classis of Amsterdam, November 24, 1763; with a Postscript, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 3904.
25. Rev. Lambertus De Ronde to one of the Deputies of the Classis of Amsterdam, November 24, 1763; with a Postscript, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 3904, 3906.
26. Lambertus De Ronde to Winoldus Budde, October 13, 1764, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 3967. On February 4, 1765, the Classis of Amsterdam informed De Ronde "This book [Marshall (on Sanctification)] with one in the Dutch language, we send you as a brotherly present, though a small one." Classis of Amsterdam to L. De Ronde, February 4, 1765, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 3975. On September 9, 1765, De Ronde acknowledged that he had received "that book of Marshall." Lambertus De Ronde to the Classis of Amsterdam, per John Kalkoen, September 9, 1765. *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 4004.
27. Lambertus De Ronde, *A System: Containing the Principles of the Christian Religion, Suitable to the Heidelberg Catechism*, Preface, i, ii.
28. Elders and Deacons of the Church of New York to the Classis of Amsterdam, October 26, 1765," *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 4016.
29. Lambertus De Ronde to the Rev. John Kalkoen, September 9, 1765, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 4006.
30. Lambertus De Ronde to the Rev. John Kalkoen, September 9, 1765, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 4004-5; Lambertus De Ronde to the Classis of Amsterdam, July 3, 1766, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 4063. De Ronde also was offended by the selection of a local builder to prepare an English translation of a Dutch catechism by Abraham Hellenbroek.
31. Undated letter from Archibald Laidlie to John Henry Livingston, quoted in *Memoirs of the Rev. John Henry Livingston, D.D.* (New York, 1856), 92.
32. Joannes Ritzema to the Classis of Amsterdam, September 10, 1765, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 4008.
33. Rev. De Ronde to the Classis of Amsterdam, October 29, 1765 [Extracts], *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 4031.
34. Rev. John Ritzema, minister Emeritus of New York, to the Classis of Amsterdam, December 10, 1785, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 4333.

35. John Knox, *A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of the Rev. Gerardus A. Kuypers, D.D. Preached in the Middle Dutch Church June 7, 1833* (New York, 1833), 13-14.
36. Charles E. Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America 1628-1922. Fifth Edition* (New York, 1922), 305. The 1790 census for the town of Schaghticoke lists "Lambertus De Ronder" as the head of a household that included three free white males over 16, two free white females and five slaves. *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790* New York (Baltimore, 1976; originally published, Washington, D.C., 1908), 41.
37. *De Constitutie eenpariglyk geacordeerd by de Algemeene Conventie gehouden in de Stad von Philadelphia, in 't Jaar 1787: en gesubmitteerd aan het Volk der Vereenigde Staten van Noord Amerika...* Vertaald door Lambertus de Ronde (Albany, Charles R. Webster, 1788). On this book see Edelman, *Dutch-American Bibliography 1693-1794*, 108.
38. Goodfriend, "Archibald Laidlie and the Transformation of the Dutch Reformed Church," 151.
39. Call sent to Holland for a Minister to Preach in English... January 10, 1763, *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, vol. 6, 3855.
40. Archibald Laidlie to John Laidlie, New York, May 8, 1765, Archibald Laidlie Manuscripts, New York Historical Society.
41. Goodfriend, "Archibald Laidlie and the Transformation of the Dutch Reformed Church," 156. De Ronde's wife, Margaretta Catharina De Ronde was born in Holland in 1719 and died at Schaghticoke, New York in 1801. *Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York: Her Organization and Development* (New York, 1928), 21.



Samuel de Champlain

1609 and All That: Champlain and the Iroquois¹

Joseph-André Senécal

Historians invariably portray Samuel de Champlain as the aggressor who shattered the pristine universe of the pre-contact Northeast Woodlands. Among Parkmanians he is recognized as a lead actor in the ideological war between France and the Anglo-Saxon world, a thousand years of struggle-to-win-men's-souls that Kevin Phillips could have aptly termed the Cousin's War.² In more recent times, Champlain has been held captive by the New Historians who lend him all the sins of the White European intruder, the carrier of cataclysmic diseases and the arquebus, harbinger of the modern gun and other engines of mass destruction. Champlain himself unwittingly contributed to these facile knee-jerking Jenkin's Ears³—these red herrings designed to obfuscate, by supplying posterity with that icon, that endlessly reproduced image of a European male, clad in a quixotic knight's armor and firing a volley at unsuspecting *enfants naturels*. The engraving "Deffaitte des Yroquois au Lac de Champlain," first published in the 1613 installment of Champlain's *Voyages*⁴, is found in endless textbooks and scholarly publications. Often it is the only image that illustrates the French presence in North America. Every element in the engraving seems to conspire to lend it the power and danger of caricatures. Bruce G. Trigger, in *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*,⁵ studied every minutiae of the composition and underlined its crippling shortcoming as documentation. The sketch of Champlain, translated by an anonymous engraver of the time, offers a case study of how seventeenth-century reality was reduced to models from Classical antiquity and powerful images of the Americas instilled by initial illustrations of Brazil and other tropical or semi-tropical settings.⁶ But it is not the weeping, torrid vegetation (easily mistaken for willows) nor the well-aligned canoes (looking suspiciously like Amazonian pirogues) that fascinate the Anglo-Saxon historian; it is that firmly planted man in a Cortes- or Pizarro-like accoutrement who aims so cockily his engine while two accomplices, too craven to face the *ingénus*, fire from the safety of the vegetation. Three volleys went off on that July dawn of 1609. For deconstructionists, the violation reverberates past

Wounded Knee. For traditionalists clinging to the romantic genesis narrative of Francis Parkman, the murderous shots open the epic struggle for the continent. *In principio erat* Le French Aggresseur, Champlain, the dark angel who brought the cousins' war to a paradisiacal world awaiting the Pilgrims' progress. The most enthusiastic Pharisees have pronounced the man a war criminal, a hyperbole that Parkman himself would have resisted. Our understanding of Champlain is a collage of clichés that will not resist a sound reappraisal. What can we make of the event of July 30, 1609?

On that day, Champlain participated in a ritualized confrontation, a battle, albeit an unconventional one, which broke the rules of engagement.⁷ Champlain was as ignorant of those rules as the other participants were of the European code of dueling or the knightly ethics of the *tournoi*, the tournament, which had allowed a noble like Gabriel de Lorges, comte de Montgomery, to kill his king, Henry II of France, with impunity. The firing of three arquebuses upset the aboriginal rules of combat; but such conventions were already being transformed by more than fifty years of contacts with the *Asseroni*, the Ax Makers, a term the Mohawks reserved for the new purveyors of metal implements. Were the Iroquois



Native Costumes

facing Champlain and his party transfixed by their first look at an *Asseroni* or were they startled by his sudden manifestation? We will never know. What is certain is that the coming of the European was well-announced. Whether or not the Iroquois at Ticonderoga had already contemplated visitors from across the sea, they had heard of them and felt the impact of their initial contacts with native populations frequenting the thousands of miles of the Atlantic shores and the St. Lawrence River. The Iroquois of New York State, the Five Nations of the Long House, were twice removed from the many groups who, for at least four generations, had spied on explorers such as Giovanni da Verrazano (1524), Walter Raleigh or John White (1585), and Bartholomew Gosnold (1602) to name but a few; or approached those thousands of Basque, French, and English seamen who enticed them to trade furs and women for precious metal implements and unheard-of *objets de luxe* such as glass beads or brass bells. Although they were not the first to interact with Europeans, the New York Iroquois were connected to the radiating trade network of the Northeast Woodlands. They were at the center of far-reaching watery connections that could bring copper from Lake Superior to Chesapeake Bay and wampum shells from the Carolinas to the hunting grounds of the boreal forests. Articles of trade shuttled through the territory of the Five Nations; so did news from the St. Lawrence, the Bay of Fundy, the tidewaters of Virginia, or the shores of Georgian Bay. All the North American natives, including the Iroquois, were very well informed through an extensive and sophisticated network of communication.

Already, in 1524, Giovanni da Verrazano had encountered aborigines in the Gulf of Maine who wanted to barter for hooks, awls, and needles, and other iron objects but who, because of previous encounters, were so defiant of Europeans they conducted trade from the distance of long ropes. In 1542, when Spanish authorities interviewed Basque fishermen to test the veracity of Jacques Cartier's reports, a captain from Bayonne revealed that Aborigines in the Gulf of St. Lawrence understood all languages: French, English, and Gascon.⁸ Archeological sites document that well before Champlain's time, French trade objects made their way to Iroquoia via the Hudson, the Susquehanna, and the Potomac. Seneca and Onondaga sites suggest that French articles first entered New York State in the sixteenth century via the Middle Atlantic Coast.⁹ Aborigines had been visiting Europe since 1538! A few, among them one Iroquois from the village of Stadacony (Québec City), had made the trip back to America. By the turn of the century, influential trading agents such as the Micmac sagamo from La Hève (Nova Scotia) were visiting European ports like Bayonne to conduct business.¹⁰ The description of the European world by these travelers must have been orally transmitted far

and wide.

Finally, the Iroquois facing a Frenchman in July 1609 could not have been unaware of the progress of Champlain himself, his reconnoitering of the St. Lawrence and the Lower Richelieu in 1603, and his explorations on the Atlantic Coast (as far south as Cape Cod) between 1604 and 1606. Champlain's military excursion to Lake Champlain was part of his third voyage to the Northeast Woodlands, a two-year stay that had begun with the very noticeable construction of a permanent fortified trading post at Québec. Champlain did not come unannounced.

To explain the events and decisions leading to the Beaver Wars (a great disturbance that emptied the Great Lakes of their population) and the alliance between the Dutch and the Five Nations (to the detriment of the French), one needs to invoke geography and the evolving *rapport de force* among the nations of the Northeast Woodlands rather than the battle of July 30, 1609. The Iroquois acknowledged Champlain as the representative of a new presence, one they could have invited under the Great Tree of Peace. They would work such an accommodation for the Dutch, far less compatible foreigners whom they considered ill-mannered, avaricious, and predatory. But the Five Nations traded with Albany and Manhattan, not Québec or Trois-Rivières, the second trading post that the French constructed in 1634. The logic and interest of trade determined the identity of friends and foes in the Northeast Woodlands. Under the temptation of power and gain, and the imperative of survival, the French compatibility with Iroquoian world views carried no more consequence than Champlain's firing of an arquebus. In the end, the Iroquois decided to dominate trade with the Europeans. To achieve this aim, they were willing to conquer other nations and decimate their populations. Soon, when a new enemy appeared—the apocalyptic ride of influenza, smallpox, and measles—the Iroquois intensified their campaign of conversions. The acculturation of Hurons and Algonquians into Mohawks or Cayugas became a vampirian frenzy. The Five Nations survived as a people only by adopting the other, sometimes to a limit where the others came to outnumber their captors.¹¹

The *Agniés* (as Champlain called the Mohawks) must have wondered if the establishment of the French at Québec would have as many repercussions on the balance of power in the Northeast Woodlands as the passage of Jacques Cartier in 1535-1536 and the failed settlement of Cartier and La Roque de Roberval at Cap Rouge in 1541-1543. When Champlain explored the St. Lawrence for the first time in 1603, he was retracing the itinerary of Cartier some seventy years earlier. Champlain was furnished with an irreplaceable French-Iroquois diction-



Burial Place

ary, precious pages bearing the trace of the elusive St. Lawrence Iroquois. The dictionary contained place name like “Stadacony,” “Hochelaga,” and “Canada” as well as basic phrases for diplomacy and survival. But when Champlain tried to use these words, his interlocutors could not understand. Between the passage of Cartier and the arrival of Champlain, the Iroquois of the St. Lawrence Valley had vanished. We know little about the St. Lawrence Iroquois, the nation or nations who were established in villages at Stadacony and Hochelaga (Montréal) and who traveled as far as the Gaspé Peninsula and the Gulf of St. Lawrence to trade with Europeans mariners. Eyewitness accounts of the Cartier and de Roberval expeditions as well as modern archeology document their existence; but little else. Were they a satellite colony that had separated from one of the Five Nations of New York State? Were they related to the Wendats (the Hurons, as the French called their allies of Georgian Bay) or other Iroquois based on the north shore of the Great Lakes?

The mysterious disappearance of the sedentary Laurentian Iroquois could be explained by trade rivalries exacerbated by the race to monopolize trade contacts with the Europeans. It also could have resulted from the import of diseases from the Old Continent. The explanation probably lies in a combination of these two

factors and others, such as a climate change that would have made sedentary life very difficult. Nomadic nations, speakers of Algonquian languages, filled the void and quickly took control of vital arteries linking the fur preserves and the river mouths where the fur traders laid anchor: Tadoussac; Trois-Rivières; the confluence of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence at Montréal. We know the name of the nations who were the gatekeepers. They were identified by Champlain himself: the Montagnais for the Saguenay; the Onontcharonon and the Petite Nation Algonquin for the Ottawa River. Most of these nations belonged to a language group known as Algonquian. They were semi-nomadic and ranged over large tracts of lands to hunt, fish, and gather fruits. Other



Medicine Dance

nations, notably the Wendats (known to the French as the Hurons), belonged to the Iroquoian-language family. Although they were sedentary in their habits like their cousins to the south of Lake Ontario, these Iroquois were adversaries, competing with the Five Nations for access to European goods.

This fundamental *rapport de force* that accounts for the human geography north of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes at the time of Champlain's arrival in 1608 seems to have developed as a result of the competition connected with the onset of European trade. We find evidence of the rivalry between the Five Nations and their neighbors to the north as early as 1603, when Champlain and Francois du Pont Gravé met warriors from several nations who had just won a victory over Agniés marauding near the mouth of the Richelieu River. The Five Nations lived at odds with other Iroquoian nations and all of the Algonquian-speaking people who hemmed the Mohawk Valley in all directions but the north, domain of the excluded Iroquois: the Hurons, the Erie, the Petuns, and the Neutrals. The hostile competition for access to the trade outlets had begun probably earlier than 1603. When Champlain founded the settlement at Québec in 1608, the military balance seemed to have been at equilibrium, with neither side having a decisive advantage. Warfare was conducted at a low scale, with each side initiating ritual raids, known as mourning expeditions, when small amounts of warriors were killed or captured for adoption.

The French were influenced by geography and military strategy when they elected to establish themselves far up the St. Lawrence. They opened their trade counter at Québec ("The Place Where the Passage Narrows"), a defensible position on the main fluvial artery to the interior. They selected a site deep inside the St. Lawrence rather than an oceanfront harbor because well before their competitors, they had concluded that the largest and highest-quality supply of beaver pelts came from the Great Lakes and north of the St. Lawrence. Their exploratory expeditions prior to 1608 had confirmed this understanding of the geography of the fur trade. The same forays into the interior allowed them to identify the Algonquian-speaking nations and the Iroquois of the north shores of the Great Lakes, the competitors of the Five Nations, as the military forces who controlled the trade routes. The strategy of Samuel de Champlain, François Gravé du Pont, and Pierre Dugua de Mons, the three major actors in the Québec venture of 1608, was based on a sound analysis of the dynamics at work.

The decision-making process also took into consideration the precariousness of the French implantation. Until the late 1620s, Champlain could count on a transient French population of less than sixty men (in many years, closer to fifty) to operate the post at Québec and cultivate ties with a vastly larger native



Deer Hunt

population that could turn hostile if diplomacy failed. Under these circumstances, Champlain and his associates made the ineluctable decision to cement an alliance with the enemies of the Five Nations and participate in their military campaigns. Champlain not only promoted the raid of 1609, but played a leading role in a second operation at the mouth of the Richelieu River the following year.

Later, in 1615, he accompanied the Hurons on an incursion to the Finger Lakes region, where he was severely wounded.

The presence and intervention of Champlain had little effect on the relations between the Five Nations and their neighbors. The Mohawks and other nations of the Long House continued to conduct plundering raids along the St. Lawrence. They could travel safely from the Hudson River to Lake George and Lake Champlain, and down the Richelieu to prey upon Iroquois or Algonquian groups from the Ottawa Valley and beyond, who came to the St. Lawrence to trade. Small boats, detached from oceangoing vessels anchored at Tadoussac, would venture as far as the Lachine Rapids at the island of Montréal to intercept lone canoes and flotillas.

The Dutch, rather than Champlain and the French, transformed the world of the Five Nations. The opening of a trading post, Fort Nassau on Castle Island near Albany, in 1614 came soon after the establishment of the French at Québec in 1608. Like the French, the Dutch were slow to send settlers. Colonization started only in 1624, with the arrival of thirty families, of which eighteen had French as their mother tongue. However, most of these settlers quickly retreated to the mouth of the Hudson and Fort Nassau, renamed Fort Orange, survived as a trading post until the first group of tenants of Rensselaerswyck arrived in 1630. The progress of Québec as an agricultural settlement was equally slow during those years. New France languished until 1632, when substantial agricultural settlement began. The first family arrived in 1617; the first plow in 1627. While the permanent community grew in the 1620s, it counted less than fifty souls when Québec was occupied by English privateers in 1629. Because of the small population, the impact of both colonies on their aboriginal neighbors was minimal in many ways.

The difficult beginnings of both Québec and Albany detract from an important variable that, in time, would prove of great consequence. The French seriously considered a mixing of the European and native populations. Champlain anticipated such a *métissage* and, until 1624, encouraged it. The conversion of Montagnais, Hurons, or Algonquins was to accompany the marriage of native women to Frenchmen. This overture to the



The Attack on the Iroquois Fort

aboriginal trading partners was in sharp contrast with the world views of the Dutch, who isolated themselves as much as possible from the Five Nations. It was not until 1634 that Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert visited the Mohawks and the Oneida. As late as 1644, no one at Albany could speak Mohawk¹². The French had begun to send *truchements* (language and cultural interpreters) to live among the indigenous nations as early as 1610. While Protestant ministers from Albany made feeble attempts to evangelize the Five Nations, these contacts were very limited and of no consequence for the conversion of Mohawks or other Iroquois. This absence of zeal contrasted dramatically with the French Recollects (a branch of the Franciscan family) and the Jesuits who arrived early to follow the *truchements* and live among the Hurons and the Five Nations.

Despite their overture to the other, the French did not succeed in enticing the Iroquois to Québec and the city of Ludovica that Champlain dreamed of building there along the shores of the St. Charles River. In the end, proximity and compatibility drew the Dutch and the Five Nations in a symbiotic relationship based strictly on trade and profit. The Mohawks and the other four nations followed the dictates of geography and traded with the nearest Europeans: the Dutch. Despite their contempt for partners whom they judged uncivilized and predatory, the Five Nations were content to trade with a small colony that practiced a form of apartheid and included guns in the arsenal of trade goods. The appetite of the Five Nations for such articles grew quickly and inordinately. To pay the Dutch with premium fur pelts from the north, the predatory expeditions of the Five Nations grew proportionally: “Beginning in the late 1620s, Iroquois raids on the St. Lawrence focused primarily on traffic moving downriver with furs rather than on canoes paddling upriver with French wares. Many if not most of the pelts that Iroquois sold at Fort Orange were probably hijacked in these expeditions.”¹³

Between 1609 and 1625, the year of their first attack on Dutchmen on the Hudson, a major shift had occurred in the foreign policy of the Five Nations. The Long House had decided to remove intermediaries and to trade directly with the Dutch at Fort Nassau. The first victims of this expansionist drive were the Mahicans, who had interposed themselves between the Iroquois and the Dutch. By 1628, the Mahicans had abandoned their lands on the west side of the Hudson River. The Mohawks, who had secured a truce with Champlain and the allies during the Mahican War, returned to pillaging by 1628.

Champlain did not live to see the next phase of the trade wars, which became a life-and-death struggle for the French and their allies. In 1629 he was forced to surrender Québec and its satellite operations to English pirates, the Kirke Brothers. By the time diplomats negotiated the restitution of Québec to France, Champlain had little time to live. He did return to Québec in 1633, but by the following October he had to surrender day-to-day operations of the colony to subalterns and hovering Jesuits.

The first massive outbreak of disease among the Mohawks came in 1633, as Champlain was returning to Québec to die. No one in that year, or the following one, could have projected the cataclysmic effect of the pathogenic agents traded by the Dutch children of Rensselaerswyck or the Dutchmen and Frenchmen whom the Iroquois were capturing (and eating). Without armor or arquebus, the invasion within had begun; it would decimate the enemies of the Five Nations before devouring its own children.

Notes

1. Only the French called the *Ganienkeh* (the People of the Flint) “Iroquois.” The word is Algonquian and the French heard it from one of the many nomadic nations with whom they first traded. The Iroquois were surrounded by nations who spoke various dialects of another language, Algonquian. They were known to most speakers of that different idiom as *Naudoways* (“Those Who Speak Another Tongue”).
2. Kevin Phillips, *The Cousin’s Wars: Religion, Politics and the Triumph of Anglo-America*. New York: Basic Books, 1999. (The subtitle varies in the second edition.) Phillips gives a different meaning to his title of course. But he offers insightful observations about the endless repercussions of 1066, all the way to “Patriot Fries.” For a more detailed discussion of the matter at hand, see Robert and Isabelle Tombs. *That Sweet Enemy: The British and the French, from the Sun King to the Present*. London: William Heinemann Press, 2006. The American edition was published by Knopf and recently appeared (2008) as a Vintage Book.
3. The amputation of Jenkin’s ear and its repercussions are part of the patriotic frenzy that fueled the unending hostilities between Great Britain and Spain in the eighteenth century. The actual incident occurred in 1731, when a Spanish officer cut off the ear of a British captain suspected of piracy. Soon after, Robert Jenkins (the “victim”) was invited to attend Parliament where, it is alleged, the ear was displayed. The Hogarthian rabble baptized the next chapter of the conflict with Spain “Jenkins Ear’s War.”
4. See *Les Voyages du sieur de Champlain saintongeois, capitaine ordinaire pour le roi en la marine*. Paris: Chez Jean Berjon, 1613. Reprinted in the second volume, translated and edited by John Squair, of Henry Percival Biggar, general editor. *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1926: facing page 101.
5. Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1976
6. For a generous sample of these images, see Stefan Lorant, ed. *The New World: The First Pictures of America Made by John White and Jacques LeMoyne and Engraved by Theodore de Bry*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946
7. For a cultural explanation of these rules, see chapter two of the first part of Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America*. Ithaca (New York): Cornell University Press, 1993.
8. See Biggar, Henry Percival, comp. *A Collection of Documents Relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval* Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1930: 453-454.
9. See Charles Wray et al. *The Adams and Culbertson Sites*. Rochester (New York): Rochester Museum and Science Center, Research Division, 1987; and James Bradley. *The Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change, 15011-1655*. Syracuse (New York): Syracuse University Press, 1987.
10. See Laurier Turgeon. “The French in New England before Champlain,” *Champlain: The Birth of French America*, Raymonde Litalien and Denis Vaugeois, eds. Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press; Sillery (Québec): Le Septentrion, 2004: 110.
11. For an explanation of kinship and adoption in Iroquois warfare, see the second part of Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America*. Ithaca (New York): Cornell University Press, 1993.
12. See Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America*. Ithaca (New York): Cornell University Press, 1993: 166
13. See Daniel Richter. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992: 57.

Regional History Forum

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

The Hudson-Fulton-Champlain Quadricentennial Commission

Lindsay Moreau

2009 is a year for much celebration. It marks the 400th anniversary of Henry Hudson's travel up the river bearing his name and Samuel de Champlain's discovery of the lake he named after himself, as well as the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the maiden voyage of Robert Fulton's steamboat. Because of the importance of the celebration and its historical significance, the 334th section of the federal Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008 officially formed the Champlain and Hudson-Fulton commissions, and sanctioned them with the authority to create and execute an extensive educational and celebratory nationwide event.

The Hudson-Fulton Commission is comprised of fifteen members, and the Champlain Commission ten. In order to create knowledgeable and hard-working groups, the majority of commission members come from state-sanctioned Quadracentennial commissions or the National Park Service. Each commission was awarded \$500,000 a year from 2008 through 2011 to fulfill its fiscal needs. Their purposes are defined to include the preparation and implementation of a national observance by working alongside the state commissions from New York, New Jersey, and Vermont. Encouraging civic, patriotic, historical, educational, artistic, religious, and economic organizations to participate in the Quadricentennial commemoration is another duty of both commissions. Furthermore, each commission was charged to aptly recognize the diversity and development of the Hudson River and Lake Champlain valleys and the growth that has occurred in these regions throughout the past 400 years.¹

Creating and coordinating the commemoration celebration is the primary duty of both commissions, but the legislation also requires specific work to be

done for the environment in the Champlain and Hudson River valleys. The Champlain Commission works with the Lake Champlain Basin Program, funding initiatives that benefit the water quality, fisheries, wetlands, wildlife, recreation, and cultural resources of the Lake Champlain watershed area.² The Hudson-Fulton Commission must coordinate with the American Heritage Rivers Initiative Interagency Committee. The initiative's objectives include historic and cultural preservation, economic revitalization, and natural-resource and environmental protection.³

By 1608, the Dutch East India Company, which had a monopoly on trade with the Orient, was anxious to find a northerly water route to Asia.⁴ They hired Henry Hudson to lead the expedition and he set sail on the *Half Moon* in April 1609. Hudson first encountered the shores of Novoya Zambla before heading south along the coast of North America.⁵ He sailed into Delaware Bay, hoping it would provide a passage to Asia, but was unsuccessful in navigating through the shallow current. Continuing north along the coast, he entered the river near present-day Manhattan on September 2. Instead of finding a shortcut to the Orient, he discovered a valley filled with natural resources, a river teeming with fish, and Native Americans who were both friendly and hostile.⁶ Just north of present-day Albany, the water became too shallow to proceed, and Hudson turned around. Both he and the Dutch East India Company were disappointed in the failure of finding a quicker route to Asian markets; however the company saw the potential commercial benefits of the area Hudson had explored, and the Dutch soon established profitable trading centers there.

While Hudson was exploring the Hudson River Valley, French explorer Samuel De Champlain was already making his way through the interior of North America as requested by France's King Henry the IV. Founding a settlement at Québec City in 1608, Champlain used his expertise in cartography to draw up detailed maps of the area and his diplomatic skills to maintain good relations with local Native Americans. Desiring a commercial treaty with the northern Indians—the Montagnais, Algonquins, Hurons, Nipissings, and Ojibways⁷—he agreed to fight alongside the tribes at the battle on the shores of what he called Lake Champlain in July 1609. The battle was one of many that occurred over the next 150 years, and eventually led the French to leave the area.⁸ Nonetheless, Champlain's discoveries, maps, and alliances led him to be exalted for his finding of the beautiful and resource-full Champlain Valley, and known as the Father of New France.

Almost two hundred years later, Robert Fulton approached the Hudson River in a new way. A Pennsylvania native, Fulton studied engineering, mathematics,

and chemistry in England and France.⁹ He partnered with Robert R. Livingston to create a practical steamboat for commercial use. Livingston provided monetary and political assistance while Fulton used his engineering expertise to design and construct the boat. Fulton saw the importance of rivers in the opening up of the Midwest, while Livingston saw the opportunity to gain control of commercial navigation along the Hudson. The New York State Legislature had granted Livingston exclusive privileges of steam navigation on the Hudson if the boat was able to operate at a speed of at least four miles per hour. Fulton's craft, originally named the *North River* (and much later changed to the *Clermont*, after Livingston's Columbia County estate), fulfilled this obligation, giving him and Livingston control of travel and trade on the Hudson for two decades.¹⁰ On August 17, 1807, the *North River* left New York and arrived at Albany within twenty-four hours. Fulton's steamboat revolutionized commercial trading and leisure travel along rivers throughout America.

In 1909, New York State hosted an extensive celebration of both Hudson and Fulton. The 1909 Hudson-Fulton Celebration Commission spent several years planning and coordinating the event; first and foremost, their purpose was to make the commemoration an educational exercise without commercializing it.¹¹ All events were free of charge and commercial advertising was not permitted. The commission also strived to make New York's great history known to all by fostering a deeper knowledge of the state's historical significance among America's people and by binding New Yorkers together on the basis of state pride and loyalty. Because the responsibility for much of the discovery and development of the United States rested upon pioneers from other nations, the commission also set out to promote international friendship. Every nation with which the United States had diplomatic relations was invited to attend the commemoration via ship or navy vessel.¹² Senator Elihu Root explained the importance of an international presence:

We are not celebrating ourselves. We are not celebrating the greatness and wealth of our city... We celebrate in Hudson the great race of men who made the age of discovery... We celebrate in Fulton the great race of men whose inventive genius has laid the foundation for a broader, nobler and more permanent civilization the world over... Standing at the gateway of the New World, we celebrate the immense significance of America to all mankind... You who have come to us from abroad, from what-soever country you come, find here the children of your own fatherland. In all that you find here that is worthy of admiration and commendation, you find in part the work of your own brothers . . . This is your celebration as well as ours.¹³

Between September 25 and October 11, 1909, the celebration traveled 200 miles along the Hudson River from Staten Island to Troy and Cohoes.¹⁴ Replicas of Hudson's *Half Moon* and Fulton's steamboat were built and sailed up the river, just as the originals had centuries before. Stops were made at several cities along the route, where the communities gathered to host parades, speeches, and parties. The commemoration was a success: commerce increased significantly throughout the Hudson Valley, international relations flourished, and the people cherished the celebration of their history and culture.

To make this year's celebration as legendary as 1909's, New York Governor George Pataki created a Hudson-Fulton-Champlain Quadricentennial Commission (HFCQ) in 2002. The commission's mission is not only to commemorate Hudson, Fulton, and Champlain, but to engage civic, cultural, educational, environmental, and heritage organizations to participate in the Quadricentennial. This participation will lead to creation of a solid infrastructure that future generations can utilize. Lastly, the commission was charged to focus attention on New York's history, culture, and natural resources at the local, state, national, and international levels.

Tara Sullivan was named executive director of the HFCQ in February 2008. Formerly Governor Eliot Spitzer's regional representative for the Hudson River Valley and director of Community Relations and Internal Affairs at Bard College, she has a strong past in community involvement and event organization, as well as extensive knowledge of the region. The commission's chairwoman, Joan K. Davidson, has served as chair of the New York State Council on the Arts and commissioner of the Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation. The remaining eighteen commission members represent state agencies and counties within the Hudson Valley and Lake Champlain region.

Thrust into her position with little time to spare, Sullivan re-evaluated the commemoration to include more of New York's history since 1609 and focus the event on the environment, economy, education, and energy.¹⁵ Instead of simply celebrating the accomplishments of three men, Sullivan employs the theme "Explore New York's 400 years of progress," which highlights the achievements of Hudson, Fulton, and Champlain as a catalyst for New York's subsequent advancement. This allows the entire state to participate in the celebration.

Sustaining New York's historic, cultural, and geographical attributes is another theme of the Quadricentennial. Vincent Tamagna is a leader in maintaining the quality of the Hudson River and the historic towns and parks alongside it. Tamagna was named the Hudson River Navigator in September 2003, after spending several years working with the American Heritage Rivers Alliance

and serving as a Putnam County legislator. He works to preserve the economic and environmental benefits of the Hudson River and its surrounding valley. His Quadricentennial contributions include advocating for Putnam County's Preserve America grant (which was received in time to coincide with the 400th celebration); working on the Hudson River Valley Lighthouse Trail; and striving to protect, preserve, and revitalize riverside communities.¹⁶

The HFCQ Commission and its partners have created numerous events and programs to accomplish their mission and vision. The commission believes in the importance of curriculum that incorporates more New York State history in schools throughout the state. Comprehensive lesson plans and activities that focus on the Quadricentennial have been prepared and distributed statewide. Several schools throughout the Hudson and Champlain valleys have been authorized as Quadricentennial Schools and have agreed to integrate Quadricentennial materials into their classroom activities.¹⁷ The 2009 statewide summer reading list will expand to incorporate Quadricentennial themes.

The commission also envisioned celebrating the multiculturalism of New York. An emphasis on Dutch and French culture will celebrate Hudson's benefactors and Champlain's native country. The commission is also encouraging recognition of local Native American history. The commemoration embodies the idea that New York has progressed as a result of the entrepreneurial minds of the Native Americans who already lived here and the foreigners who eventually made their homes here. Events include an exhibition of Dutch culture in Westchester, a Dutch walking tour of New York City, concerts of French music in Saranac, a conference and exhibit on the Native Americans of Esopus, and a visit from Crown Prince Willem-Alexander of the Netherlands.¹⁸

Creating more opportunities for tourism is another vision for the Quadricentennial.¹⁹ By renovating historic sites and towns, and working on the preservation of the river and waterfront parks, Lake Champlain, and New York Harbor, the commission (with the help of Tamagna) hopes to attract local, national, and international tourists long after the Quadricentennial celebrations are over. The Crown Point Lighthouse on the shore of Lake Champlain is being completely restored, while Manhattan's Battery, on New York Harbor, will be renovated into a park with a new pavilion donated by the Dutch.²⁰ There are events throughout the year that promote outdoor recreation and appreciation of the natural environment. A kayaking trip from Lake Champlain to New York Harbor, hikes through various parks along the river, and walking tours of the region's historic communities are scheduled.²¹

The Quadricentennial commemoration is a year-long celebration with events

that will suit people of all ages and interests. But behind all the festivities, the reason for celebrating should not be forgotten. Between Henry Hudson, Robert Fulton, and Samuel de Champlain, New York was navigated, explored, mapped out, and revolutionized to become a center of commerce. New York State is much obliged to these great men. Participation in the Quadricentennial celebration will bring about a wealth of state pride, loyalty towards its people, and knowledge of its history—all of which can only result in greater entrepreneurship and future accomplishment. As the HFCQ Commission explains, the Quadricentennial commemoration is not only about honoring the past, but celebrating the present and paving the way for a successful future.

For more information on the Quadricentennial visit the following Web sites:

www.exploreny400.com

www.hudson400.com

www.duchess400.com

www.hudsonrivervalley.org

Endnotes

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8. *Ibid.*
9. Kenneth S. Panza, Robert Fulton, *Hudson River Steamboats, and the Clermont Steamboat*, Mar 2004, <http://www.hrmm.org/steamboats/fulton.html>.
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18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Mitchell Hall, *400th Anniversary of New York*, Manhattan Real Estate Blog, 29 Jan 2009, <http://propertyqube.com/blogs/nyc%20Broker/>.
21. *On the Horizon: Works in Progress*, ExploreNY400.com, 2009, http://www.exploreny400.com/ThingsToDo/on_the_horizon.aspx.



Lowering the last portion into place on a cantilevered span

Walkway Over the Hudson

Elizabeth Vielkind

Finished in 1888, the Poughkeepsie-Highland Railroad Bridge was a vital link in connecting the coal fields of Pennsylvania with industries in New England. At the time of its construction, it was considered the longest steel span in the world and an engineering marvel. It also was the first bridge built across the Hudson River south of Albany.

The bridge's importance lessened in the twentieth century, due in part to a decline in manufacturing in the Northeast, the construction of the interstate highway system, and increased costs to maintain the span. New bridges and tunnels across the Hudson and East Rivers also contributed to its downfall. Following the absorption of the New Haven Railroad by Penn Central Railroad in 1968, traffic over the Poughkeepsie-Highland Railroad Bridge dropped even further because of Penn Central's policy of abandoning less profitable routes. By the spring of 1974, "only one train crossed the bridge daily, round trip, and it was 'poorly patronized'" (Mabee 244).

After taking control of the Poughkeepsie-Highland Railroad Bridge in 1969, Penn Central halted inspections of the span and reduced the amount of maintenance and repairs it undertook on it (Mabee, 244). During the winter of 1973 to 1974, the steel pipeline used to feed fire hydrants on the bridge was not drained. When it froze and burst in cold weather, it was not repaired. To lessen their financial morass, Penn Central also eliminated the watchmen who walked across the bridge around the clock and let go of the bridge maintenance crew. Protests were initiated by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, who stated that “Penn Central was disregarding its responsibility both to its employees and to the public” (Mabee, 245). This neglect would prove nearly fatal for the bridge.

On May 8, 1974, at 12:42 pm, a freight train—the only regular eastbound train that day—crossed over the Poughkeepsie-Highland Railroad Bridge. A spark from it presumably caused the fire that would effectively end the span’s use by the railroad. According to Fire Captain Thomas Ringwood, it “may not have been the biggest fire we’ve ever had in the city, but it was the most difficult.” The fire was not detected right away because of the lack of watchmen. When firemen arrived, all they could see “was a cloud of black smoke that hung over the Poughkeepsie end of the bridge. On the bridge deck, wooden railroad ties were smoldering, and next to them, wooden walkways were burning, fanned by a moderate breeze” (Mabee, 246).

The immediate issue the firemen faced was the need to get water to the top, no easy feat because of the height of the bridge and the failure to replace the burst pipes (Mabee, 246). The fire destroyed 700 feet of track. Immediately after the blaze, Penn Central officials estimated it would take four to six months to repair the span. According to Joseph Harvey, a railroad spokesman, “we have no plans at this time to close down the bridge... freight service will be continued after repairs are made.”



Historic images of the bridge, c. 1900



View north from the bridge c. 2000

These repairs were never made. Penn Central and later Conrail (who took over ownership of the bridge in 1976) kept the bridge closed and did not maintain it. “Spikes and chunks of charred wood occasionally fell from it, some of them close enough to Poughkeepsie houses to alarm residents” (Mabee, 254). In 1984, in an effort to eliminate its liability, Conrail disposed of the bridge and approximately ten miles of right-of-way for one dollar.

Disputes over ownership, liability, and access continued for more than ten years. Different organizations and individuals came up with a variety of ideas for the future of the Poughkeepsie-Highland Railroad Bridge, ranging from demolition to redevelopment as a commercial property with housing. In 1991, the Coast Guard called for the bridge to be demolished as a hazard because its navigation lights were out and no one was maintaining the structure.

In the 1890s and again in the 1920s, the public had unsuccessfully campaigned to open the Poughkeepsie-Highland Railroad Bridge to pedestrian traffic. The concept eventually reemerged in the 1990s, when a handful of citizens began yet another campaign to preserve the bridge by adapting it for use as a public walkway (Mabee, 267), a “walkway across the Hudson.”

The dreams of creating a pedestrian walkway came a step closer to reality in June 1998 when ownership of the bridge was transferred to Walkway Over the Hudson, a non-profit organization “committed to developing a group of dedicated



Walkway volunteers leading a tour of the bridge

supporters and volunteers who will fight for the creation of a walkway, who will support the bridge financially, and help develop the vision of Walkway Over the Hudson.”

Walkway Over the Hudson completed two in-depth studies demonstrating the long-term viability of the non-profit’s plan to transform the bridge into a lofty pedestrian park spanning the Hudson River. “These two studies—one reviewing the bridge’s structural soundness and the other analyzing its potential impact as an economic development initiative—demonstrate conclusively that the dream of restoring the historic Poughkeepsie-Highland Railroad Bridge can be realized and will ultimately prove to be a tremendous economic benefit to the entire region,” said Walkway’s Chairman Fred Schaeffer.

Former Governor Eliot Spitzer committed state funds to “transform the long-dormant Hudson River crossing into an awe-inspiring historic park.” In his 2008 State of the State Address, Governor Spitzer committed “state dollars to develop the bridge into a walkway and bikeway park with breathtaking views of the Hudson.” When the bridge was built in 1888, it was the longest bridge in the world, “an engineering marvel,” Governor Spitzer said. However, “for the last three decades the bridge has sat empty and unused. As a pedestrian walkway



Artist's depiction of the finished walkway

over the Hudson, it will allow New Yorkers to connect to the history and natural beauty of our state and draw them to Poughkeepsie, Kingston and surrounding communities.”

The Poughkeepsie-Highland Railroad Bridge will be dedicated as New York State's newest park on October 3, 2009, as part of the Quadricentennial commemoration of Henry Hudson's exploration of the river now bearing his name. In addition to funding from the state Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, generous support has been provided by the Dyson Foundation, Scenic Hudson, and many other organizations and individual donors.

Soon the Poughkeepsie-Highland Railroad Bridge will regain the distinction it earned when it opened 120 years ago, standing 212 feet above the water and spanning 6,767 feet across the Hudson River, Walkway Over the Hudson will be the longest pedestrian span in the world.

To learn more about the history of the Poughkeepsie-Highland Railroad Bridge, visit Walkway Over the Hudson's Web site www.walkway.org, and read Carleton Mabee's Bridging The Hudson: The Poughkeepsie Railroad Bridge and Its Connecting Lines A Many-Faceted History, published by Purple Mountain Press.

The Twin Mysteries of Henry Hudson—His 1609 Voyage

Charlie Stark

Introduction

On September 2, 1609, the Dutch ship *Half Moon* sailed into what is now New York Harbor and anchored near Staten Island. For the next five weeks, the Englishman Henry Hudson and his crew of sixteen men explored the river that now bears his name. They traveled approximately 150 miles northward making contact with Native Americans and recording the observations that would eventually lead to the colonization of New Netherland. Then they returned to Europe, stopping first in England and continuing on to the Netherlands. End of story? Not quite, for two aspects of this voyage have puzzled historians and others for centuries.

The first mystery is why the *Half Moon* was in North American waters. The orders given to Hudson by his employer, the Dutch East India Company, were quite explicit: find a route to the Dutch East Indies (present day Indonesia) by sailing northeast past the northern tip of the Scandinavian peninsula, sail along the northern coast of Russia, and eventually enter the North Pacific Ocean via the Bering Strait.

The second puzzlement is that Hudson departed from Amsterdam and was expected by his sponsors to return directly there. In fact, part of his contract stipulated that Hudson's family actually move to Holland and remain there until his return. Why did he stop in England first?

The Age of Discovery

Before exploring the rationale for Hudson's actions, a quick review of certain aspects of early seventeenth-century geopolitics is in order. Since the days of Portugal's Prince Henry the Navigator, the Portuguese had a virtual monopoly on the southern trade routes linking the Far East with Europe. It was this trade that brought tropical goods, especially spices, silks, and cotton to European markets through Portuguese ports. The newly independent Dutch, seeking to avoid

conflict with the Portuguese, decided to investigate the northeastern route to the Orient. The year 1609 also marked two important events: first, it was the year that the Bank of Amsterdam was established, an important part of the system of commerce then developing. This year also marked the beginnings of a twelve-year truce between Holland and Spain, thus freeing the smaller nation to concentrate on trade and exploration. In addition, in response to French explorations of North America, especially by Cartier and Samuel de Champlain, traders and men of commerce in England were also interested in alternate routes to the Orient. Indeed, John Cabot was sent to explore the North Atlantic shortly after the news of Columbus' discoveries. Cabot was interested in the mythical Northwest Passage to the Orient. Although he was unsuccessful in finding such a route, it was suspected that traveling north or northeast past the northern tip of Norway might be ice-free for at least two or three summer months. Finally, it should be noted that this era was in the middle of what was known in the northern hemisphere as the Little Ice Age, a time when cold winters caused the canals of Holland to freeze for months at a time. (Remember Hans Brinker and his silver skates?) It is evident that this period of the mid-sixteenth century appealed to the adventurous spirit of those looking to the New World to satisfy their ambition. And Hudson was definitely one of these ambitious and courageous men.

Hudson's Qualifications



This portrait in
New York's City
Hall may
be Hudson

Almost nothing is known regarding Hudson's education. He must have known how to read and write, analyze charts, and perform accurate readings of celestial navigation. His expertise in ship-handling in foul weather and unknown waters, and his leadership as a ship's captain, are evidenced by the four voyages of exploration that he undertook. Hudson is known to have had direct contact with the foremost cartographers of his day¹ as well as corresponding with John Smith, the leader of the Virginia Company's colony at Jamestown.²

There is little known about how Hudson was able to secure the position as Captain of his first two voyages to the northeast; only conjecture provides any insight. Although no record of previous leadership has emerged, he was a seafaring man in his mid- to late-thirties; no one would have been named to lead such a perilous journey without either prior experience of command at sea or the influence of men of high standing in the circles of commerce or government. There is some evidence that Hudson's older brother was at the Muscovy Company, which had been established in London in 1553. One co-founder of the Muscovy

Company was Sebastian Cabot, the son of John Cabot, the explorer. Interestingly, another co-founder was one Henry Heardson. As the spellings of names were not exact at this time, it is possible that one of Heardson's eight sons might have been Henry Hudson's father.

From documents of the time, it is clear that Hudson was the captain of four voyages of discovery, two of which were prior to the voyage of 1609 and the last in 1610. His first two voyages on behalf of the English were unsuccessful, in that his ship was unable to penetrate the Arctic ice, or proceed further than the twin islands of Novaya Zemlya, in the Arctic Ocean north of Russia. Even though both voyages found his ship in these waters in mid-June, sea ice as well as ice in the riggings prevented further progress. The Muscovy Company, a private stock company looking for a route to the East, had sent Hudson on these trips. But after the second unsuccessful voyage, which may have included a mutiny by the ship's crew in late 1608, Hudson found himself ashore with no immediate prospects for a ship or voyage.

The *Half Moon*

Early seventeenth-century ships the Dutch used for ocean trade were built with a hold designed to carry approximately thirty to 100 tons of cargo and supplies, much of which was food and water for the crew. In size, a ship like the one Hudson used on his third voyage would not have been much larger than four inter-city buses parked two abreast. It would have had three masts and been capable of no more than ten knots of speed in optimum conditions. A minimum safe depth of water for such a vessel would have been two fathoms (approximately twelve feet). A typical crew would have been fifteen to twenty men. These ships did have a high stern and considerable freeboard along each side which made for safer sailing, even in stormy weather. And as demonstrated by the survivors of Hudson's fourth voyage, a crew of six or seven sailors would have been able to keep her afloat. After this voyage, little is known of the *Half Moon*, except that five years later it ran aground and sank off the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, suggesting it was used for trade with the Orient.

The Dutch Connection

Seeing no likelihood of a third posting as a ship's captain in England, Hudson began to look to the Continent, specifically France, and then Holland for more opportunity. France was an early entry into the utilization of the resources of the New World, as evidenced by the explorations of Jacques Cartier in the first half of the sixteenth century. Hudson was able to use James LeMaire,³ a Dutch naviga-



tor living in France, as his agent to secure another voyage. And through Hudson's acquaintance with Flemish mapmaker Jodocus Hondius,⁴ discussions with the Dutch had begun. These discussions were the first to bear fruit. With Hondius acting as interpreter, the contract for the *Half Moon's* exploration via the northeast route to the Orient was signed in Amsterdam with two representatives of the Dutch East India Company on January 8, 1609.

The contract stated that Hudson would be provided with a vessel of about thirty tons (rather small for a voyage to the Arctic region) to depart on or about April 1, proceeding north and then *east* past Novaya Zemlya until he was able to sail south to about latitude sixty degrees. This location would have demonstrated that Hudson had entered the Pacific Ocean. Upon returning directly, he was to report to the Dutch East India Company's director, and furnish all *journals, logs, and charts*.⁵ In addition, the contract stated that neither Hudson nor his crew was to enter into any other arrangement or employment agreement, and the captain's wife and children were to remain as virtual hostages in Holland until his return. Hudson began to equip his ship for the voyage.

Juet's Journal

Robert Juet was an English sailor of considerable skill and experience. In addition to his seamanship, he could write. He kept the only firsthand and complete account of the 1609 voyage that has survived.⁶ He had accompanied Hudson on the 1608 voyage, which was unable to pass further than Novaya Zemlya.

Juet's journal is a daily account of all manner of navigational, ship-handling, and other events, including position statements from which we are able to approximate the location of the ship at any time.⁷ Included in it are items such as sightings of quantities of fish and marine mammals, storms and fogs, birds (which indicate the ship's proximity to land), as well as notations regarding the injury or death of crew members, sightings of land, etc. Because most of Hudson's papers have not survived, Juet's journal gives the most complete picture of the voyage.

The Voyage

On March 25, 1609, Hudson and his crew of sixteen sailed the *Half Moon* away from Amsterdam into the North Sea. For almost the next two months, the ship sailed further north and east, only to encounter cold, ice, and storms. Quarrels and fighting broke out among the crew, and perhaps a mutiny ensued. The mixed crew of English and Dutch may have had different expectations regarding the voyage. The Dutch were experienced in warmer-weather sailing; the English, especially those who had accompanied Hudson on the previous voyages, may have been more accustomed to the cold. In any event, by May 19, the ship seems to have progressed as far east as ice would permit. Juet's log conveniently skips most of the first part of the voyage with the notation "because it is a journey usually known,"⁸ and so, if a mutiny was instrumental in Hudson changing course to the west, it cannot be confirmed. What is confirmed by Thomas Janvier's work in the nineteenth century is that Hudson sought out Emanuel Van Meteren, the former Dutch consul in London, upon his return to England following the voyage to show him the charts and logs.⁹ Relying on information from Van Meteren, Janvier's work states that upon encountering pack ice, Hudson presented two choices to his crew: either go to North America to explore an area north of Virginia, or proceed due west to explore the Davis Strait, the entrance to Hudson's Bay. The crew agreed to the latter proposal, and after a watering stop in the Faeroe Islands, proceeded westward. At this point, it is important to note that if the above is true, namely that Hudson would allow the crew to set the sailing direction, he must either have lost control of the crew (as in a mutiny), or he had intended all along to ignore the Dutch East India Company's directions.

Into North American Waters

With the decision made to sail toward Davis Strait, the ship sailed slowly westward, losing its foremast in a storm on June 15. Gradually moving southwestward, the first landfall was Sable Island, off the coast of Nova Scotia. By mid-July, the ship was off the coast of central Maine, where Hudson took the opportunity to get freshwater, lobsters and fish from the local waters. By August 24, the ship, having skirted Cape Cod, was in the vicinity of Cape Hatteras. Interestingly, although Hudson was aware of his proximity to Jamestown and his friend John Smith, he made no attempt to enter the Chesapeake area. Four days later, Hudson entered Delaware Bay, but soon found the river too shallow to be a possible northwest passage to the Orient. On September 2, the *Half Moon* passed Sandy Hook on its port side and entered lower New York Harbor.

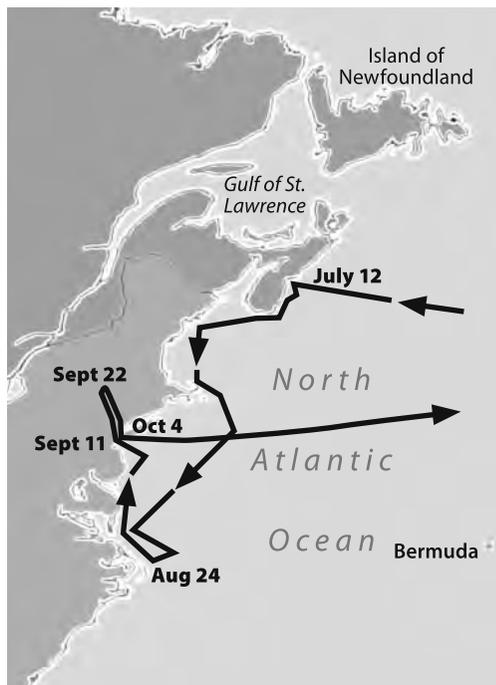
Exploring the River

The *Half Moon* was to spend almost five weeks in the river. On the second day in the harbor, three rivers were sighted (possibly the East River, the Hudson, and a body of water separating Staten Island from Bayonne, New Jersey, which is still called the Kill Van Kull). The latter river was determined to be too shallow to explore, and Hudson used these first few days to send a small ship's boat to take soundings to determine the depth of the waterways. On one of these trips on September 6, the Europeans were attacked by hostile natives and one crew member, John Colman, was

struck in the throat with an arrow and killed. The men had to spend a stormy night in the bay; the next morning they were able to return to the ship. Later, Hudson led another party ashore, and John Colman was buried on a point of land, probably in Brooklyn.¹⁰

By September 14, the *Half Moon* had proceeded north into the Tappan Zee (the term *zee* meaning sea in Dutch), and Hudson was encouraged by the fact that here the river is more than a mile wide, giving all indications of being a channel or strait between two oceans. Also, the water was still salty, adding to this possibility. By September 18, the ship was near the present village of Catskill, and here Hudson went ashore. An old chief and sixty members of his clan prepared a meal for the Europeans. In a fragment of Hudson's log that does survive, he describes them "as a very good people...and when they supposed that I would not stay overnight with them for fear of their bows, they broke the bows and arrows and threw them into the fire"¹¹. On September 22, Hudson anchored and directed the small boat to proceed further upriver to take more soundings. It returned in the early evening, with Juet reporting that some twenty miles further the water was but seven feet deep. The search for the Northwest Passage in this region had ended.

The return trip, taking advantage of the river's flow and the ebbing tide, was concluded in ten days. Some of the same natives the crew had met on the way north now wanted Hudson to come ashore again. The old chief and another older native, along with four women, did have a meal with Hudson on board the



ship. Through signs and gift exchanges, the natives made the point that they wished Hudson to again have a meal with them on shore. He refused, wishing to take advantage of a favorable wind. By September 30, the ship anchored near present-day Newburgh, which Juet in his log called “a very pleasant place to build a town...”¹² By October 2, the *Half Moon* was near its original anchorage, where Colman had been killed. This time, the ship was attacked over a period of several hours. Using muskets and a light cannon, the crew was able to disperse the attackers, killing about a dozen.

The following day, a storm arose which caused the ship to go aground on a soft, sandy beach, but the crew was able to refloat her at high tide. By midday on October 4, the *Half Moon* had cleared the Narrows between Staten Island and Brooklyn and turned toward Europe.

Juet’s entry for October 5 is telling, for he writes:

“We continued our way to England...”¹³ Clearly, upon their departure, the first mate was well aware that they would again break contract with the [Dutch East India Company] and not return directly to Amsterdam. The ship arrived at the English port of Dartmouth on the south coast on November 7.

Here, therefore, is the second mystery. What was the reasoning for Hudson, with his family in Holland, to ignore a very important stipulation of the agreement he had signed in January? Unfortunately, there is scant evidence upon which to make a determination of intent. But there are a few potential reasons Hudson might want to break his contract.

Conclusions

The first mystery has at least three possible answers as to why Hudson ultimately sailed westward, in direct contradiction of his orders. He had two recent prior voyages into Arctic waters north and east of Scandinavia; both had encountered pack ice in May or June, theoretically the warmest season of the year. Knowing this, Hudson may have agreed to his contract with the Dutch East India Company while secretly planning that if conditions were similar to his prior experiences, he would turn westward and search for the mythical Northwest Passage. Another possibility is that his crew may have been near mutiny as they struggled with the ice and cold in the northern latitudes, with little prospect for continuing further east. Handling rigging and sail in severe conditions is dangerous, especially when considering the primitive clothing and living conditions onboard such a small ship. Turning away from the ice may have enabled Hudson to continue his voyage in better conditions. Finally, Hudson was English, and the Dutch were rivals on

the world stage of trade and commerce. Hudson is known to have corresponded with Captain John Smith, leader of the English colony in Virginia. It is possible that Hudson and Smith had a previous agreement to share navigational information in support of the English colonies. Unfortunately, there is little beyond circumstantial evidence to provide clues to attempt to solve this mystery. One letter of Smith's to Hudson does survive, but nothing of a reply from Hudson. The reader is left to her choice in deciding on a solution.

Regarding the second mystery, as to why the ship returned to England first, speculation provides the only avenue of analysis. Here are the known facts: the ship arrived in an English port, the English crew was allowed to leave, Hudson and the remaining Dutch crew were held in virtual house arrest. During the course of his forced delay in England, Hudson was able to show at least some of his logs, charts, and other information to Emanuel Van Meteren. By April 1610, Hudson again was captain of a voyage of discovery, backed by private English investors, on a ship called *Discovery*. In that interval, Hudson and the *Half Moon's* Dutch crewmen were released and allowed to return to Amsterdam. Juet's log makes no reference to the return voyage at all after October 5, only noting the fact that they made no landfalls until arriving at Dartmouth about five weeks later.

So, as to why Hudson detoured to England, the answer seems lost to history. He may have been moved by his allegiance to his native England, or it could have been that his crew had turned on Hudson and forced him to return to England so they could see their families sooner.

If his final voyage in 1610-1611 had ended with Hudson's return, there might have been more incentive to retain the records of the 1609 voyage. Because his fourth trip ended in mutiny, abandonment, the death of several remaining crew members, and official inquiries as to the circumstances of the end of the voyage, it probably made more sense to suppress his logs and charts so as not to stir up more controversy. The Dutch East India Company now concentrated on direct sailings to the Orient. It was left to a new company, the Dutch West India Company, founded in 1624, to look westward and begin to colonize New Netherland.

There seems to be no one logical reason for the *Half Moon* to have deviated from its final destination. The only thing that can shed more light on this final mystery of the 1609 voyage is new documentary discovery.

Endnotes

1. Sandler, Corey *Henry Hudson, Dreams and Obsession* (Citadel Press, New York, 2007), p. 146. Hondius had lived and worked in London and was acquainted with Hudson.
2. *Ibid*, p. 42. Hudson and Smith were both acquainted with Richard Hakluyt, a director of the Muscovy Company.
3. *Ibid*, p. 142. LeMaire recommended Hudson to the French king, Henry IV.
4. *Ibid*, p. 146.
5. *Ibid*, p. 145.
6. Juet's log of this voyage was published in London in 1625 by Samuel Purchas, in Part Three, *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*. The practice of a ship's log as a formal, running account of a vessel's daily activities continues to this day in all the navies of the world. It is usually written in the wheel-house, signed by the officer of the watch, and preserved for future reference.
7. Sandler, p. 149.
8. *Ibid*, p. 149.
9. *Ibid*, p. 150.
10. "Legacy: A Hudson Crewman is killed", by S. Wick *New York Newsday*, copyright. 2007.
11. Sandler, p. 164.
12. *Ibid*, p. 167.
13. *Ibid*, p. 169.

Cut By The River's Edge

Robert Vivona

I. River Reveries

the morning sun
glistens high overhead
struggling to rid the air
of its chill

it fails

its southern journey
has taken its warmth
out of reach of the river
has taken the shine out of the light
it sends to the river
has left the river to meander
with the wind rippling
its surface into waves
longing for the shelter
of the shore

where one lonely man sits
at a solitary bench
with a black pen
writing darkening thoughts

II. Back At You River

why so silent
not even a simple hello
nice to see you again

a pair of geese are settling
into last years nest

I'm back astride the weathered bench
you just glassily glide by
reflecting your banks
and the gathering clouds

your silence seems to treat me with disdain

who are you to cast that stone
you have hardly changed
in the million years
since your birth

the river answers

I have been a home to sturgeon
longer than your ancestors
have walked my shores

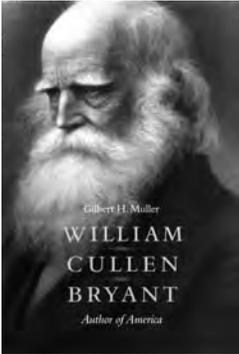
I have been a highway
guiding with my winding
wooded shores my lush green landings
the migrations of Canada's geese

I have been a source of sustenance
for pilgrims priests and pioneers
top that with your little poems

in my constancy
I put in a claim
for those

Book Reviews

***William Cullen Bryant: Author of America*, Gilbert H. Muller
Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008 (410 pp.)**



In the summer of 1840, William Cullen Bryant traveled up from New York City to explore the Catskill wilderness with his friend Thomas Cole, founder of the Hudson River School of art. Bryant wrote excitedly about the journey in the *New York Evening Post*, describing his wonder at the headlands above the source of the Plattekill Creek as “a grand mountain ridge, indented by deep notches, in one of which, a dark ravine called Stony Clove, the ice of winter remains unmelted throughout the year.” Bryant’s fascination and respect for the unique Hudson Valley landscape started early in life, for as a young man traveling between the Berkshires and New York City, he chose to first journey westward to the Columbia County port of Hudson, to sail down the river and gaze at its beauty, instead of embarking on the much more direct (and mundane) land route. To be sure, from an early age the natural world shaped the poetic lens of this man who started life in a log cabin and died as perhaps the most iconic literary figure of his time. That poetic lens, in turn, shaped the rest of his many endeavors during his long life.

In his excellent and thorough biography *William Cullen Bryant: Author of America*, Gilbert H. Muller focuses on Bryant as poet. Students of American history may know Bryant best as the influential editor of the *Evening Post*, but here we see Bryant as an American poet whose deeds in other arenas—journalism, politics, naturalism, world travel, to name a few—stem from his primary love as a creator of verse.

Time has not been kind to Bryant’s literary legacy; today, we may come across one of his more celebrated poems such as “Thanatopsis” or “To a Waterfowl” in an anthology, but his significance as a purely American poet has largely been lost, overshadowed by Whitman and Dickinson. Muller’s innovative biography, however, examines Bryant’s public life as an extension of his writing life and reminds us how popular and influential Bryant’s poetry was by the time of his death in 1878. Here was a poet writing on the unique American landscape in the 1820s with passion and confidence, some thirty years before Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass*. Indeed, as Muller describes the scene at Bryant’s funeral, “[o]ne mourner, Walt

Whitman, vividly recalled the crowd's final salute to the great man. 'The bard of river and wood,' Whitman said of his old friend, was a poet who stood 'among the first in the world.'

Consider Bryant's poem "Oh Mother of a Mighty Race," which chides Europe for meddling in the affairs of the New World:

They know not, in their hate and pride,
What virtues with thy children bide;
How true, how good, thy graceful maids
Make bright, like flowers, the valley-shades;
What generous men
Spring, like thine oaks, by hill and glen;
What cordial welcomes greet the guest
By thy lone rivers of the West....

Today, it may be difficult for some to fathom the political and social impact of a man who was first and foremost a poet, but Bryant's list of accomplishments is undeniably formidable: from champion of the arts in New York City (Central Park and the Metropolitan Museum of Art owe him a huge debt, for example) to cultural explorer of Cuba long before Ernest Hemingway ever saw his *Finca Vigia*. Bryant was a prolific writer throughout his long life, and counted Whitman, Cooper, Hawthorne, Emerson, and even Charles Dickens among his admirers. The thrill of composing verse that glorified the new America or attacked the ills of society was unquestionably Bryant's passion; even his widely read newspaper editorials were sometimes composed in verse. Muller looks past Bryant's mere celebrity to show him as poet of the highest order who deserves credit as a defining influence on American culture in the nineteenth century.

Readers interested in the romantic poetry of this time period will particularly delight in the frequent citation and analysis of verse throughout the book. This is not merely a study of Bryant's lesser-known poetry, however; the author wants his reader to understand that Bryant saw the world through the eyes of a poet. The thoughts contained in the poems here complement many political issues of the time such as slavery, capitalism, and nationalism. With an entertaining yet clearly organized prose style, Muller constantly explores the myriad connections that exist between Bryant's poetry and his public persona.

Even the most casual reader interested in American literary history will enjoy and appreciate this book, but its value may be greater for Muller's fellow historians, since his painstaking research includes Bryant's collected letters, which have been

previously unavailable to biographers. Muller displays the skill of creating a solid narrative thread through varied correspondence, a talent he has shown previously in his fine epistolary work *Dear Chester, Dear John: Letters Between Chester Hines and John A. Williams* (Wayne State University Press, 2008). He is presently Professor Emeritus of English at the City University of New York.

William Cullen Bryant: Author of America gives long overdue credit to a man now all but forgotten for his contributions to American literary history. Perhaps even more important, Muller's fine work reminds all of us of the long-surrendered notion that poets and artists can indeed have a lasting and powerful impact on American society as a whole. Here in the Hudson Valley, we only have to look to the natural world for inspiration, as Bryant did almost two centuries ago.

Tommy Zurhellen

Matter of Fact, Eamon Grennan.

St. Paul, Minnesota: Graywolf Press, 2008. (96 pp.)



Matter of Fact is Eamon Grennan's sixth book of poetry. Like the previous volumes, this one includes material that is bound to intrigue residents of his adopted second home. An Irishman transplanted to Poughkeepsie for much of his adult life, he views the mid-Hudson Valley from a special, often poignant, perspective. Very much at home in the local environment that inspires much of his poetry, he attends to details of flora, fauna, landscape, and climate with an intensity that betrays a sense of otherness—or, rather, a sense of otherness overcome. His appreciation of Poughkeepsie and the surrounding region rests on a foundation of slowly won familiarity with an alien place. Frequently his poems recall his homeland, juxtaposing memories of Ireland and his family of origin with the here-and-now of Dutchess County and the domestic life he has created for himself. As the biographical note to his book states, he is a man with two homes who “lives in Poughkeepsie, New York and west Ireland.” The counterpoint between there and here, then and now lends a unique flavor to his perceptions. Only a sensibility at home in the British Isles would remark upon the “tweed-folds of the Catskills” (“Innocence of Things”) or could delight in “the musical chuckle / the American robin shares with his cousin the Irish blackbird” (“Soundings”).

The particularity with which Grennan describes the natural world marks him as a passionate and knowledgeable observer. With a birdwatcher's eye, for example,

he recognizes kestrels, doves, gulls, finches, starlings, bluebirds, ducks, geese, phoebes, hawks, and crows. He records the “cacophonous...scales and prattlings” of smaller birds, or a hawk’s voice “filing sky to wildness” (“Hawklight”). Pausing to watch the stalking behavior of a marsh hawk, he carefully notes “the hook of his beak and the livid black / and yellow target-circles of the eye.” He is alert to the “strung silence” in which the raptor’s prey “shiver[s]”: “a squirrel...with stuttering pulse.” At the same time, he marvels at the hawk’s fiercely harnessed energy: “I learn how the heart heaves, how flexed muscle keeps / leashing, unleashing in a book of feathers.” Finally he realizes that the “sawtooth screams” of the hawk have triggered memories of his father’s death in Ireland: “twenty years gone by like a shot.” The “moonless void / of lethal patience that knows when-where / to strike / once in an explosion of bones” propels him into the “sudden absence” of human loss. Seamlessly the poem moves from the immediacy of sensory experience to emotions originating in another time and place.

Weather and seasonal change are frequent topics in *Matter of Fact*. Spring, with its promise of vitality and renewal, receives enthusiastic attention. The month of March brings “brazen / daylight; acres of snow under a sky / of sapphire” (“Innocence of Things”). “Beyond the Hudson a shadow of green / says grass,” and a starling “with straw in its beak” hunts “eager-eyed for a site” (“Exhibition”). Birds “rejoice in the later / and later light,” a recurring “wonder” (“April Note”). As Canadian geese “wind-sail” by on their journey northward, it seems as though everything is “taking off / lighting out, embracing change” (“April Note”). Later in the season, Grennan finds “everything flushed, fattening to overload. Pinks, greens, whites gleaming towards the somnolent luxury of their own abundant coming” (“Weather Channel”). “Tall nameless flowers” blossom into “huge scarlet vowels setting minds on fire” (“With Flowers and Curtain”). “Cicadas tear the air to flitters” at summer’s end, but “stitch it together again” as the locust trees are “leached of greenness” (“Signland”). With the advent of autumn, the poet salutes sheer “plenitude”: “the odour of apple pulp up and down the Hudson Valley, whole orchards crushed and milled into cloudy cider.” The accompanying “scents” and “earthen flavours” are completely satisfying, “filling every corner of the mouth and mind, drawing us back as if we’d never abandoned or been cast out of that first garden” (“On Change”).

Not hesitating to characterize the mid-Hudson as paradisiacal in the warmer seasons, Grennan confronts winter, “a world encased in cold” but enlivened by “the crisp crunch of our footsteps over snow” with equal exuberance (“Weather Channel”). He applauds the “contrary instinct in the blood / that sets itself against the weather” of a northeastern winter (“Opposing Forces”):

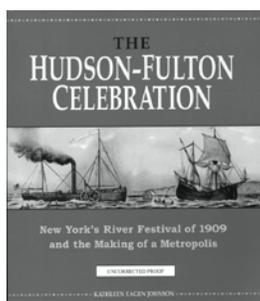
...the silver-grey catkins
I saw this morning polished to brightness
by ice overnight. Geese, too: more and more couples
voyaging north, great high-spirited congregations
taking the freezing air in and letting it out
as song, as if this frigid enterprise were all joy.

On another “frigid... morning” in February, he is enchanted by the seemingly mundane phenomenon of hot air escaping from a pipe, which he redefines as a “brief love affair” between “frozen air” and “a great burst of steam / funneling from the powerhouse valve.” “Exploding in a huge white bloom of cloud,” this elemental encounter between natural and manmade energies creates an evanescent but precious brilliance: “nothing in this grey morning / is as bright” (“In Passing”). Repeatedly Grennan’s reflections on winter weather target subjects that prove unexpectedly fertile for imaginative rumination. He observes the irregular icing-over of the Hudson River. For example, as an exercise in visual patterning: “its white blobs / and bobbers on the water” representing “space integrated / and put to good use” (“Of Space and Skin”). He interprets the hoof prints of deer, etched in snow, as “cloven ideograms for cold-open-field-fright” (“Going Gone”). Once deciphered, the fleeing tracks illustrate “the way things rush away from us” into the ultimate “shade / of our unknowing”: the unstoppable passage of “time gone by.” Yet traces of each “going” remain, even in the trackless air: “as five high sky-ducks, for example, / leave a vacant space of blaze in their wake, that cross / a gem-like sky, flashquacking at the sound barrier.”

Thoughtful and subtle, these poems connect the realm of cloud and pond, raccoon and skunk, dragonfly and heron to the everyday human world of memory, desire, and domesticity. Bringing a passionate attention to things outside himself, frolicking with the sound and sense of words (flutterjazz and raindazzle), Grennan strives to renew “our hidebound five senses,” which he finds “stumped and blunted by being too long / in the cushioned grip of ease to be unscripted” (“What Happened”). He takes us to places and to realizations we otherwise might not reach, creating lasting images of the “vanishing” earthly reality around us: “the provisional slippery dissolving dissolute thing it is—which we have against all the evidence set our hearts on” (“Steady Now”). Readers have reason to rejoice that his poet’s eye so often is directed toward the Hudson River Valley, mining its natural riches in order to preserve them in well-wrought cadences and vivid metaphors.

New & Noteworthy Books Received

Andrew Villani



The Hudson-Fulton Celebration: New York Festival of 1909 and the Making of a Metropolis

By Kathleen Eagan Johnson (Tarrytown, NY: Fordham University Press, 2009). 228 pp. \$39.95 (cloth).

www.fordhampress.com

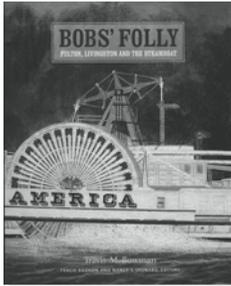
The Hudson-Fulton Celebration of 1909 was more than just a series of commemorative events. The festivities put on in New York City and the Hudson River Valley served as a catalyst that cemented New York City as the metropolis it is known as today. Through the use of images and artifacts, this book displays how New York City capitalized on the Hudson-Fulton Celebration to establish itself as a cultural, artistic, and commercial center, while developing a political identity all its own and serving as a jumping off point for Hudson River Valley towns to the north.



Hudson-Fulton Celebration of 1909

By Edward F. Levine (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009). 128 pp. \$21.99 (paperback). www.arcadiapublished.com

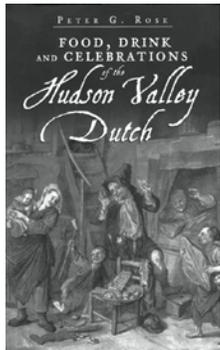
A collection of postcards commemorating the Hudson-Fulton Celebration of 1909. Photographic images as well as drawings present a wide lens through which to view both the history that was celebrated in 1909 and the broad scope of the events themselves. In this Hudson-Fulton-Champlain Quadracentennial year of 2009, Edward F. Levine's 40 years of collecting postcards provides the opportunity to appreciate the parades and events that made the celebration of 1909 an historic event.



Bob's Folly: Fulton, Livingston, and the Steamboat

By Travis M. Bowman (Germantown, NY: Friends of Clermont, Inc., 2008). 96 pp. \$17.95 (paperback). www.harperperennial.com

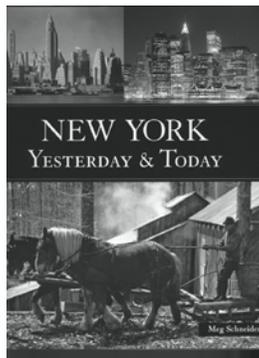
In 2007 Clermont State Historic Site hosted a special exhibit to commemorate the bicentennial of Fulton and Livingston's collaboration to launch the *North River* steamboat. This collection of essays, images, and photographed artifacts is the resulting literature borne out of that special exhibit. The essays within focus on the steamship's contribution to the social, economic, political and military history of the Hudson River and the Hudson River Valley. They also highlight the business and engineering acumen possessed by Fulton and Livingston that allowed the steamboat to become successful.



Food, Drink, and Celebrations of the Hudson Valley Dutch

By Peter G. Rose (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2009). 157 pp. \$19.99 (paperback). www.historypress.net

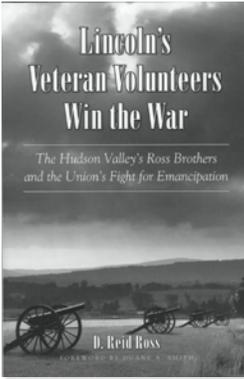
When Henry Hudson landed in what would become known as the Hudson River Valley, the influence of Dutch culture, including food and celebrations, became forever tied with the region. In this book Peter G. Rose highlights those two aspects of Dutch culture, Dutch staples of beer and bread. She also discusses how the Dutch and Iroquois dietary habits influenced the American kitchen, and the book provides a section on the Dutch use of spices and a collection of Dutch recipes.



New York: Yesterday and Today

By Meg Schneider (Minneapolis, MN: Voyageur Press, 2008). 144 pp. \$25.00 (hardcover). www.voyageurpress.com

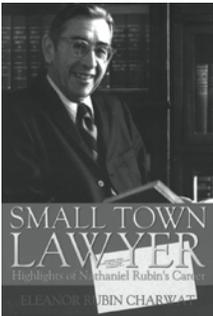
New York State is a complex combination of historic landmarks and modern wonders. Over centuries, some regions have seen tremendous growth, while others seem to have changed little over as many years. In this photographic history, Meg Schneider juxtaposes historic images with present day photographs to present 400 years of transformation that has taken place throughout New York State. From New York City to Buffalo and all points in between.



**Lincoln's Veteran Volunteers Win the War:
The Hudson Valley's Ross Brothers and the Union's
Fight for Emancipation**

By D. Reid Ross (Albany, NY: The State University of New York Press, 2008). 450 pp. \$35.00 (hardcover).
www.sunypress.com

This expansive story of Union volunteer soldiers is both an in-depth look into the values and principles of an unexplored group and a family history. Through extensive research and inquiry of memoirs, records, and publications, D. Reid Ross has constructed a comprehensive account of the four Ross brothers from Washington County, New York, all of whom enlisted in support of the Union cause and fought to uphold the ideals they believed in.



**Small Town Lawyer:
Highlights of Nathaniel Rubin's Career**

By Eleanor Rubin Charwat (Poughkeepsie, NY: 2008). 64 pp.
(paperback).

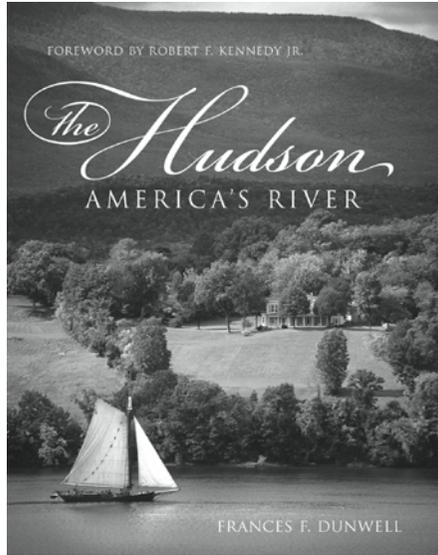
This career retrospective of lifelong Poughkeepsie defense attorney Nathaniel Rubin summons memories for anyone who can relate to the legal profession before technology, or anyone who called the City of Poughkeepsie “home” during the middle of the 20th century. Through a revisiting of Rubin's most memorable cases, his daughter Eleanor Rubin Charwat not only highlights his long and successful professional career, but also pays tribute to the moral character of a man who worked tirelessly to promote the betterment of the local area and those in it through his love of the law and strong sense of justice.



Half-Past Nowhere

By Joseph Cavano (Charlotte, NC: Central Piedmont College Press, 2008) 155 pp. \$13.99 (paperback)
www.cpcc.edu/servicescorp/products/cpcc-press-store

A local author's first work, this collection of ten short stories builds upon itself to recount a coming of age that ranges from New York City to the mid-Hudson region and touches on ethnicity, race, and religion as well as the timeless themes of love, lust, and loss. The reader follows young Joey from his Italian Grandma's backyard to St. Michael's College in Kingsport (which bears a certain resemblance to Poughkeepsie), to the nearby Catskills and beyond.



The Hudson: America's River, *Frances F. Dunwell*

Frances F. Dunwell presents a rich portrait of the Hudson and of the visionary people whose deep relationship with the river inspires changes in American history and culture. Lavishly illustrated with color plates of Hudson River School paintings, period engravings, and glass plate photography, *The Hudson* captures the spirit of the river through the eyes of its many admirers. It shows the crucial role of the Hudson in the shaping of Manhattan, the rise of the Empire State, and the trajectory of world trade and global politics, as well as the river's influence on art and architecture, engineering, and conservation.

Paper, 392 pages, 80 illus.; ISBN: 978-0-231-13641-9; \$29.95/£21.95

Cloth, 392 pages, 80 illus.; ISBN: 978-0-231-13640-2; \$74.50/£53.00

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