

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST



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HUDSON RIVER VALLEY INSTITUTE

KEY TO THE
NORTHERN COUNTRY



THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY
IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Edited by James M. Johnson, Christopher Pryslopski & Andrew Villani

KEY TO THE NORTHERN COUNTRY
The Hudson River Valley in the American Revolution

Edited by James M. Johnson, Christopher Pryslopski, & Andrew Villani

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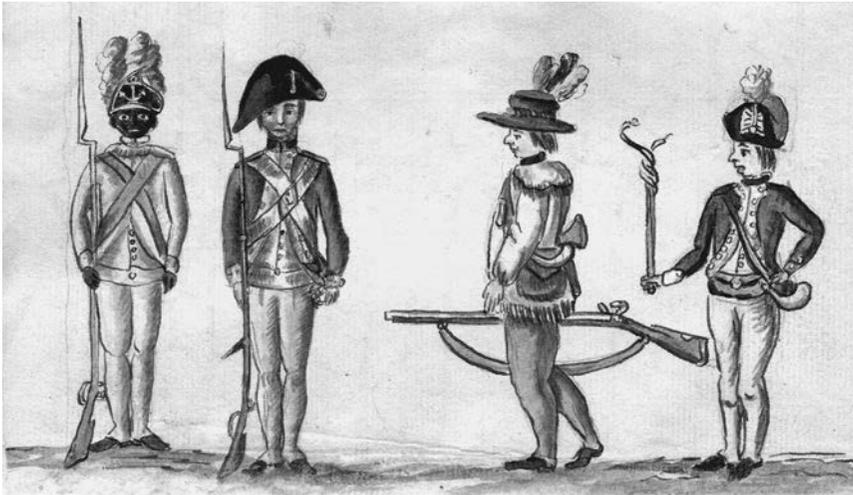
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From the Editors

With Pete Seeger's passing last year, the Hudson Valley—and the world—lost a musical and environmental icon, as well as a strong moral compass. A fascinating essay in this issue of *The Hudson River Valley Review* illustrates how Pete kept fighting, in this case for songwriters' royalties, to the very end of his life. Another article on a 1943 case involving anti-Semitism in Rockland County will acquaint readers with an equally dedicated but far less renowned civil libertarian, the lawyer Arthur Garfield Hays. Additional features cover Native and African Americans; the Dutch, Quakers, and Shakers; and two centuries of military history—making this an extremely full and historically kaleidoscopic issue.



On the cover:

Soldiers in Uniform by Jean Baptiste Antoine de Verger, 1781-1784.
Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library

Jean-Baptiste Antoine de Verger (1762-1851) served in the American Revolutionary War as a member of the *Expédition Particulière*, commanded by General Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau. While in America, de Verger kept a journal of his wartime experiences; here he depicts a black soldier of the 1st Rhode Island Regiment, a New England militiaman, a frontier rifleman, and a French officer.

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY INSTITUTE PRESENTS:



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A. J. Downing*

The Worlds of Andrew Jackson Downing: A Bicentennial Celebration

Saturday, October 24, 2015
Marist College, Poughkeepsie, NY

Speakers to include: Thomas Wermuth, Hudson River Valley Institute, Marist College; Aaron Sachs, Cornell University; William Krattinger, New York State Office of Parks, Recreation & Historic Preservation; Caren Yglesias, architect and author; David Schuyler, Franklin & Marshall College; Harvey Flad, Professor of Geography Emeritus, Vassar College; Francis R. Kowsky, SUNY Distinguished Professor Emeritus, Buffalo State College; Arleyn Levee, Independent Scholar; Kerry Dean Carso, SUNY New Paltz; J. Winthrop Aldrich, Former Deputy Commissioner for Historic Preservation

Sunday, October 25, 2015

Tours of landscapes and buildings designed by A. J. Downing and his partners Calvert Vaux and Frederick Clarke Withers

Call for Essays

The Hudson River Valley Review will consider essays on all aspects of the Hudson River 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 one double-spaced typescript, generally no more than thirty pages long with endnotes, along with a CD 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. Scanned photos or digital art must be 300 pixels per inch (or greater) at 8 in. x 10 in. (between 7 and 20 mb). No responsibility is assumed for the loss of materials. 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*.



The Hudson River Valley Institute

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

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

Vol. 31, No. 2, Spring 2015

The Limits of the Law: A 1943 Case of Anti-Semitism in the Lower Hudson River Valley, <i>Richard F. Hamm</i>	1
Rising Stars: The Cadet Years of the West Point Class of 1915, <i>William P. Leeman</i>	16
The Meeting of American, European, and Atlantic Worlds in the Seventeenth-Century Hudson River Valley, <i>Jaap Jacobs and L.H. Roper</i>	42
The Architecture of Quaker Meeting Houses in Dutchess County, <i>Neil Larson</i>	62

Notes and Documents

Substitutes, Servants, and Soldiers: African American Soldiers at New Windsor Cantonment, <i>Matt Thorenz</i>	88
Teaspoon Brigade: Pete Seeger, Folk Music, and Intellectual Property Law, <i>Steven R. Garabedian</i>	98

Regional History Forum

The Shaker Museum Mount Lebanon, <i>Ian Dorset</i>	115
--	-----

Book Reviews

“No Country for Peter Stuyvesant” review of Donna Merwick’s <i>Stuyvesant Bound: An Essay on Loss Across Time</i> by Jim Blackburn	122
JOSEPHSON AND LARSON, <i>An Unforgiving Land: Hardscrabble Life in the Trapps, a Vanished Shawangunk Mountain Hamlet</i> , reviewed by Harold Stoneback	126
WATERMAN AND SMITH, <i>Munsee Indian Trade in Ulster County, New York 1712-1732</i> , reviewed by Sally Schultz	129
RICE, <i>The Rotinonshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History Through the Eyes of Teharonhia: Wako and Sawiskera</i> , reviewed by Danyelle Means	132
SMITH, <i>Woodstock: History and Hearsay</i> , reviewed by Ann Dubois.....	135
New & Noteworthy	137

Dim-out Deadline Tonight . . . 9:29

NEW YORK

Victims of Anti-Semites Fined; Peace Justice Asked to Explain

**ACLU Inquires About
Conviction of Couple
Without Witnesses**

pm Arthur Garfield Hays, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), has asked a Stony Point Justice of the Peace to explain the conviction of a Bronx dentist and his wife on a disorder charge. They say they were wrongly accused and convicted on testimony taken in their absence.

This is what Dr. and Mrs. Max Fuchs, 1605 Walton Ave., Bronx, say happened to them:

Waiting for a bus to take them to the picnic grounds at Bear Mountain Park Sunday, June 27, they were pushed and pummeled by a group of rowdies who broke into the line.

Fuchs appealed to them for patience, was called a "yellow Jew," and told that "the Jews got us into this war and are doing all they can to keep us from winning it."

Abuse Continued

A woman slapped Mrs. Fuchs across the face. When Mrs. Fuchs said she would call a park policeman, a second woman grabbed her by the hair and punched her nose.

Dr. and Mrs. Fuchs charged the two women with assault and battery at the Park Station. The women filed countercharges. One pleaded guilty and was fined \$10. The other pleaded not guilty. The Fuchsés pleaded not guilty.

A trial cannot be held on Sunday. It was set for Tuesday, June 29, at the home of Justice of the Peace Vincent Clark.

The Fuchsés appeared. The other woman did not. Clark found her guilty, fining her \$10 bail.

Bond Held Up

The Fuchsés asked for the return of their bond. Clark refused.



Dr. and Mrs. Max Fuchs

Article in PM newspaper, Thursday July 8, 1943. Image courtesy of the author

The Limits of Law:

A 1943 Case of Anti-Semitism in the Lower Hudson Valley

Richard F. Hamm

The story of Lillian and Max Fuchs, who In June 1943 went to enjoy Bear Mountain State Park and were called names and assaulted because they were Jews, remains but a small legal case. This is true even though in seeking legal redress they gained as a champion one of the most prominent civil liberties lawyers in American life, Arthur Garfield Hays. Yet even so, their story reveals the realities and responses to anti-Semitism in the United States during World War II. Further, it is an important indicator of the limits of using the law to try to combat hatred in New York: a state that, in the words of historian William Nelson, “was the scene of virulent struggle between a mainly upstate, White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP), upper and middle class and an impoverished, New York City-centered, mainly Jewish and Roman Catholic, immigrant underclass.”¹ Despite efforts by the Fuchses and the work of those such as Hays who they enlisted to help them, they never got the justice they sought.

Because seeking legal redress to anti-Semitic prejudice frequently played out in small legal cases, this aspect of the Jewish response to anti-Semitic experiences is frequently omitted from the historical record. A case like the Fuchses', for example, would normally have left such a limited historical record that it would be difficult to ascertain all but the most bare bones legal facts about it, as usually conversations about strategy and review of the evidence would take place in the lawyer's office or over the telephone. Only because the Fuchses decided to take a “rest in the country” so Max could “recuperate from the anguish and nervousness that resulted from” the incident does their case offer a rare instance of an extraordinarily full record of letters—one that provides an intriguing lens through which to view how Jewish Americans experienced anti-Semitism on a daily basis and the ways in which they responded to it. Coupled

Research for this work was supported by a grant from the Summer Stipend Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities and its writing by a sabbatical leave from my institution. I thank both Christine Lutz and Dan Freund for looking for the trial record in the ACLU records. Also I would like to thank Laura Wittern-Keller for starting me off on my work on Arthur Garfield Hays. As always, Anette Lippold helped with all the difficult parts. The article itself grew from a talk I gave in 2012, sponsored by the Center for Jewish Studies at the University at Albany, State University of New York, and the New York Civil Liberties Union in the series “Jews along the Hudson.” I thank both Melanie Trimble and Barry Trachtenberg for inviting me to give that talk and the audience for their questions and comments.



Arthur Garfield Hays

in Rochester, New York. But New York City became the center of his life when Hays's family moved there in 1893. Probably bilingual as a young man, speaking English and German, Hays attended City College of New York (with his friend Felix Frankfurter). He transferred to Columbia University, graduating in 1902, and from Columbia Law School in 1905. After a stint as clerk in a Wall Street law firm, Hays formed his first firm with several of his Columbia classmates. He spent much of the early part of World War I in England, trying prize cases involving trade with Germany. His German was good enough that by the war's end he considered setting up a practice in Berlin, specializing in international law. But that plan did not come off. Rather, he set up a corporate law firm on Wall Street. Thereafter, his name always appeared at the beginning of a number of differently named law firms. As he wrote in 1926, "I conduct a general law practice" with partners, and "our clients are chiefly conservatives, commercial and banking houses." From such work, he made his fortune, and remade it after the Great Depression. He was, in other words, part of the American establishment.³

Also, by the mid-twenties, he was one of America's leading proponents of civil liberties. During World War I, government persecution of pro-German advocates (including his law partners), radicals, and pacifists converted Hays to the cause of civil liberties. His association with literary radicals, for example John Reed, pushed him toward free speech absolutism. He joined the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in the early 1920s, was appointed co-general counsel of the organization in 1929, and remained active in it until his death in 1954.⁴

From its founding through the 1940s, the ACLU was a small, struggling organization dominated by its New York City leadership—board members, staff (especially its director, Roger Baldwin), and lawyers. The organization attracted "strong-willed individuals" if not "genuine mavericks." While often under attack for the left-leaning

with the involvement of Hays, the Fuchses' vacation meant that their correspondence made it into the historical archives.²

Anti-Semitism was both deeply entrenched and difficult to prove, making it exceedingly difficult for Jewish-Americans to press their cases through legal means. The presence of Arthur Garfield Hays not only preserved the historical record of the Fuchses' case, but gave it more than local importance. From the 1920s to his death in 1954, Hays, a corporate lawyer, was a leading advocate of civil liberties in American society. The grandchild of German-Jewish immigrants who made their fortunes in the manufacturing trades, he enjoyed a solid, upper-middle class upbringing

proclivities of its members and divided over issues, the ACLU began to make ground as it turned increasingly to using the courts to protect civil liberties. Hays typified the organization's early history.⁵

Hays served the ACLU in many ways. As a lawyer he appeared for the organization in several notable cases, including the 1925 Scopes "monkey" trial and the Sacco and Vanzetti appeals. Direct action also defined Hays as a civil libertarian. He was always ready for a publicity stunt. For example, he sold a copy of H.L. Mencken's banned issue of the *American Mercury* on Boston Common to challenge that city's censorship system. He also delivered an impromptu speech from the top of a car in "Boss" Frank Hague's Jersey City, deliberately violating the city's policies on open-air speeches. Like other ACLU figures, he also took on outside cases. His close friendship with Clarence Darrow, formed during the Scopes trial, led to their association in the first Sweet trial in Detroit in 1926. In addition, he wrote and talked about civil liberties extensively. He kept up a busy speaking schedule and was frequently heard on the radio. In close collaboration with his college friend and ghost writer, McAlister Coleman, Hays wrote four books. In each he pushed for his conceptions of a good society: one that valued civil liberties, democracy, and individualism. These ideas were his templates for meeting the challenges of discrimination against Jews.⁶

Hays's German connections led him to become an early critic of the Hitler regime and its persecution of Jews, even as he battled against the creation in America of group libel laws and asserted that American Nazis had the right to espouse their ideas. Hays was sceptical of religion, but he always identified himself as a Jew. Many of his friends and associates were Jewish. Both of his marriages, to Blanche Marks and Aline Fleisher, were to women who identified as Jews. Marks (one of the "witnesses" in the film *Reds*) was later an activist in founding a Jewish conservative movement in Arizona. Aline at one point declared to Grace Oursler, the wife of a friend of her husband's, "I want you to know! I am a Jew! Through and Through." But Hays wore his Judaism lightly. For instance, consider this attempt to get the famous reform journalist Heywood Brown to attend an event: "Do you want to do me a favor? Pi Lambda Phi, a Jewish fraternity, of which I am Supreme Rex or Kleagle or big Elephant or something of the kind, is having a dinner on Tuesday night, the 21st. I think they are going to give me my regalia. At any rate, won't you come to that dinner? The boys are all anxious to hear you." In a draft article discussing Jewish protest of Hitler's treatment of German Jews, he repeatedly identified himself as a Jew, but rejected both race and separate culture as a means to define himself. Yet at the same time, Hays travelled to Germany to observe and denounce the 1933 Reichstag Fire trial. He personally sponsored refugees from Hitler's regime who attempted to migrate to the United States. In a 1934 article for *Liberty Magazine* provocatively titled "What the Jews want from Hitler," Hays wrote: "Equal rights under the law, without discrimination or favor, without privilege, penalty or immunity, without preferences of any kind depending upon race, creed or religion. Hitler can grant no more and the Jews can accept no less." Hays consistently stuck to

his view that the best way for Jews in the United States to protect their civil liberties was to come to the defense of all groups that were persecuted.⁷

Hays thought it was a mistake for Jews to fight solely for their own legal rights and to legislate against anti-Semitism. The outbreak of World War II and America's entry into it did not change his mind. In his book *City Lawyer*, he included a manifesto-like statement that prompted criticism from Dr. Hugo Marx, a German jurist prior to the rise of Nazism who later was associated with the World Jewish Congress. Marx wrote Hays: "With regard to the Jewish question you write on page 24: 'The safety of the minority groups in the United States lies in the fact that all minorities taken together constitute the majority. So long as all minorities have equal rights under the law they can take care of themselves.' Have you ever contemplated the problem what can happen if one minority is the object of the same discrimination from the side of all other groups? Just this is the situation of the Jews all over the world." Hays responded that many of his friends would probably agree with Marx, but he still maintained that this point of view did not apply in the United States. Instead, Hays felt it was essential that minority groups support each other in their struggles for equal rights. In particular, he pointed to the ongoing divisive issue of Jehovah's Witnesses refusing to salute the flag. "Neither we nor anyone else can expect more than equal rights under the law, and my experience is that whenever there is an attempt to discriminate against any minority group all other minorities fight against such laws."⁸

But by 1943, when the Fuchses would ask for his help, Hays was a very frustrated civil liberties advocate and presumably eager to act. Through a combination of changes in the ACLU's leadership, Hays saw the national organization fail to take strong positions on the most important civil liberties violations of the war years: the internment of Japanese Americans and the use of the Smith Act against rightist opponents of the war, including Lawrence Dennis, the nation's most vocal anti-Semite. Thus, Hays found time to finish his final book and take on other matters. He represented an African-American man who challenged the segregated military draft in court and also worked on the case of Max and Lillian Fuchs. For Hays, it probably was not so much about helping the Fuchses specifically, but about assisting members of a minority group to achieve equal treatment before the law for all minorities.⁹

Despite Hays's hopes for broader benefits, Jews in America certainly needed help. According to Leonard Dinnerstein, the foremost historian of anti-Semitism in the United States, World War II represented the "high tide" of anti-Semitism in America. He has written that "By 1943 hostility toward Jews in the United States had grown enormously" over previous levels. Jews were commonly seen as shirkers from military duty and blamed for the war. Physical attacks on Jews in urban areas (including New York City) were common and "grossly negligent police" rarely attempted to aid the victims. The experience of Max and Lillian Fuchs in June 1943 fit the general pattern of anti-Semitism during the war years.¹⁰

Max Fuchs was a dental surgeon in the Bronx. On June 27, he along with his

wife and parents were waiting in line with a crowd of people to be transported from the boat dock to the picnic ground at Bear Mountain State Park when an incident of pushing resulted in an ugly but minor confrontation. Since its founding in the early twentieth century, Bear Mountain Park had catered to the desires of New York City's masses to visit nature. Connected by boat to the city, the park brought huge numbers of urbanites to rural New York. The potential for confrontation between rural and city residents was ever present.¹¹

After the confrontation at the park, the subsequent action of Rockland County Justice of the Peace Vincent Clark sent Lillian and Max Fuchs to the office of the ACLU for help. The ACLU sent them to Hays. While Lillian was most directly involved (having been hit), Max Fuchs took the lead in keeping the matter alive as a legal issue. The full story developed slowly, and the way it revealed itself is an important indicator of the vagaries of the legal process. In brief, the Fuchses were insulted, Lillian Fuchs was struck, and after they complained to police and made two court appearances, they were fined for disturbing the peace. Adding insult to injury, the Fuchses paid the same fine as those who started the fray, called them names, and struck Lillian. The ACLU office quickly involved Hays. While he never represented the Fuchses, he coordinated their case.¹²

In the 1930s and '40s, the ACLU was interested in how law enforcement agents treated people. Police brutality, summary justice, sloppy procedure—all were issues that drew the organization's attention and protest. The ACLU's investigation of the 1935 Harlem riot was a case in point; much of it focused on misconduct by New York City police in dealing with African Americans. The ACLU had long been interested in police conduct at labor rallies and was quite skeptical of Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia's campaign against racketeers. Hays was particularly sensitive to these issues. He had served on the riot investigation and thought that the campaign of New York City Prosecutor Thomas Dewey against mobster Charles "Lucky" Luciano was an example of the abuse of police power. Hays was aware that legal rights could become impossible to enforce because of the refusal of the police to press charges—and he had asserted the right to be arrested. As he sought to build legal protection from police misconduct, judicial misconduct also became a serious issue for him. Thus Hays was predisposed to be very interested in the matter of the Fuchses.¹³

In the Fuchses' case, Hays used one of his favorite tools: publicity. He met with Dr. Fuchs and counseled him to involve those newspapers likely to give the story favorable press, especially the left-leaning New York City tabloid *PM*. On July 8, 1943, *PM* published an "exclusive" with the headline "Victims of Anti-Semites Fined; Peace Justice Asked to Explain: ACLU Inquires About Conviction of Couple Without Witnesses." Next to a picture of Dr. and Mrs. Fuchs, the story detailed a sympathetic account of the entire affair. It reported how the couple, lined up for a bus, were accosted "by a group of rowdies" who did not want to wait. The story alleged that Dr. Fuchs appealed for patience, which led to him being called a "yellow Jew" and told that "Jews got us into

this war and are doing all they can to keep us from winning it.” Lillian Fuchs was slapped across the face by a woman; when she said “she would call a park police-man [sic], a second woman grabbed her by the hair and punched her nose.” The article proceeded to detail the legal process, from the Fuchses pressing charges to both accused women being fined. This apparent victory, however, was short-lived: When the Fuchses asked for return of their bond, Justice of the Peace Clark informed them they were being charged with disturbing the peace. Their inquiries into the evidence against them resulted in little precise information. When Lillian Fuchs contacted Clark three days later, she was told they had been found guilty. The Fuchses were adamant that the police officer was not present at the June 29 proceeding at Justice of the Peace Clark’s home. Clark told *PM* he was and that the Fuchses had “disturbed the peace” but were welcome to appeal.¹⁴

Hays did not confine the matter to the press. As ACLU counsel, he immediately wrote Clark, stating that he was “concerned over the case of Max Fuchs, who appeared before you with his wife on Tuesday, June 29th. Apparently, he and his wife were found guilty of disorderly conduct, and each of them fined \$10, and this without any witness having appeared or testified against either of them. That this could happen in a civilized community is difficult to believe, but if the facts are as stated by him, I am sure that your action was due to inadvertence.” Hays reviewed the Fuchses’ version of the hearing, noting that “no witnesses of the event were present, except Dr. Fuchs and his wife. The defendants pleaded not guilty.” Max Fuchs testified and a “verdict of guilty followed. If the facts are as stated by Dr. Fuchs, I am sure that there must be some mistake about this. Would you be good enough to let me hear from you.” Combined with the publicity generated by the *PM* story, Hays’s polite inquiry (from a leading figure of the New York City Bar) was more than just asking the judge to provide his side of the story. It was an invitation to back down.¹⁵

But the publicity and letter did not produce the desired effect. *PM* never followed up on the story and no other newspaper, either in New York City or Rockland County, reported on it. And in a letter dated two days after Hays’s initial letter, on the stationery of Vincent A. Clark, Justice of Peace, Lee Avenue, Stony Point, New York, Clark’s wife put Hays off. “My husband has been confined to the hospital, therefore your letter will be answered by him when he returns home, and if he doesn’t answer it the District Attorney will.”¹⁶

Hays still did not let the matter rest while awaiting a response from Clark. He forwarded a copy of the letter he’d sent Clark to Rockland County District Attorney George V. Dorsey, adding that he believed they were in agreement that this situation warranted attention. He also wrote Max Fuchs to say he had not heard from Clark, but “I hope you have arranged for that lawyer friend of yours to file a notice of appeal so that your rights may be saved. Please confirm to me that you have done this.” Fuchs replied that he had followed the advice of the ACLU office and done nothing, but that he now would write to his lawyer friend, Saul Mildwurm, and tell him to file for the

right to appeal. As in his previous letter, where he had thanked Hays for “your human interest and able help,” Fuchs again thanked Hays for his “sincere interest.” Clearly, Fuchs was impressed with Hays’s willingness to extend himself on their behalf.¹⁷

While Hays kept Fuchs informed of formal developments, he did not tell him that he had taken additional steps to investigate the matter. In fact, he had written to George Kennan Hourwich, a fellow Wall Street lawyer who lived in Rockland County. Son of the famous Jewish labor leader, radical, and newspaper publisher Issac A. Hourwich, he apparently had some interest in civil liberties. Hourwich reported to Hays that he visited Clark on the evening of July 19 “at his home in my capacity of fellow citizen, local tax payer, etc.” Hourwich reported that Clark had given him a very different account of the events. He had been called to the Bear Mountain Park police station because he was told a near riot had taken place and that there were several people who made various allegations against each other. The Fuchs brought charges of third degree assault against Marie Cunliffe and Lillian Horton, the two women involved in the fray; they did the same against the Fuchs. The police brought charges of disorderly conduct and breach of the peace against the entire group. The charges against the women were quickly dispensed with. Cunliffe pled guilty and was fined \$10; the others were called to the hearing scheduled for Tuesday, June 29. Because Horton did not appear at the hearing, she also was found guilty, fined, and her charges against the Fuchs were dismissed.

According to Clark’s account, relayed by Hourwich, the charges brought by the police required consideration by the judge. Although the police captain who had signed the complaint against the Fuchs for disorderly conduct was not at the site of the incident, the lieutenant present at the time of the altercation did testify. Dr. Fuchs and his wife also had the opportunity to present their position. Upon consideration of the testimony, Clark declared the Fuchs guilty. According to Hourwich, Clark found the presence of the police lieutenant and the fact that his testimony was corroborated by the captain (who also was in the courtroom) critical in his decision. The justice disavowed any anti-Semitic prejudice. In conclusion, Hourwich rightly said the matter now turned on who was telling the truth, Clark or the Fuchs.”¹⁸

Spurred by Hourwich’s letter, Hays moved to find out more about the facts. In reply to Hourwich, Hays was more confident of the legal point. According to Hourwich’s interview of Clark, the police lieutenant had testified to disorder. But that was insufficient grounds to find Dr. and Mrs. Fuchs guilty. And following up on the comment that a record was sent to the district attorney, Hays wrote Clark directly, requesting a copy of the records and promising to cover the cost. He also made sure the ACLU and Max Fuchs were kept apprised of his actions.¹⁹

In a two-page letter, Fuchs replied to “refute” facts in Hourwich’s report that he considered “unfounded.” He disputed that a group of people were talking simultaneously when Clark arrived, and went so far as to say that before the justice’s appearance, a police desk sergeant recorded the charges on paper, which were signed by the Fuchs

and others, and warned everyone they would be cited with contempt of court if they talked out of turn. Fuchs agreed with Clark's summary that Cunliffe pleaded guilty to assault but asserted there was no indication that charges of disorderly conduct would be levied against anyone. Fuchs also pointed out that "there was no officer present during the attack ... and it was only through our refusal to retaliate ... that a riot was averted." He asserted that a more serious disturbance was prevented by their finding an officer, but that the situation had calmed down by the time he arrived. Initially the police refused to arrest anyone because there was no indication anything had occurred. It was only Dr. Fuchs's request to press charges that led to the arrest of Cunliffe and Horton. Fuchs then put his finger on a key point: "I cannot see what evidence could be honestly directed against us for disorderly conduct."²⁰

Fuchs's description of the June 29 hearing also contradicted Clark's assertion, which the justice said was supported by the police captain, that the lieutenant present at the fracas offered testimony. According to Fuchs, the captain charged him and his wife with disorderly conduct on June 29 and did so unsupported because the second officer was not in the room. Fuchs did mention they had seen the lieutenant before, but that he had not been placed under oath and had not spoken at the hearing. Fuchs went on to point out that charges of disorderly conduct were not pressed against everyone in his party. His mother, also a victim of the verbal and physical abuse, had been present at the station house but not charged. The only difference was she pressed no charges and so no countercharges had been levied against her. Indeed, the names of Fuchs's parents were not even recorded. He ended by saying that the report was "evasive in character and lacking in truth."²¹

While Hays seemed to accept Fuchs's assertion of judicial prejudice, Hourwich, who in contrast to Hays had met the judge, held a different opinion. While Hays interpreted Hourwich's account as support for his position that Fuchs was found guilty without trial and testimony of witnesses who were present during the fracas, Hourwich disputed this interpretation. Hourwich described Clark as "a very meek little man" who was "forthright in answering my questions." Because the justice had explicitly rejected the notion that his decision may have been influenced by any prejudice against Dr. Fuchs, Hourwich was "inclined to believe him." However, Hays insisted that Hourwich's position was not supported by the evidence he had presented in his first letter. Therefore, even if Clark was able to assess his prejudices correctly, Hays believed he might still have made a wrong decision because the police lieutenant had "testified to the disorder," but not that Fuchs and his wife had been "disorderly." This difference indeed was significant. If Hays was correct, the judge's prejudices were clearly called into question. But only the written record of the proceedings would bring clarity. Once again Hays requested a copy.²²

All of September passed. No record was forthcoming and the case languished. In early October, Fuchs contacted Hays to inquire about the status of the case and to inform him that the lawyer who had filed the intention for appeal would start his

military service shortly. Within three days, Hourwich reported to Hays that Clark had paid him a personal visit accompanied by a state trooper. He did not bring a copy of the court proceedings, but indicated they had been sent to the court in charge of the appeal. Why a state trooper would be necessary and why there had been such a delay were questions left open. In spite of his earlier strong statement that he had found the judge trustworthy, Hourwich expressed interest in knowing if the record indeed showed that any of the witnesses reported on the alleged disorderly conduct. Apparently, during the intervening weeks, Hourwich had come to accept at least the possibility that the case was not as straightforward as Clark had indicated to him. Fuchs's reiteration of his view of the matter and the unusual fact that Dr. Fuchs and his wife, but not his mother, were charged with disorderly conduct possibly had sown seeds of doubt.²³

Fuchs certainly stood by his convictions and continued to be willing to pursue the matter even at some personal expense. When Hays told him he would have to retain a local lawyer to obtain the court record, Fuchs acknowledged that he could "easily afford" to spend as much as \$25, and he thought "it is a worthwhile sacrifice when one considers the issues involved; abrogation of the right for a fair trial and the deprivation of civil rights." Hays held out the possibility that one of the two lawyers recommended "will go into the case without compensation since I am in it and since it is a civil liberties case." While immodest and perhaps optimistic of fellow lawyers' altruism, Hays's comment reveals at the very least that he believed the participation of a leading lawyer of the New York City Bar gave the case a certain prominence that would make it a more interesting prospect for an aspiring local lawyer than a case of disorderly conduct would usually elicit.²⁴

And indeed, Fuchs did what Hays and Hourwich had failed to do: He obtained the record and immediately scrutinized it. The result was a six-page letter in which he characterized the document as "an erroneous case history" constructed by Clark in "a desperate" attempt to disprove the Fuchses' contentions. He identified at least seven discrepancies between the record and his position; a number of these discrepancies were supported by the evidence.²⁵ Once again, Fuchs claimed that the policeman who saw the original events did not testify on the 29th. He also took issue with Clark's statement that all the other people (except Cunliffe, who pleaded guilty to assault immediately) had been held on the day of the scuffle with \$10 bond for disturbing the peace. But Fuchs's parents had not been held over. The implication was that Clark, probably on the prompting of the police, fined Max and Lillian Fuchs for bringing the matter to law. In support of this contention, Fuchs alleged that the policeman at the scene "told the group to move on and forget about it until I informed him I wished to press charges." Fuchs speculated, "if my parents had also filed complaints ... then, they too would have been charged with disorderly conduct."²⁶

Fuchs was equally scathing in his assessment of Clark's record of what happened during the June 29 court session. While the record claimed that the Fuchses had been advised of the charge of disorderly conduct on the day of the fracas and at trial, Fuchs

justifiably pointed out there would have been no need of reiterating the charge before the trial unless, as he now stated, no such charges had been filed on the day of the event. He detailed that the justice and police captain had a fifteen-minute private conversation before the court opened. The Fuchses were notified of the charge of disorderly conduct by the police captain only after this meeting. Fuchs had requested that the police lieutenant on the scene be allowed to testify, but he was not available and Clark stated that the officer's testimony would be in the record. Fuchs's perusal revealed that the lieutenant had later testified, but that Clark had disregarded it because it was not given in the presence of the accused. Indeed, what the officer included in his report contradicted what the captain and Clark later alleged. Furthermore, while the trial was put over for more evidence, Fuchs was not permitted to call supporting witnesses, such as his parents or the desk sergeant at the police station, where Fuchs again stated no disorderly conduct had taken place. In conclusion, Fuchs alleged that "whatever rights we did have were maliciously violated."²⁷

Fuchs's rebuttal of the court record also revealed the differing perceptions of the couple's minority status in the case. Rejecting the claim that there was any danger of a riot either at Bear Mountain Park or at the police station, Fuchs was appalled at finding in the record the statement that Lillian Fuchs on June 29 had "testified there would have been more trouble if more Jews were around." He asserted that "before the court began" Clark "engaged us in conversation, and brought up the subject of race riots. Mrs. Fuchs at that time stated that it was fortunate that we did not have a replica of the Detroit race riots occur at the park ... a possibility had we been foolish enough to fight back, and given some Jewish people in the croud [sic] a chance to riot." While either version may have been true, clearly the fact that the Fuchses were Jewish appeared to be an important part of assessing the situation. Clark's account of the conversation is suggestive of an implied threat. Max Fuchs reiterated that he and his wife were committed to relying on the law, rather than a supportive crowd, to protect themselves.²⁸

Based on Dr. Fuchs's description of the events and after perusing the record, Hays certainly agreed with the Fuchses' assessment that the law was on their side. He advised Fuchs to get a local lawyer. Fuchs secured the services of Jacob K. Wexler of Pearl River, but only under the condition that Hays would remain involved in the case and that someone else would do the legwork associated with the necessary investigation and interviews. Hays suggested the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), already well-known for its undercover and other investigations of anti-Semites. Fuchs contacted the ADL and requested that Hays indicate his continued support for the case to Wexler, which he did.²⁹

But while Hays's ongoing support allowed Fuchs to retain Wexler and stay his course, even Hays could not prevent the case from ending on a legal technicality. Wexler indeed presented the motion to appeal based on the grounds that the Fuchses were not informed of the charges at the first arraignment by the police officers or the justice of the peace, that the justice failed to ensure the presence of the witnesses

requested by the Fuchses, and that he heard “testimony after the hearing and not in the presence of the defendants,” denying them the right of cross-examination. Wexler acknowledged that the record showed that such testimony was disregarded but added that he believed this statement was added afterward, when the justice realized such an action was “unconstitutional.”

All of this, however, could not offset the fact that the original attorney had failed to deliver the affidavit supporting the appeal to the district attorney within three days after it was taken, as required by the code of criminal procedure (section 751).³⁰ In late July 1944, the Rockland County court rejected the Fuchses’ appeal, stating that they had failed “to comply with the provisions of Section 751.”³¹

This history in microcosm encapsulates the long history of the difficulty of using local legal means to fight prejudice and racism. It casts light on a better known story, the struggle for African American civil rights. While the long history of that struggle from the 1930s through the 1960s is well-known, there is a tendency to see the issue as one of a problem of the South. But the dynamic was the same nationwide. Local officials formed the front line in any such struggle. If they were hostile to the claim of someone seeking redress for racially inspired attacks, it fell to individuals and activist organizations to attempt to invoke the law over local official resistance. And in such attempts, until the federal courts tipped the scales, the advantage lay with the intransigent officials.

For the Fuchses, the case ended with little satisfaction. For us, however, their efforts remain extremely worthwhile, revealing how hard it could be to use the legal system to combat anti-Semitism, while also pointing to the importance of trying. Clearly, it was very difficult to use the law, as William Nelson put it, “to facilitate tolerance and productive interchange” among the “diverse people” of New York, even with the support of organizations and well-connected individuals. But even though the ACLU was a small organization and stretched thin, relying on the work of interested parties on the scene, the Fuchses’ case shows how tremendously important any and all support could be for those seeking redress through the legal system. In the end, the error of one of their legal representatives cost them the chance at obtaining a more favorable ruling, but without the assistance of Arthur Garfield Hays, it is likely their quest would have been stymied much sooner.³²

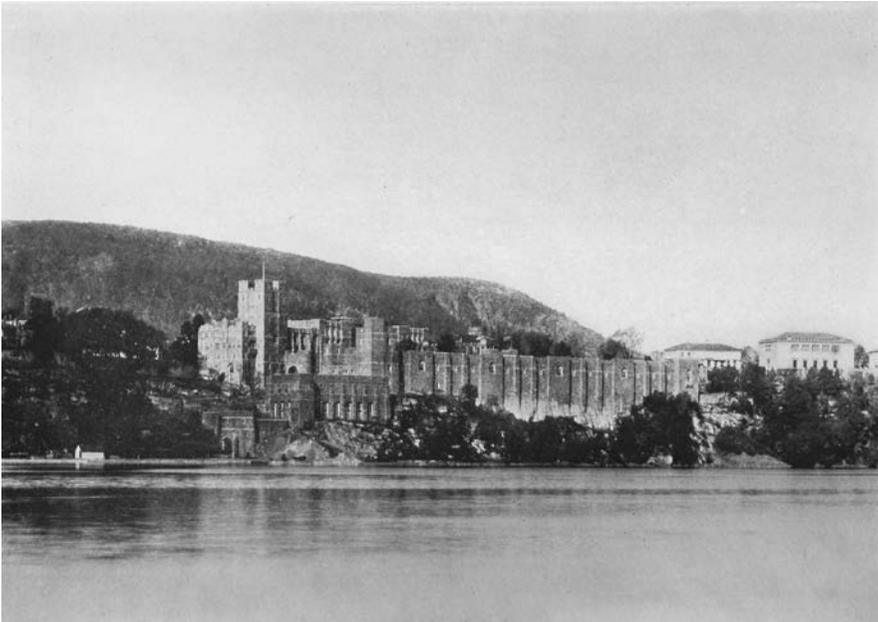
Second, it shows that clients as much as organizations were key in fighting such cases. Max and Lillian Fuchs were interested in the principle, spending more money than the fine to bring the matter to court, and Max in particular devoting considerable time to it in writing letters and obtaining the formal record. So it underscores that the quest to guarantee all New Yorkers equal treatment before the law did not rest with the legal establishment or activist groups, but in the personal efforts of individuals who thought the law should protect them from being called racial epithets and being hit because of their identity. Max and Lillian Fuchs may have won nothing at law, but that does not mean their attempt was insignificant.

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Endnotes

1. William E. Nelson, *The Legalist Reformation: Law, Politics, and Ideology in New York, 1920-1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 3.
2. Fuchs to ACLU, ND, American Civil Liberties Papers (Microfilm edition), Reel 201, frames 119-125 (hereafter ACLUP); For ten days beginning on July 9, the Fuchses were at Mountain Lake Farms in Union Grove, New York. While the heyday of the Borscht Belt was still to come, by the 1940s the Jewish resorts in the area were well established and flourishing. The resort is listed in catskills.brown.edu/hotelsbungalows.shtml; Eisenstadt, *Encyclopedia of New York State, 197-198*; Fuchs to Hays, July 8, 1943 and Hays to Fuchs July 9, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, Arthur Garfield Hays Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University Library (hereafter AGHP).
3. Hays to Henry B. Hoffmann, October 7, 1926, Box 1, Folder 6, AGHP; Arthur Garfield Hays, *City Lawyer: the Autobiography of a Law Practice* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1942), 17-99; "Arthur Garfield Hays" *Yale Biographical Dictionary of American Law* edited by Roger K. Newman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 258-259.
4. Hays, *City Lawyer*, 17-99; "Hays," *Yale Biographical Dictionary*, 258-259; *People of State of New York ex Rel Doyle et al v. Atwell* 261 U.S. 590 (1923).
5. Leigh Ann Wheeler, *How Sex Became a Civil Liberty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5; Robert C. Cottrel, *Roger Nash Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 122, 123-25, 151-68.
6. Hays, *City Lawyer*, 184-218, 461-470.
7. Group libel (or race hate laws) like New Jersey's made it a crime to speak or print statements "advocating hatred, abuse, violence, or hostility against any group or groups of person" because of their "race, color, or religion." Samuel Walker, *In Defense of American Liberties: A History of the ACLU* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 116-117, Clifford Forster, letter to editor, *New York Times*, December 23, 1954, Box 37, folder 7 AGHP; Hays spent "considerable time and money in 1939 not merely defending Bundist's ideas against attack under a state criminal libel statute but also going to Bundist camps to lecture on their right to operate."; "Not very long ago," Box 34, folder 8, AGHP, *Reds* (1981) film's credit to Blanche Hays Fagan; Fulton Ousler, *Behold this Dreamer!* (Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1964), 236; Hays to Heywood Broun, March 15, 1933, Box 3, folder 1, AGHP; Hays, *City Lawyer*, 337-388; Edward J. Larson, *Summer for the Gods: The Scopes Trial and America's Continuing Debate Over Science and Religion* (New York: Basic Books, 1997) Kevin Boyle, *Arc of Justice: A Saga Of Race, Civil Rights, and Murder in the Jazz Age* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005); Popper [?]to Jane Butler, December 15, 1954, Box 16, folder 10, AGHP; Draft of article entitled "How Far Can Hitler go?" [undated], Box 34, folder 8, AGHP; Hays, *City Lawyer*, 223-224; "What the Jews want from Hitler," *Liberty Magazine* (June 2, 1944), 13-15. Hays's stand paralleled that of the American communists, especially during the popular front period when he formulated his ideas. The party decried anti-Semitism during this period in face of what it saw as the growing Nazi threat. Like Hays they thought that groups should come together in opposition to Nazi policies and in defense of the Jews from discrimination. The Soviet Union's long history of anti-Semitism and the communists' long standing opposition to Zionism undercut their position; it was further undercut by the Nazi-Soviet pact. Thus the revival of opposition to anti-Semitism by the communists during WWII was often discounted as mere tactical change. Stephen H. Norwood, *Antisemitism and the American Far Left* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 36-83.
8. Dr. Hugo Marx to Hays, November 1, 1942, Box 12, folder 1; Hays to Marx, November 2, 1942, Box 12, folder 1, AGHP; Hays, *City Lawyer*, 223-224; of course, Hays was active in helping the Jehovah Witnesses, see: Shawn Francis Peters, *Judging Jehovah's Witnesses: Religious Persecution and the Dawn of the Rights Revolution* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 109, 139-140, 173-174.
9. Walker, *In Defense*, 155, 137-144, 165-166.
10. Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, 128-149),

- 139, 136, 133; Clarence Taylor, "To Be a Good American: The New York City Teachers Union and Race during the Second World War," in Clarence Taylor, editor, *Civil Rights in New York City: From World War II to the Giuliani Era* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 10-31, 12-16; see also Robert W. Snyder, *Crossing Broadway: Washington Heights and the Promise of New York City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015), 28.
11. Peter Eisenstadt, Laura-Eve Moss and Carole F. Huxley. Editors, *The Encyclopedia of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2005), 164.
 12. Lucille Milner to Hays, July 4, 1943, American Civil Liberties Papers (Microfilm edition), Reel 201 (hereafter ACLUP). ACLUP, Reel 201
 13. Walker, *In Defense*, 87-88; Arthur Garfield Hays, *Democracy Works* (New York: Random House, 1939), 106-08.
 14. Fuchs to Hays, July 8, 1943, Box 22, Folder 15; PM Clipping Box 22, folder 15, AGHP.
 15. Hays to Clark, July 6, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP.
 16. Mrs. Vincent (Helen J.) A. Clark, to Hays, July 8, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP.
 17. Hays to George V. Dorsey, July 12, 1943 Hays to Fuchs, July 9, 1943, Fuchs to Hays July 8, 1943 Fuchs to Hays July 9, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP; apparently Hays followed up on contacting the lawyer Mildwurm, whose name Fuchs had misspelled because in Hays's handwriting a phonetic version of the name with a telephone number is written on the July 9 letter.
 18. Walter P. Metzger, *Academic Freedom in the Age of the University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 149; indeed George Hourwich was named in honor of George Kennan who was a friend of the elder Hourwich, see: David C. Engerman, *Modernization from the Other Shore: American Intellectuals and the Romance of Russian Development* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2004) 50-51; Hourwich to Hays, July 20, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP. In addition Hourwich reported that that State Troopers had issued warrants for the arrest of other persons involved, prior to Hays's inquiry into the case and one participant in the disorder, "who was a German national who acquired American citizenship in 1936 was arrested and turned over to the FBI." But again the local papers are silent on this matter.
 19. Hays to Hourwich, July 23, 1943; Hays to Clark, July 23, 1943; Hays to ACLU, July 23, 1943; Hays to Fuchs, July 30, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP.
 20. Fuchs to Hays, August 3, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP.
 21. Fuchs to Hays, August 3, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP.
 22. Hourwich to Hays, August 17, 1943, Hays to Hourwich, August 18, 1943. Hays to Dorsey, August 18, 1943 AGHP Box 22, folder 15
 23. Fuchs to Hays, October 2, 1943; Hourwich to Hays, October 5, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP.
 24. Hays to Fuchs October 6, 1943; Hays to Fuchs, October 7, 1943; Hays to Hourwich, October 6, 1943; Hays to Fuchs, October 11, 1943 Hourwich to Hays, October 13, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP; Hays addressed the October 6 letter to "Dr. Fox," the German meaning of his name.
 25. Fuchs to Hays, October 17, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP. Sadly, the record has since been lost, Hays, sent it back to Fuchs for his use in further proceedings.
 26. Fuchs to Hays, October 17, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP.
 27. Fuchs to Hays, October 17, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP.
 28. Fuchs to Hays, October 17, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP.
 29. Hays to Fuchs, October 18, 1943; Fuchs to Hays, November 12, 1943, Hays to Weschsler [sic], November 19, 1943, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP.
 30. Wexler to Hays, April 13, 1944, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP.
 31. Wexler to Hays, August 3, 1944; Hays to Wexler, August 31, 1944, Box 22, folder 15, AGHP
 32. Nelson, *Legalist Reformation*, 4, 5; Judy Kutlulas, *The American Civil Liberties Union and the Making of Modern Liberalism, 1930-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 1-14, 89-112; Michael J. Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme court and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York: Oxford, 2004), 117-134, 152-158, 225-231, 267-286, 421-442.



West Point, seen from the water. Image from the 1915 *Howitzer*,
the Yearbook of the United States Corps of Cadets,
courtesy of the United States Military Academy Special Collections

Rising Stars:

The Cadet Years of the West Point Class of 1915

William P. Leeman

On the morning of June 12, 1915, the United States Military Academy's Class of 1915 assembled for the final time as cadets at Trophy Point overlooking the Hudson River for their graduation ceremony and commissioning as officers in the United States Army. Secretary of War Lindley M. Garrison delivered a short address to the graduating cadets. It featured the usual declarations about the importance of tradition and sacrifice that one might expect in a commencement speech at West Point. After receiving their diplomas and taking oaths to defend the United States Constitution, the newly commissioned second lieutenants traveled to New York City to attend a graduation banquet at the Astor Hotel and a Broadway show.¹ No one could know that the young men leaving the Academy on that day to embark on their military careers would one day secure for themselves a special place in the history of the Long Gray Line as “the class the stars fell on”—the class that produced the most generals in West Point's history.

The members of the Class of 1915 were at the right age at the right time to earn distinction on the battlefield and rise quickly in rank because of the outbreak of two world wars and the massive expansion of the U.S. Army that resulted from these global conflicts. Of the 164 men who graduated in 1915, fifty-nine would go on to wear general's stars, including twenty-four brigadier generals (one star), twenty-four major generals (two stars), seven lieutenant generals (three stars), two generals (four stars), and two generals of the army (five stars). The class produced such notable figures as Dwight D. Eisenhower, who reached the five-star rank of general of the army while commanding Allied forces in Europe during World War II and subsequently was elected the thirty-fourth President of the United States; Omar N. Bradley, who also achieved five-star rank and served as the first chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; James A. Van Fleet, a four-star general who commanded the Eighth Army during the Korean War; and Hubert R. Harmon, a three-star general who went on to become the first superintendent of the United States Air Force Academy.² While each possessed the innate intelligence, ambition, and abilities needed for success in life, their experience at West Point helped to forge these young civilian men into the great military leaders they became. Despite




DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER
ABILENE, KANSAS

Senatorial Appointee, Kansas
"Ike"

Corporal, Sergeant, Color Sergeant: A.B.,
B.A., Sharpshooter: Football Squad (3, 2),
"A" in Football; Baseball Squad (4); Cheer
Leader: Indoor Meet (4, 3).

*"Now, fellers, it's just like this. I've been asked
to say a few words this evening about this business.
Now, me and Walter Camp, we think—"*
—Himself

THIS is Señor Dwight David Eisenhower, gentlemen, the terrible Swedish-Jew, as big as life and twice as natural. He claims to have the best authority for the statement that he is the handsomest man in the Corps and is ready to back up his claim at any time. At any rate you'll have to give it to him that he's well-developed abdominally—and more graceful in pushing it around than Charles Calvert Benedict. In common with most fat men, he is an enthusiastic and sonorous devotee of the King of Indoor Sports, and roars homage at the shrine of Morpheus on every possible occasion.

However, the memory of man runneth back to the time when the little Dwight was but a slender lad of some 'steen years, full of joy and energy and craving for life and movement and change. 'Twas then that the romantic appeal of West Point's glamour grabbed him by the scruff of the neck and dragged him to his doom. Three weeks of Beast gave him his fill of life and movement and as all the change was locked up at the Cadet Store out of reach, poor Dwight merely consents to exist until graduation shall set him free.

At one time he threatened to get interested in life and won his "A" by being the most promising back in Eastern football—but the Tufts game broke his knee and the promise. Now Ike must content himself with tea, tiddleywinks and talk, at all of which he excels. Said prodigy will now lead us in a long, loud yell for—Dare Devil Dwight, the Dauntless Don.



Dwight David Eisenhower's yearbook page. Image from the 1915 *Howitzer*,
the Yearbook of the United States Corps of Cadets,
courtesy of the United States Military Academy Special Collections

an outdated curriculum and military training program, West Point still provided cadets with a solid education and a strong professional indoctrination into army life by enforcing strict discipline, demanding attention to detail, fostering patriotism, and honing concepts of duty and honor. Enduring the crucible of early twentieth century West Point prepared the members of the Class of 1915 for the challenges they would face during World War II and beyond.

Summer 1911

The Class of 1915 received orders to report to West Point no later than noon on June 14, 1911. Young men from all over the United States—some from big cities, others




OMAR NELSON BRADLEY
MOBERLY, MISSOURI

Appointed from Second District, Missouri
"Brad"

Sergeant, First Sergeant, Lieutenant; Sharpshooter; Football Squad (2, 1); "A" in Football; Baseball Squad (4, 3, 2, 1); "A" in Baseball; Indoor Meet (3, 2); V.C.

"True merit is like a river, the deeper it is, the less noise it makes"—Anon

ABUCK for three years, he decided that during his first class year he'd wear a few chevrons himself, and after drilling the plebes in rudiments for three weeks came over to camp as "F" Co. top.

His greatest passion is baseball; football and "F" Co. come next in order of rank. In baseball many an opposing player has trifled once with Brad's throwing arm, but never twice. And a batting average of .383 is never to be sneezed at.

Although raised as a plebe in "A" Co., you couldn't pry him loose from "F" Co. with a jimmy or a Percy. He swears at, by, and for the Second Battalion Flankers, and witness his now famous remark—"Sir, I would rather be first sergeant of "F" Co. than captain of any other company." And he really meant it. His most prominent characteristic is "getting there," and if he keeps up the clip he's started, some of us will some day be bragging to our grandchildren that "sure, General Bradley was a classmate of mine."



Omar Nelson Bradley's yearbook page. Image from the 1915 *Howitzer*, the Yearbook of the United States Corps of Cadets, courtesy of the United States Military Academy Special Collections

from small towns; some recent high school graduates, others having worked since their graduation from high school—arrived at the West Point train station and lugged their suitcases up the steep hill to the new administration building (now known as Taylor Hall) for in-processing. Thus began a new chapter in their lives. For all of them, the journey to West Point had been a long one, not just in miles traveled but in time and effort. Dwight Eisenhower, who went by the nickname "Ike," graduated from Abilene High School in his Kansas hometown in 1909 and made it his goal to pursue a college education. From 1909 to 1911, he worked to save money and to help his brother Edgar (known as "Ed") pay his college tuition at the University of Michigan; after Ed graduated, he planned to do the same for Ike. Working full-time at a local creamery,




HUBERT REILLY HARMON
WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Appointed from Seventh District, New York
"Doodle" "Monahan" "Buzzy"

Clean Sleeve; Expert Rifleman; Football Squad (4, 2, 1); "A" in Football; Baseball Squad (4, 3, 2); Hockey Squad (4, 3); Hop Manager; Furlough Book Board; Howitzer Board.

*"How far the little candle throws his beams"
—Shakespeare*

HOW many times have we heard the query, "Have you heard Doodle's latest?" Which means, being interpreted, "Has anyone slipped you a punk grind lately?" But we'll have to give him credit for one thing; bum as they are, no two are alike. Will we ever forget how Doodle celebrated his twenty-first birthday by shaking the slumbering Buddy at midnight, and whispering "Wake up, Buddy, there's a *man* in the room!"

But Doodle isn't all foolishness, so don't be misled. His hard work has brought many athletic honors to 1915. He was pretty small for the team, but when his grit and perseverance finally won the coveted football "A," the class was mighty proud.

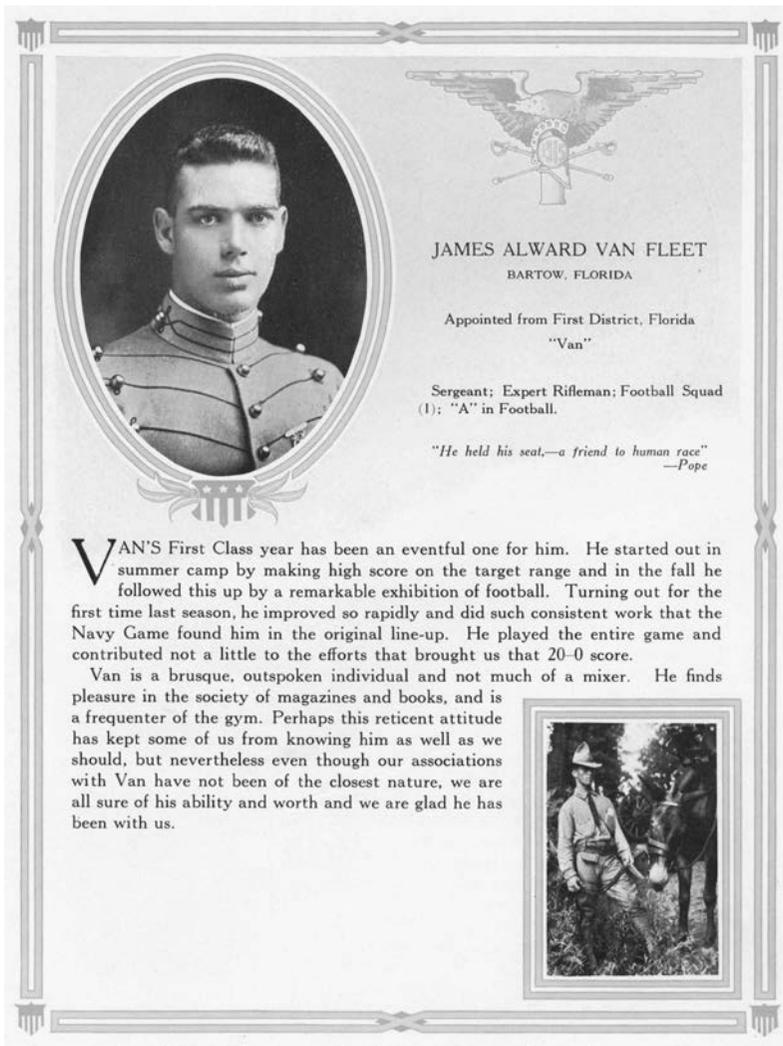
Doodle has the habit of doing certain things at the last minute, and getting away with them. Did you ever see him start to make down his bed at the first stroke of taps? And who ever heard of the Doodle Bug reported for "being out of bed at taps?"

The C. A. C. claims Harmon for its own and if he is as happy in his career as our wishes would have him—nuf sed.



Hubert Reilly Harmon's yearbook page. Image from the 1915 Howitzer, the Yearbook of the United States Corps of Cadets, courtesy of the United States Military Academy Special Collections

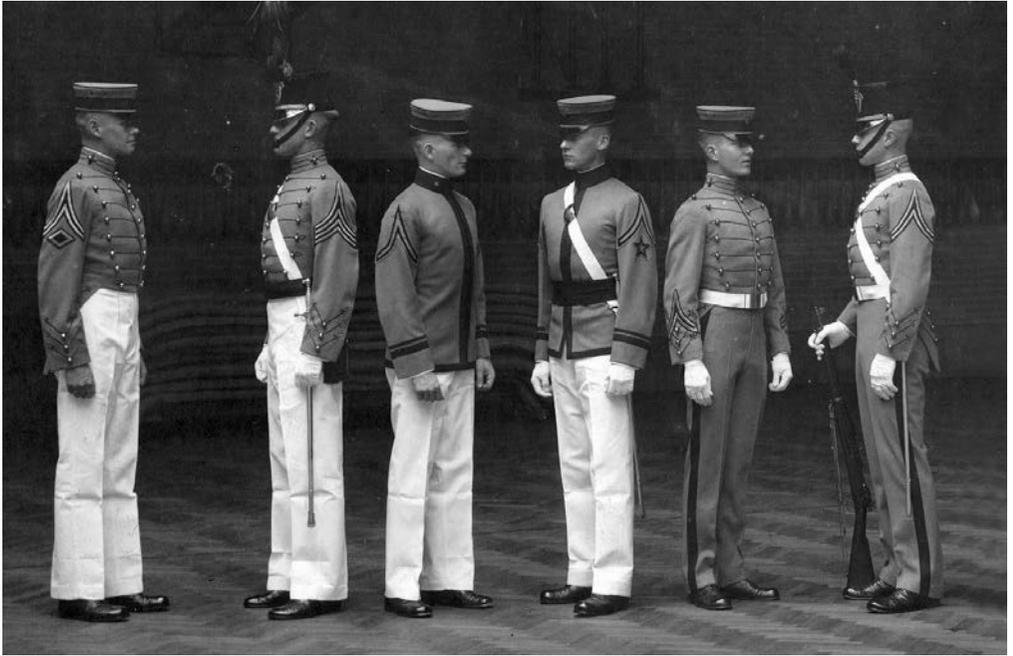
Eisenhower spent what little free time he had playing semi-professional baseball under an assumed name and dreaming of one day playing college football at Michigan. His plans changed when an Abilene friend told him about the nation's service academies. Eisenhower initially set his sights on attending the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, but considered West Point to be an acceptable alternative. He wrote to U.S. Senator Joseph L. Bristow of Kansas to request a nomination to either academy. Although he never received a reply to his initial inquiry from the senator, Eisenhower later learned that Bristow would be holding a competitive examination to fill his vacancies at the academies and that Eisenhower was welcome to take the exam. After studying hard, he earned the second highest score and became Bristow's



James Alward Van Fleet's yearbook page. Image from the 1915 *Howitzer*, the Yearbook of the United States Corps of Cadets, courtesy of the United States Military Academy Special Collections

nominee for West Point. Though initially disappointed not to receive a nomination for Annapolis, Eisenhower soon discovered that, at age twenty, he was too old to be admitted to the Naval Academy anyway. Grateful for the nomination to West Point, he set his sights on the entrance examination and securing the coveted appointment to the Military Academy.³

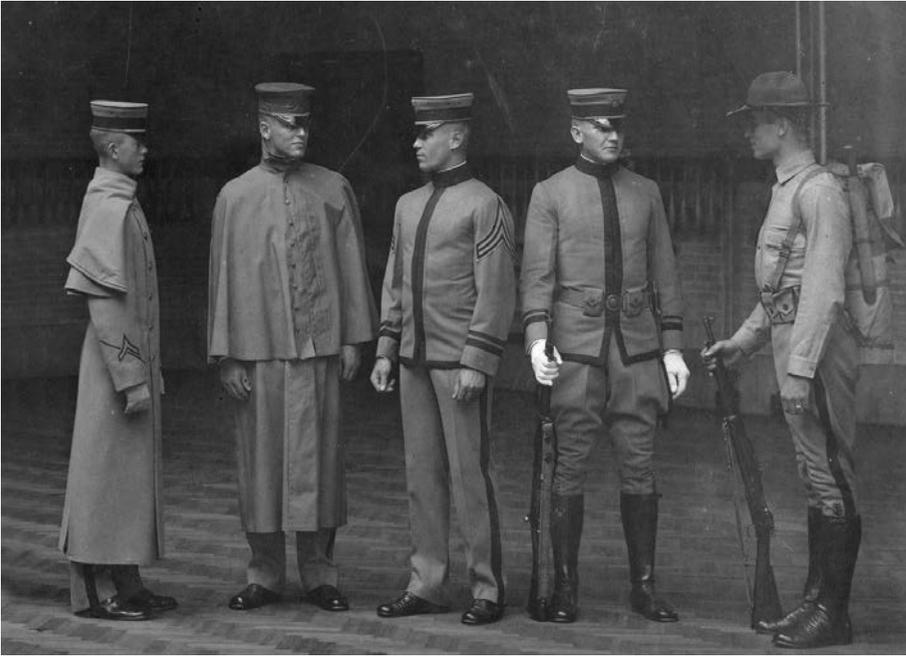
The Academy's entrance examination was a four-day ordeal designed to measure a candidate's academic and physical fitness for the rigors of West Point. For many of the candidates, traveling to the entrance exam, which was given at various army posts around the country, was the first time they had left their home state or even their hometown. Both Dwight Eisenhower and his future classmate, Omar Bradley, took the



Cadet Uniforms c.1922. Image from the William Stockbridge Collection, courtesy of the United States Military Archives

entrance exam at Jefferson Barracks outside St. Louis, Missouri. For Eisenhower, the trip to St. Louis was the farthest he had ever been from home. Although Bradley was a Missouri native, it was his first time in the big city. The written exam covered such subjects as algebra, geometry, English grammar and composition, English literature, geography, and history (including ancient, medieval, and American history). During the exam, Bradley, who had been out of school for a year, couldn't remember the theorems needed to complete the problems on the mathematics portion. At the halfway point of the four-hour exam, he had only completed twenty percent of the test (a score of sixty-seven percent was needed to pass). Giving up and lamenting a wasted trip to St. Louis, Bradley rose from his seat to hand in his papers. Seeing that the officer proctoring the exam was reading a book, Bradley didn't want to disturb him so he sat down again and gave it another try. Miraculously, he started to remember the theorems and ended up passing the exam. Both Eisenhower and Bradley were admitted to the Class of 1915. Eisenhower's excitement upon securing an appointment was tempered only by his mother Ida's disapproval of her son's decision to attend the Military Academy on account of her religious opposition to war.⁴

Given that West Point regulations rarely permitted the wearing of civilian clothes, Eisenhower left Abilene with a single suitcase. The long train ride to West Point included stops in Chicago to visit a friend and in Ann Arbor, Michigan, to visit his brother Ed. During his visit, the Eisenhower brothers and two coeds spent what Ike later referred



to as “the most romantic evening” he had ever experienced, rowing on a river. Leaving Ann Arbor to continue his journey, Eisenhower recalled “a dismaying feeling that perhaps I had made a mistake” in not going to school at Michigan. Passing through New York City and finally the village of Highland Falls just outside the Academy’s main gate, Eisenhower arrived at West Point on the morning of June 14.⁵

In the summer of 1911, the Corps of Cadets was organized as a battalion of 650 men divided into six companies (A through F). At over 280 men, the Class of 1915 was almost fifty percent larger than any previous West Point class. With the vast majority of new cadets being white (from English, Scottish, Irish, or German ancestry), Protestant, middle class, and from small town America, there was little diversity within the class.⁶ Describing his first day at West Point as “calculated chaos,” Eisenhower and his new classmates quickly passed from station to station at double-time, subjected to the taunts and yelling of upperclassmen, a process that began their separation from the civilian world. At the administration building, they completed multiple registration forms that included personal information, educational background, and previous employment. The new cadets then handed over any money they had on them to the Academy bursar; the money was put into an account and used to help pay for their uniforms. After that, they were measured for their uniforms and underwent a physical examination. After visiting the barber shop and cadet store, where they were issued uniforms and bedding, the new cadets arrived at their barracks. They changed out of the civilian clothes they were wearing and put the clothes and their luggage in storage, where they would stay until



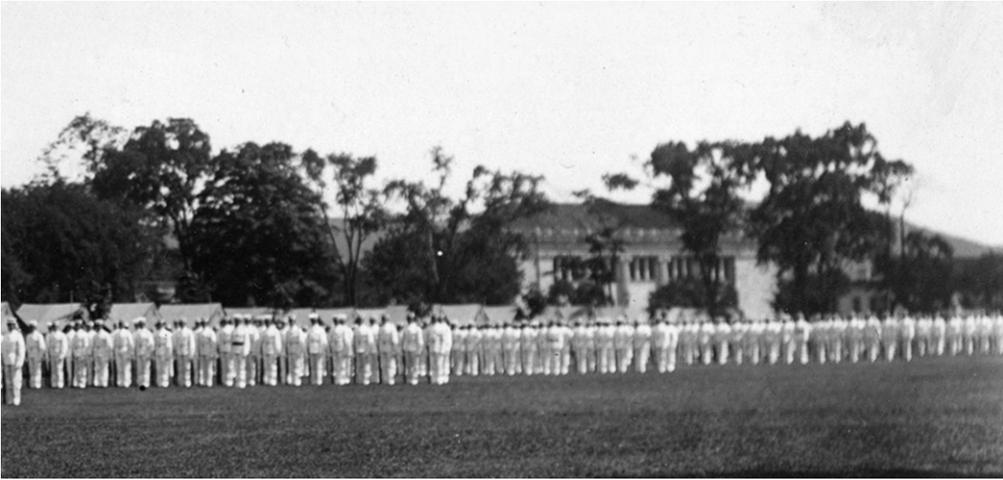
Cadet Inspection on the Plain, Summer Camp 1915. Image from the William Stockbridge Collection, courtesy of the United States Military Archives

the new cadet quit, was dismissed, or departed for his first furlough. In his memoirs, Eisenhower recalled the feelings that he experienced that first day:

By the end of the day we were all harassed and, at times, resentful. Here we were, the cream of the crop, shouted at all day long by self-important upperclassmen, telling us to run here and run there; pick up our clothes; bring in that bedding; put our shoulders back, keep our eyes up, and to keep running, running, running. No one was allowed to do anything at ordinary quick-time; everything was on the double. I suppose that if any time had been provided to sit down and think for a moment, most of the 285 of us would have taken the next train out.

At 1700 hours, the Class of 1915 marched in their first military review on the Plain, West Point's famous parade ground that dated back to the Revolutionary War. Following the review, wearing their full dress uniforms for the first time, the new recruits took the required cadet oath. Reciting the oath was a transformative moment for Eisenhower: "Across half a century, I can look back and see a rawboned, gawky Kansas boy from the farm country, earnestly repeating the words that would make him a cadet." Overcome with a powerful feeling of patriotism, Eisenhower realized that service to his nation was what his life was about now, not service to himself.⁷

During their first three weeks at West Point, the new cadets had to endure a period of indoctrination known as "Beast Barracks," which introduced civilians to the rigors of the Military Academy and the U.S. Army. This first test of will would help to eliminate those young men who lacked the fortitude and temperament for a military career. As Eisenhower later recalled, "The young American is naturally independent ... and has been raised to feel entitled to live his own life in his own way. We soon understood that at West Point we were going to do it West Point's way or we were not going to be there at all."⁸ Eisenhower's recollection evoked an Academy developmental model



that was both paternal and attritional. As one historian (and former cadet) described it, “Punishment for every transgression was swift, sure, and severe. Cadets who failed to complete the curriculum demonstrated weaknesses of character, intellect, or both, that disqualified them from commissioning. They were viewed as a drag on the faculty’s time and their classmates’ development, and Academy leaders felt obligated to separate them as soon as possible.”⁹

The new cadets lived in the barracks under the supervision of officers and specially selected upperclassmen who taught them the basics of army life, including how to salute, make their beds, maintain their uniforms, and clean their rooms. The new cadets learned the importance of attention to detail as well as military discipline, protocol, and the customs and traditions of the Corps of Cadets. The remainder of their days was filled with drills and physical training. Most of the upperclassmen were eager to torment their new charges by constantly shouting commands at them, rushing them from place to place, and forcing them to memorize and recite “plebe knowledge,” much of it trivial. Upperclassmen were particularly fond of requiring new cadets to recite General Winfield Scott’s famous “fixed opinion” on the superior performance of West Point graduates during the Mexican War.¹⁰ Much of the plebe knowledge appeared in *Bugle Notes*, a small, pocket-sized book issued to all new cadets upon their arrival at West Point. *Bugle Notes* featured diverse information including a historical sketch of West Point, information about Army athletics, the most popular cheers shouted during football games, the lyrics to popular songs such as “Benny Havens” and the alma mater, information on the organization and size of the U.S. Army, and a message from the outgoing class to the new cadets about the importance of tradition and honor. In this message, the new cadets learned that “a West Pointer the world over is the ideal of a soldier and a gentleman,” and that it was their responsibility to carry on this high reputation. The message also included the usual claim by “old grads” that the classes

admitted after them had it easy in comparison.¹¹

Although Congress had passed legislation that officially banned hazing in 1901, following an investigation into the death of a cadet, the practice continued, though usually in a relatively harmless form. Prevalent methods of hazing included “bracing,” an exaggerated form of standing at attention; “swimming to Newburgh,” which required balancing on one’s stomach on a board or pole and pretending to swim; picking up all of the ants inhabiting a particular ant hill; crawling on all fours pretending to be an insect; or doing a specified number of push-ups on command. Despite the undignified and uncomfortable nature of hazing, Omar Bradley saw value in the practice. It humbled the new cadets, particularly those who had been pampered in civilian life or who had been high school heroes, prep school snobs, and bullies. The practice also taught the importance of rank and obedience.¹²

Some new cadets adjusted to the military environment better than others. Being in top physical condition and comfortable handling guns, Dwight Eisenhower adapted quickly and relatively easily. His one major difficulty was with precision marching. He seemed incapable of keeping in step with the music and was distracted by the instructors’ constant yelling about his posture and inability to master the cadence. As a result, the instructors assigned Eisenhower to the “Awkward Squad” until he learned to march properly. Eisenhower believed that the excessive heat of the summer made the Beast experience even more arduous, and for some “unendurable.” He felt well-prepared for the physical challenges because of his previous civilian employment. He also considered the fact that he was older and more mature than most of his classmates to be an advantage. Those new cadets who weren’t used to physical exertion or who had been “overindulged” in their youth had a more difficult time. Ike’s Beast roommate washed out during their first semester because he couldn’t adapt to the harsh atmosphere at West Point, despite having been a hometown hero in high school. There had been a great celebration when he received his appointment to the Military Academy and the entire town, including a local band, had turned out to see him off when he departed for West Point. Once he arrived, the persecutions of life at the Academy were too much for him to bear.¹³

At the conclusion of Beast Barracks, the new cadets became plebes and joined the rest of the Corps on the Plain, near the ruins of Fort Clinton (a former Revolutionary War fortification) for the annual summer encampment. The encampment began at the end of June and ran until the end of August, when the entire Corps returned to barracks for the start of the academic year. With the cadets living in tents on the Plain, the encampment experience was a somewhat strange combination of military training and high-society socializing. Most mornings were devoted to drill, tactical field exercises, guard duty, foot marches, target practice, field hygiene, and other forms of training. In the afternoon, upperclassmen were free to play sports, go swimming or horseback riding, sleep, relax, or socialize. The more daring went on “boodle” expeditions into Highland Falls. “Boodle” was West Point slang for unauthorized food such

as candy, cheese, crackers, and jam. If caught, the offending cadets would have their food confiscated by tactical officers (commissioned army officers in charge of cadet discipline) and receive a significant number of demerits. Plebes spent their afternoons cleaning their weapons and equipment, receiving swimming instruction, and taking mandatory dancing lessons. Because of the lack of young women available during the training periods, the plebes had to practice dancing with each other. James Van Fleet claimed that dancing was the most difficult subject for him at West Point. His rural upbringing, he believed, gave him the grace of a “wounded water buffalo,” and he envied the social skills and cultural sophistication of his urban classmates. As a result, he never felt comfortable at Academy social events. The Fourth of July celebration at West Point officially began the summer social season in the Hudson River Valley. The Academy held dances, or “hops” in West Point parlance, three times a week during the summer. Young ladies far and wide journeyed to West Point to socialize, enjoy the breezes off the Hudson River, and possibly meet their future husbands. When there wasn’t a hop, the U.S. Military Academy Band held evening concerts. Occasionally a movie would be shown on Saturday night. The summer encampment ended with a grand military ball.¹⁴

A New Granite World

Returning to barracks for the start of the academic year in September, the Class of 1915 took up residence on a campus in the midst of a significant transformation. By the fall of 1911, West Point was in the final stages of a massive construction project designed to accommodate the increased size of the Corps of Cadets and to modernize



Bird's eye view of West Point, 1909. Image from the William Stockbridge Collection, courtesy of the United States Military Archives

the Academy's physical plant. Built in a military Gothic style of architecture that fit nicely with existing buildings and the Academy's natural surroundings of granite cliffs and mountains, the construction program included an administration building (today's Taylor Hall; completed in 1910), the new Cadet Chapel (completed in 1910), a gymnasium (the original component of today's Arvin Gymnasium, completed in 1910), a riding hall (today's Thayer Hall, completed in 1911), a heating and power generating facility adjacent to the riding hall (completed in 1909), a new barracks (completed in 1909), a new academic building (the original component of today's Bartlett Hall, completed in 1914), and new barracks and stables for the West Point artillery and cavalry units located at the south end of the post (completed in 1908). The imposing appearance of West Point's buildings, which resembled fortified castles, served as an ever-present reminder to cadets that they had left behind their civilian lives and were immersed in a thoroughly military culture.¹⁵

The beginning of the academic year presented a series of new challenges for the plebes. The daily schedule was the first such challenge to master. Reveille was at 0600 hours followed by company roll call outside the barracks. The cadets ate breakfast at 0630 hours and then cleaned their barracks rooms. Morning classes were held from 0800 to 1200 hours, when the cadets assembled for lunch. They marched to the mess hall and to class by company or academic section. Afternoon classes were held from 1300 to 1600 hours. Cadets participated in military drill, athletics, or had "free time" until dinner at 1800 hours. After study time, their day concluded with the playing of taps at 2000 hours. Classes were held Monday through Saturday, with a parade after classes on Saturday. The Saturday parades were open to the public and usually attracted a significant number of tourists and visitors. Sundays began with mandatory chapel followed by study time and uniform or room maintenance.¹⁶

The cadets experienced Spartan living conditions. They endured freezing temperatures during the winter and excessive heat in summer. Rooms in the barracks were designed to house two cadets but plebes often had to triple up until attrition reduced the class size. Room furnishings were limited to a washstand with a mirror and towel racks; a desk and chair for each cadet; and a cot with mattress and sheets for each cadet. The cadets hung their clothes on wall hooks. No decorations or pictures were permitted. Plebe rooms were inspected every day. In the mess hall, hired waiters served the Corps three meals a day, delivering the food to tables family style. Many cadets thought the food was plain and unappetizing, but Omar Bradley praised it as "excellent." As with everything else at West Point, the mess hall had its own protocol and lingo. The "gunner," a cadet sitting at the end of the table, carved the meat and counted off the number of days until June. The "water corporal" and "coffee corporal" were plebes whose job, held on a rotational basis and subject to sharp critiques by upperclassmen, was to serve their respective beverages to the rest of the table.¹⁷

Strict discipline was the defining characteristic of cadet life at West Point. Members of the Class of 1915 insisted that their class faced even stricter discipline because of



Cadet Room c.1917. Image from the William Stockbridge Collection, courtesy of the United States Military Archives

its enormous size. In the words of class member Joseph C. Haw, “The authorities were determined to ‘tighten things up,’ an attitude enhanced by the obsession that our out-size class would run wild unless controlled with more than ordinary firmness.”¹⁸ The Academy’s rules and regulations were wide-ranging and covered virtually every aspect of cadet life. The list of possible violations of those regulations was staggering. Among the offenses committed by cadets were failing to salute an officer properly, being late for formation, failure to properly adjust the heat in one’s barracks room, committing one or more uniform violations (such as wearing the wrong uniform, failing to shine one’s shoes properly, wearing soiled uniform items, or having one’s belt twisted during a parade), not numbering the problems as required during a written mathematics recitation, talking during class, failure to hand in a paper on time, smiling in the ranks during infantry drill, having long hair, having a work of fiction on display in one’s room during an inspection, and not keeping one’s barracks room clean.¹⁹

Reporting a cadet for a violation was “to skin” the offending cadet. The report itself was called a “skin.” Tactical officers did most of the reporting, but any officer could report a cadet for a violation. Cadet officers and cadet noncommissioned officers could report plebes. Punishments for violations included walking tours on the area (marching back and forth in full dress uniform under arms on a paved central courtyard located between the barracks buildings), being reduced in cadet rank, being turned back a year,

or being dismissed. A “slug” was a punishment that required an offending cadet to walk tours on the area every Wednesday and Saturday for one to nine months, depending on the severity of the offense. According to Omar Bradley, each cadet was allowed nine demerits per month. Any demerits beyond that had to be walked off on the area (one hour per demerit). Bradley had to walk seven hours on the area during the first month after classes started in 1911; after that experience, he stayed below the permitted number of demerits per month. In the words of one member of the Class of 1915, “So zealously did the Tactical Department guard our manners and morals that a contemporary of ours was actually ‘skinned’ for assisting his own mother across the street.” The Academy’s superintendent at the time of the Class of 1915’s arrival was Major General Thomas H. Barry, who was known for his ability to make a cadet’s punishment fit the crime. Once catching a cadet cutting across the Plain, Barry ordered him to pace back and forth warning passersby to keep off the grass. During the 1911 summer encampment, a group of yearlings (sophomores) ran by a sentinel post, grabbed a cannon, and dragged it back to camp. Barry ordered the offending cadets to pull the cannon around the post every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon for several months.²⁰

While Cadet Bradley learned to toe the line when it came to discipline, Cadet Eisenhower had a harder time of it. By his own admission, Eisenhower was not a model cadet. He regularly ignored the rules and regulations, racking up a serious number of demerits as a result. He enjoyed the challenge of attempting to break the rules without getting caught. Among Eisenhower’s extensive list of transgressions were being absent or late at formations, leaving his barracks room in disorder, having a dirty rifle or bayonet, failing to bring his notebook to English class, wearing a dirty uniform, wearing the incorrect uniform, smiling in the ranks, failing to pile his books neatly in his room, not sweeping the floor properly, failing to make his bed properly, talking in class, and misspelling his own name on an Academy document.²¹ Eisenhower’s favorite violation of the rules was leaving the post without permission; if caught, it would have resulted in dismissal or months of walking tours on the area. Ike and his friends enjoyed sneaking out of the barracks, going down to the river, renting a boat, and rowing to Newburgh for coffee and sandwiches. At times, his mischievous sense of humor landed him in serious trouble. Once, when an upperclassman caught Eisenhower and a fellow plebe committing a violation, the two were ordered to report to his room in “full dress coat,” the commonly used expression for appearing in one’s complete full dress uniform. As a joke, Eisenhower and his classmate reported wearing nothing but the full dress coat—no trousers, no socks, no shoes, and no underwear. The full dress coat is a cutaway-style coat with long tails in back and tailored to fit across the waist in front. The outraged upperclassman ordered the two plebes to return after taps wearing their complete full dress uniforms, including rifles and crossbelts. Upon their return, the two plebes were forced to brace against the wall until their body outlines showed up on it in perspiration.

Eisenhower was one of the most popular cadets in the Class of 1915. His classmates admired his fun-loving nature, laid-back attitude, athletic ability, and frequent chal-

lenges to authority in the form of pranks or violations of the regulations. His entry in *The Howitzer* (the West Point yearbook) indicates that Eisenhower earned two special designations: A.B. and B.A. The letters A.B. stood for “Area Bird,” meaning a cadet who accumulated a large number of hours walking on the area as punishment. B.A. stood for “Busted Aristocrat,” a cadet who was reduced in rank as a punishment. Eisenhower, who had risen to the rank of cadet sergeant despite his disciplinary record, earned his B.A. distinction when, after being admonished by an officer for dancing improperly with the daughter of one of the professors, he committed the same violation at a later hop. He was reduced in rank from sergeant to private as a result of his failure to abide by the Academy’s Victorian standard of what constituted appropriate dancing.²²

Vacations from the strict discipline at West Point were few and far between. Upperclassmen received a short Christmas leave if their disciplinary record and physical fitness were satisfactory, and they were proficient in all of their classes. At the end of their second year, cadets received a two-and-a-half-month furlough.²³ Other than these vacation periods and occasional off-post privileges for firsties (seniors), cadets had to spend the rest of their time on post, where the options for amusement and recreation were somewhat limited. Sports were a popular pastime, whether cheering the Army team to victory at an intercollegiate contest, participating in intramural athletics, or playing a sport just for fun. Many cadets played tennis; only a few played golf, which was considered a “sissy” game. On weekends, upperclassmen could go horseback riding or take a date to Flirtation Walk, a scenic trail along the Hudson River open only to cadets and their guests. Cadets could row on the Hudson in summer and skate on the reservoir in winter. The Academy often held hops on Saturday nights. Those cadets who didn’t attend the hop usually played sports in the gymnasium or hung out in the barracks playing cards. Academy regulations prohibited poker, which naturally meant that Dwight Eisenhower frequently played the game. Reading in the library was also an option for cadets’ leisure time. Socialization with one’s fellow cadets was an important part of maintaining morale within the Corps of Cadets. Omar Bradley was a member of a secret and illegal fraternity, Omicron Pi Phi, which was composed of cadet athletes and athletic managers. Bradley was also on the receiving end of another popular cadet pastime—giving nicknames to each other and to the faculty. Labeled the “ugliest man in his class” by his fellow cadets, Bradley received the nickname “Darwin” because some of his classmates thought his facial features resembled an ape’s.²⁴

Eisenhower found various ways to cope with the stress of cadet life. His quest to break the rules without getting caught served as a form of amusement for him. To the dismay of his fellow cadets, Ike also made a habit of singing badly in the shower, his favorite tune being “Clementine.” Although smoking was permitted by Academy officials, cadets could smoke only cigars or pipes, which were considered gentlemanly and socially acceptable. Not surprisingly, Eisenhower rebelled and started smoking cigarettes, a habit he continued until 1948. Eisenhower was a member of the West Point chapter of the YMCA, whose members met on Sunday evenings to hear speakers and participate

in Bible study classes. They also taught Sunday school to children living on the post. Eisenhower served as a Sunday school teacher during his first year. Discussing politics was another of Eisenhower's pursuits. During the Election of 1912, he was a staunch opponent of Theodore Roosevelt. His roommate, Paul Hodgson, commented, "I never knew anyone with such a strong and at the same time, causeless and unreasonable dislike for another, as he has for Roosevelt. I can put him into the most unpleasant mood by merely mentioning Teddy." Despite his popularity and outgoing nature, Eisenhower valued quiet time alone with his thoughts. He often explored the ruins of Fort Putnam (a Revolutionary War fortification overlooking the Academy campus) or thought about his future while standing on the bluffs above the Hudson River.²⁵

Disciplining the Mind

The Class of 1915 arrived at a Military Academy in the early stages of educational reform. The West Point curriculum had not changed much since the days of Sylvanus Thayer, the "Father of the Military Academy" who served as its superintendent from 1817 to 1833. However, the Spanish-American War of 1898 and the U.S. Army's central colonial role in governing the Philippines, combined with the Military Academy's centennial in 1902, revived interest in West Point and the education it provided to cadets. In addition, the improvement of the army's postgraduate education system (particularly the Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and the Army War College at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania) suggested the need for advancement in the undergraduate education at West Point. The most notable changes in the West Point curriculum around the turn of the century were increased instruction in Spanish, necessary because of the army's responsibilities governing the colonies gained from the war with Spain, and the creation of two new departments: the Department of English and History and the Department of Military Hygiene.²⁶

In the opinion of Joseph C. Haw of the Class of 1915, his classmates' later success was even more remarkable given that "the curriculum was narrow, formalistic, and unimaginative, that independent thought was not encouraged, and that the education of the instructors was limited to what they had absorbed as cadets." West Point required all cadets to take the same classes regardless of their previous academic background. There were no electives and no academic majors. The faculty was composed almost exclusively of West Point graduates. Lacking graduate education or previous teaching experience, the majority of West Point instructors had little, if any, preparation to teach beyond what they had learned themselves as cadets. Many of the textbooks read by cadets had been written by the department heads. The predominant form of instruction—daily recitation—had not changed since Thayer's era. This educational method encouraged rote memorization and frowned upon creativity and original thinking. The "genius of West Point," according to Professor Charles W. Larned, the longtime professor of drawing, lay in the Military Academy's three basic principles of education: 1) "Every man in every subject"; 2) "Every man proficient in everything"; and 3)

“Every man [recites] every day.” This was the time-tested way to develop the “mental discipline” and “mechanism of thinking” that would enable West Point graduates to become lifelong learners and to develop original ideas and problem-solving skills.²⁷

During their first year at the Academy, plebes studied mathematics (including algebra, geometry, and trigonometry), English, history (from medieval times to the present), and practical military engineering (surveying). Many cadets considered mathematics to be the most difficult course during plebe year. Most cadet attrition occurred by Christmas, with mathematics resulting in the most cadet dismissals for academic deficiency. Yearlings (sophomores) continued their studies in mathematics (including geometry and calculus) and practical military engineering, and began their coursework in chemistry, French, and drawing (including descriptive geometry, topography, and map making). Cadets in their third year studied chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; natural and experimental philosophy (physics, including mechanics, sound, light, and astronomy); Spanish; and drawing (including mechanical drawing, structural design, reading working drawings, military landscape drawing, and the art and architecture of the world). Firsties studied civil engineering, military engineering and the art of war, ordnance and gunnery, Spanish, and law (including constitutional, military, and international law). The Class of 1915’s instruction in law included a guest lecture on the Constitution by former President William Howard Taft.²⁸

The capstone of cadet education was a course on military engineering and the art of war. Originally designed by legendary West Point Professor Dennis Hart Mahan, professor of civil and military engineering from 1830 to 1871, the course was easily the most popular among cadets. The military engineering component of the course included such topics as field fortification, permanent fortification, and siege works. The art of war component provided instruction in army organization, logistics, strategy, and military history. The cadets’ study of military history focused on the campaigns of Napoleon, the American Civil War, and the Franco-Prussian War. The Battle of Gettysburg received the most detailed instruction, with cadets studying maps, military orders, and correspondence related to the battle as well as visiting the battlefield itself to study its terrain firsthand. There was virtually no instruction on the Spanish-American War or subsequent Philippine insurrection. Similarly, the outbreak of World War I in 1914 did not bring any immediate changes to the West Point curriculum. Cadets did not participate in discussions of the early battles in Europe or of trench warfare. In fact, the only information cadets received about the Great War was what they read in newspapers and magazines.²⁹

Strict military protocol defined the West Point classroom of the early twentieth century. Cadets wore high-collared uniforms to class, stood at attention until told by the instructor to take their seats, and conducted recitations with a rigid, soldierly bearing at the position of attention. Instructors corrected any violations of military bearing. The classroom environment was as much about developing the cadets’ military discipline as it was about learning. Each lesson began with the section marcher (the cadet

responsible for leading the section to the classroom and taking attendance) giving his report to the instructor. The instructor then ordered the cadets to “take seats” and asked if there were any questions about the previous night’s homework. After answering any questions, the instructor would assign each cadet a problem or topic upon which to recite, usually at the chalkboard. The instructor would then call on each cadet in turn to recite, meaning the cadet would stand by the chalkboard with a pointer and say, “Sir, I am required to discuss....” For mathematics, science, and engineering classes, this often meant working out a problem on the board. Not surprisingly, cadets would sometimes try to avoid reciting as long as possible by asking the instructor a series of questions, hoping he would get carried away in his explanation of the lesson and use up the remaining class time.³⁰

According to the Thayer method, cadets received grades every day based on the quality of their recitation. Instructors posted accumulated grades each week. The faculty averaged cadet grades from daily recitations, periodic written “partial reviews” (an examination after a block of lessons), and “general reviews” (an examination at the end of a course) to determine each cadet’s academic rank. Academic grades combined with military and conduct grades determined the order of merit for graduation, which in turn determined the branch of the army a cadet would be assigned to after commissioning. The faculty grouped cadets by ability into one of twenty-eight sections of twelve cadets each. The highest performers, or “engineers” in West Point parlance, formed Section 1, while the lowest performers, or “goats,” formed Section 28. These course sections fluctuated from week to week based on a cadet’s performance. If a cadet was deficient in a course, he would spend Christmas leave at West Point studying for and taking a “turnout exam.” A passing grade meant the cadet could continue at the Academy. Failure resulted in dismissal or being “turned back” a year (for those who demonstrated strong leadership potential). Cadets “turned back” had to repeat the year, including courses they had already passed. Perhaps the most famous instance of a cadet being turned back a year was George Patton, a member of the West Point Class of 1909. Despite having already completed a year at the Virginia Military Institute before gaining admission to West Point, Patton failed mathematics during his plebe year and was turned back. Fortunately for the Class of 1915, the West Point faculty gradually made some important changes in the instruction of cadets. Rather than grading every day, instructors graded cadets every few days. The faculty also placed more emphasis on actually teaching concepts to the cadets and having more of an intellectual exchange through instructor-cadet interaction within the classroom.³¹

Forging Leaders of Character

West Point sought to transform young men from civilians to professional army officers through character development, military training, and physical education. The honor code was the central feature of the Military Academy’s efforts to produce leaders of character. According to the honor code, violations such as copying another cadet’s

work, using unauthorized notes, or lying were grounds for dismissal. At this point in the Academy's history, cadets ran the honor system through an unofficial cadet "vigilance committee." Any cadet witnessing an honor violation was duty bound to report it to the vigilance committee, which would investigate the alleged violation and give the accused cadet the opportunity to defend himself. If convicted by the committee, the cadet was asked to resign. If he refused, the case was forwarded to the superintendent for trial by court-martial. The honor code was a source of great pride for most cadets. The message in *Bugle Notes* from the outgoing class to the new cadets stressed the importance of maintaining the honor system and the need "to keep it pure, to better it, and to strengthen it."³²

As with academics, West Point was in a state of transition when it came to cadet military training. After the Spanish-American War, the Military Academy introduced more practical military training into the course of studies. Conducted by the Department of Tactics, led by the commandant of cadets, military training took place throughout the year, especially during the summer. All four classes participated in infantry training, including practicing the manual of arms, parade drill, tent pitching, entrenching, guard duty, sword and bayonet exercises, and rifle marksmanship. Beginning in 1905, the annual summer encampment ended with an extensive practice march off post. The firsties served as officers during this march and led the Corps in a series of simulated tactical missions. The upper three classes participated in cavalry training that featured instruction and practice in riding and hippology (the study and care of horses). By firstie year, the cadets progressed to mounted cavalry drills on the parade field. This training was supported by West Point's cavalry detachment of enlisted troopers from the all-black 9th Cavalry Regiment, the famous "Buffalo Soldiers." The upper three classes also received artillery instruction—both field artillery and coast artillery. Most of the artillery training was simulated because of the lack of live ammunition available. If ammunition was available, cadets would fire artillery rounds at targets on nearby Crow's Nest Mountain. To facilitate cadet artillery training, West Point maintained its own enlisted artillery detachment and a coast artillery emplacement on Trophy Point. The Department of Practical Military Engineering instructed the cadets in how to build tactical bridges, field redoubts, and military obstacles; how to conduct topographical surveys; how to use explosives for demolition; how to dig entrenchments; and how to operate signaling equipment. Based on the army's experience in the Spanish-American War, in which far more soldiers died from disease than combat, West Point introduced instruction in military hygiene in 1902. This training often took the form of lectures on such topics as personal hygiene, first aid, physical examination of army recruits, food and its preparation, water supply, waste disposal, barracks sanitation, disease prevention (including venereal disease), and the "nature and effects" of alcoholic drinks and narcotics.³³

To ensure the Academy produced officers possessing the physical fitness needed to endure the rigors of the battlefield, West Point operated a mandatory physical education

program that included calisthenics, military gymnastics, fencing, boxing, wrestling, swimming, and riding. To supplement this physical training, the Academy organized voluntary intramural athletics in addition to fielding several intercollegiate sports teams. Captain Herman J. Koehler, the longtime master of the sword and instructor in military gymnastics and physical culture, argued that the Academy should take further steps to encourage more cadets to play sports. The purpose of athletics at West Point was to enhance cadets' physical and military development. Winning was not the top priority, and victory on the playing field should never overshadow the ultimate goal of victory on the battlefield. Koehler declared that cadets should participate in athletics

not for the sake of representing the Academy on any particular team, but for the good the individual gets out of them. If indulgence in athletics is to be confined to a limited few, who are already the superiors of their fellows physically, to the exclusion of those who indulge in them for the sake of physical betterment only; and if winning is to be made the sole and only desideratum, then athletics fail of their object, especially here at the Military Academy, where every student is and must continue to be upon precisely the same plane of equality with every other.³⁴

Most cadets considered West Point's equestrian requirement (horseback riding) to be the most challenging and dangerous component of the physical training program. The horses used for riding instruction and cavalry training had a reputation for being difficult to handle. One horse in particular, Treat, had the habit of throwing his rider off and then, once the rider had hit the ground, kicking him in the face with his hind leg. At one point, there were three cadets in the hospital simultaneously with broken jaws courtesy of Treat. One of the most difficult riding exercises to complete was the so-called "monkey drill," essentially mounted calisthenics.³⁵

The Academy fielded varsity intercollegiate teams in baseball, football, basketball, hockey, lacrosse, track and field, and fencing. At West Point, it was football that was "elevated to the status of a religion." The athletic high point of the year was the annual Army-Navy game, which originated in 1890 and has since become one of the greatest rivalries in college sports. During their four football seasons at West Point, the members of the Class of 1915 witnessed two Navy victories (1911, 1912) and two Army victories (1913, 1914). Three of the games (1911, 1912, and 1914) were played at Franklin Field in Philadelphia, with the fourth (1913) played at the Polo Grounds in New York City.³⁶ After playing on the junior varsity football team (known as the "Cullum Hall" squad) during plebe year, Dwight Eisenhower made the varsity team as a yearling. Playing halfback, he quickly rose to stardom, with the *New York Times* referring to him as "one of the most promising backs in Eastern football." Unfortunately, Eisenhower's football career came to an abrupt and painful end on November 16, 1912, when he suffered a serious knee injury while being tackled in a game against Tufts University. Eisenhower was devastated when he learned the injury would end his playing career. Entering a period of depression that led to the start of his smoking habit, Eisenhower later recalled in his memoirs that, "Life seemed to have little meaning; a need to excel was almost gone." He thought about resigning from the Academy, but his classmates convinced him to

stay. He regained his morale by becoming a cheerleader and by serving as an assistant coach for the junior varsity football team. Despite the injury, Eisenhower had played in enough games to earn the coveted Army "A" letter for his sweater.³⁷

After the injury took place, there was some miscommunication between Eisenhower and the West Point doctors who treated him. Unaware of the true severity of the knee injury, Eisenhower participated in a gymnastics drill in the riding hall. The drill required repeated mounting and dismounting, and Eisenhower was thrown from his horse, exacerbating the injury. Some of Eisenhower's biographers claim that the riding instructor had accused Eisenhower of malingering even though he had a medical excuse. In an effort to defend his honor, Eisenhower participated in the drill and, as a result, made the knee injury permanent. It bothered him for the rest of his life.³⁸

As graduation and commissioning approached, members of the Class of 1915 had to decide in which branch of the army they wished to serve. Each cadet's rank in the class order of merit would play a significant role in determining the branch. Top graduates usually chose to serve in the Corps of Engineers. Cadets in the upper half of their class also often chose field artillery, coast artillery, or ordnance. Among the remaining cadets, those who had a love of horses and riding chose cavalry, while the remainder would serve in the infantry.³⁹ Eisenhower's football injury almost cost him his commission as an army officer. In the process of evaluating the medical fitness of each member of the graduating class, an army medical board ruled that Eisenhower's injury disqualified him for active duty and a commission (though he would still graduate and receive his diploma). The West Point post surgeon, Colonel Henry Shaw, disagreed with the board's ruling. He talked to Eisenhower and offered to have the board's decision reversed if Eisenhower requested coast artillery as his branch. Eisenhower refused to serve in the coast artillery, which he saw as "a numbing series of routine chores and a minimum of excitement." Coast artillery posts were nicknamed "cottages by the sea," partly out of scorn and partly out of envy. Shaw then said that if Eisenhower requested any branch but cavalry, he would attempt to secure him a commission. Eisenhower agreed and filled out all three spaces on his service preference card with infantry. Shaw collected recommendations from instructors and tactical officers in support of Eisenhower's commissioning and was able to have the board's decision reversed.⁴⁰

An Army in Transition

The Class of 1915 entered the army during a time of transformation from its role as a frontier constabulary force to a modern professional army. The U.S. Army of 1915 was a relatively small force of 120,000 soldiers that had no tanks or electronic equipment and only the most primitive airplanes. Nonetheless, important reforms following the Spanish-American War were already having a positive effect on it. Developments such as the creation of a general staff, the establishment of the Army War College, improved education and training, new military technologies, and greater coordination between the regular army and the National Guard would allow the creation of the vast, modern

army that members of the Class of 1915 would command in World War II.⁴¹

West Point would experience its own transformation and modernization in the years after the Class of 1915 graduated. As superintendent from 1919 to 1922, Brigadier General Douglas MacArthur sought to adapt and broaden the Military Academy's curriculum and training programs to meet the needs of a more modern, industrial, and global world. Based on his combat experience during World War I, MacArthur realized that West Point was woefully out of date in terms of preparing the cadets for their future responsibilities as officers in the modern battlefield environment of the early twentieth century. Facing strong opposition from the Academic Board, MacArthur achieved only limited success in his efforts to modernize the curriculum. He was able to add a new course on government and economics, introduce more Far East history to the required history course, and include instruction on the internal combustion engine as part of the required chemistry course. In addition, the military engineering and art of war course began studying the major battles of World War I. MacArthur was more successful in reforming military and physical training. Dismissing the annual summer encampment as "a ludicrous caricature of life in the field," MacArthur instead sent the cadets to Camp Dix, New Jersey, for summer military training, where they received instruction from regular army noncommissioned officers. To increase the cadets' interaction with civilians in an effort to prepare them for leading citizen soldiers in battle one day, MacArthur granted more leave and more off-post privileges, giving cadets more experience with the world outside West Point. To improve the character-development mission of the Academy, MacArthur codified the honor system and created an official Honor Committee of cadets to administer it. According to MacArthur's personal observations during World War I, soldiers most admired athletic and physically fit officers, and former athletes seemed to make better leaders on the battlefield. Declaring that "upon the fields of friendly strife are sown the seeds that, upon other fields, on other days, will bear the fruits of victory," MacArthur introduced mandatory intramural athletics for all cadets.⁴²

Members of the Class of 1915 had mixed feelings about their time at West Point. Omar Bradley, who graduated forty-fourth out of 164 and achieved the rank of cadet lieutenant, revered the Academy for everything it had done for him. West Point had provided him with the paternal guidance he needed to achieve success: "For a young boy who had lost his father and might have unconsciously been in search of a surrogate, it was the ideal place. West Point was a rigidly structured, highly disciplined all-male society with no end of strong 'father figures' to emulate." Bradley returned to West Point as an officer for two tours of duty—as a mathematics instructor from 1920 to 1924 and as a tactical officer from 1934 to 1938. Dwight Eisenhower's relationship with West Point was more complicated. Graduating sixty-first in his class at a ceremony attended by none of his parents, brothers, or friends from home, Eisenhower was thrilled to leave the Academy, which he once described as a "hell hole." In 1937, he turned down an offer to become commandant of cadets without even giving the opportunity serious

consideration because he had no desire to return to West Point. Yet, as he grew older, Eisenhower came to acknowledge that “West Point did more for me than any other institution.” In his memoirs, published near the end of his life, Eisenhower placed the chapter about West Point first, suggesting that it was the Academy that was the formative influence in his life, more than his hometown of Abilene. When General Mark Clark, Eisenhower’s close friend, visited the former president at Walter Reed Army Hospital just before his death, the only thing Eisenhower ever wanted to talk about was West Point, not his time as supreme allied commander during World War II or his presidency.⁴³

There is no denying that the West Point of the early twentieth century was in need of substantial reform. For the most part, the Academy operated as it had during the Thayer years. The academic and military training programs had changed little since the nineteenth century and even the outbreak of World War I and its modern weapons failed to knock West Point out of its outdated ways. Yet, there was still something special about the Military Academy and what it offered to cadets. The academic program not only provided cadets with instruction in a range of subjects of obvious practical value to army officers, but it also developed the mental discipline and attention to detail necessary for future professional success. West Point’s military training, physical education, and character-development programs were highly successful in transforming young civilian men into professional soldiers. Above all, West Point was able to inspire among the cadets a commitment to service above self. Although the “class the stars fell on” included many excellent officers, the case of Dwight Eisenhower is perhaps the most dramatic in demonstrating the influence that West Point had in forging commanders who would lead American and Allied forces to victory in World War II. Though he was by no means a model cadet in terms of discipline and was the classic underachiever academically, Eisenhower went on to serve as supreme commander of Allied forces in Europe during World War II, the U.S. Army chief of staff in the postwar years, the first supreme commander of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces, and the thirty-fourth President of the United States. While there is no denying that Eisenhower possessed the intelligence, drive, and ambition needed to succeed in life before he set foot on the Plain at West Point, it is also clear that the West Point experience successfully molded a farm boy from rural Kansas into one of the most celebrated military and political leaders in American history.

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Nova Belgica et Anglia Nova, William Blaeu, 1635. Map image courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library

The Meeting of American, European, and Atlantic Worlds in the Seventeenth-Century Hudson River Valley*

Jaap Jacobs and L.H. Roper

As the proverbial schoolchildren know, the Englishman Henry Hudson (c. 1570–1611) conducted his 1609 exploration of the river that bears his name on behalf of the Dutch East India Company. In the same year that Hudson sailed north up the river, trading, fighting, drinking, and negotiating with Native Americans along the way, a Frenchman named Samuel de Champlain made his way south from the St. Lawrence River. His trip was not a voyage of exploration and Champlain was not the leader of the expedition. Yet it too involved interaction with Native Americans, culminating in an armed encounter on what later came to be called Lake Champlain between Huron and Algonquian Indians and their French friends on the one side and the Haudenosaunee of the Iroquois Confederacy on the other. The Hudson-Champlain corridor became, accordingly, a geographic area where European worlds and American worlds interacted, an interaction that led to the establishment of colonial worlds which over time transformed into Atlantic worlds that involved the decline of Native American populations and territory, an increase in European settlement and territorial claims, and the introduction of forced African immigration.

In our book, we introduce readers to the issues involved in the expansion of European interests to the Hudson River Valley, the cultural interaction that took place there, and the resulting colonization of the region. The contributions incorporate the latest historical insights as eleven scholars, all distinguished experts in their fields, explore interactions between American Indians and Europeans, the settlement of the Dutch colony that ensued from the exploration of the Hudson River, and the develop-

* This article is based on Jaap Jacobs and L.H. Roper (eds.), *The Worlds of the Seventeenth-Century Hudson Valley* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014). Obviously, an article based on a collection of essays owes much to the authors of the essays: Kees Zandvliet, Timothy J. Shannon, Paul Otto, Jon W. Parmenter, Leslie Choquette, Lauric Henneon, Willem Frijhoff, Claudia Schnurmann, and Joyce Goodfriend. We have made ample use of their own words in drawing up this article. The two editors also contributed essays. Instead of including footnotes, we refer our readers to the published book for further information.

ment of imperial and other networks that came to incorporate the Hudson Valley.

Our intention is to provide teachers and others interested in Hudson and his legacy with an in-depth introduction, written in accessible language, and ready reference to the issues involved in the expansion of European interests to the Hudson Valley and Dutch colonization of the region. Our panel at the 35th Conference on New York State History, held in June 2014 at Marist College, aimed to do the same in a different format. Four of the authors—Leslie Choquette, Paul Otto, Jaap Jacobs, and L.H. Roper—gave short presentations and engaged in a discussion with the audience and each other, under the sage moderation of Dr. Dennis Maika of the New Netherland Institute. Following the pattern of the book, we divided the contributions into four parts.

European Worlds

The first part, “European Worlds,” offers insights into the European contexts of the settlement of the Hudson Valley, specifically those of the seventeenth-century Dutch and English empires, as Jaap Jacobs noted in his contribution to our panel. The Dutch Republic and England fought alongside each other against their Iberian rivals, Spain and Portugal, during the first phase of the Dutch Revolt (1568-1609). As the theater of warfare spread to the Americas, Africa, and Asia, this conflict may well be called the first global war, especially in its second phase (1621-1648). Yet by the middle decades of the seventeenth century, rivalry between the Dutch Republic and England increased, culminating in three wars, of which the second proved fatal to the Dutch colony that had sprung up in North America.

Essential to the fortunes of the Dutch Empire were the different trajectories of its main rivals: Spain, which was the preeminent European power in the sixteenth-century Western Hemisphere, was suffering from imperial overstretch in the seventeenth, while the American presence of Portugal, which had established many trading posts in Asia, and Africa, was confined to Brazil in accordance with the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). From 1580 onwards, Spain and Portugal were governed by the same king, pooling the resources available for military ventures until Portugal commenced a successful war for independence in 1640.

This move sparked a rebellion by Portuguese sugar planters in Brazil, parts of which had been conquered by the Dutch West India Company (chartered 1621) from 1630 onwards. By 1654, the Portuguese had regained the whole of Brazil, ousting the Dutch from their South American foothold. During the 1640s, Portugal also regained its colonies Kongo and Angola, which also had been taken by the Dutch. While the Dutch went on the offensive against the Portuguese in Asia, the setbacks in the Americas did not stop it from achieving the main aim of its extra-European war effort: With the Peace of Munster in 1648, Spain acknowledged the independence of the Dutch Republic, whose own war for independence had begun in 1568.

By this time, France and England had replaced Spain and Portugal as the main rivals of the Dutch Republic in overseas shipping and trade. By 1650, England had

left a phase of religious strife and political struggles behind it and entered into relative stability, which allowed it to pay more attention to overseas matters. Dutch dominance of world trade, which included trading operations in England's American colonies, drew Albion's ire and sparked the enactment of the Navigation Acts in 1651 and the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652-1654), an attempt to coerce English colonies into shipping raw materials to England only in English ships. France, which had been plagued by internal conflicts and economic stagnation, regained its composure and a sense of larger purpose after Louis XIV attained his majority in 1661 and also engaged in economic warfare with the Dutch Republic. Blows like the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667) and the Franco-Dutch War (1672-1678), of which the Third Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674) was a part, crippled the overseas shipping of the Dutch Republic, and put the final nail in the coffin of the First Dutch Empire, at least in the Atlantic.

The English empire followed a different trajectory, as L.H. Roper outlined in his contribution to our panel at the New York State History Conference. Like the Dutch, the English became involved relatively late in the expansion of European commercial and political interests overseas. To contemporary minds deeply affected by the Reformation, the colonial expansion of Catholic Spain was conceived as a plan to establish a "universal monarchy" that would place liberty-loving practitioners of the "True Religion" under the "yoke" of "popish tyranny." Despite the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, prior to 1600 English efforts to dent Iberian interests had yielded only dismal results. Yet some advocates of an aggressive anti-Spanish foreign policy continued to argue the case. Unfortunately for them, the English monarchs were financially unable to equip and maintain substantial armies and fleets or to support voyages of "discovery." Thus English governments relied on private mechanisms, such as the joint-stock corporation, to carry out public projects, relieving the government of financial responsibility. The Virginia Company, created in 1606, is a prime example of this practice. The joint-stock corporation fell out of fashion by the 1640s and was gradually replaced by the practice of granting proprietary rights to individuals, such as William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania (1682). Both mechanisms aggravated factional behavior in the political nation.

As a result of these weaknesses, English efforts at colonization lacked strong metropolitan support. Basically, once colonists landed on American soil they were on their own. While history tends to highlight success, many of the early English attempts at colonization failed or went through critical times. Expectations often were unrealistic, preparations and provisions were insufficient to handle conditions on the ground, illnesses and starvation were rampant, colonists engaged in self-destructive conflicts, and the natives often turned out to be hostile. Attempts at colonization in Maine and Roanoke were given up within a short time. Even Jamestown, nowadays labeled "the first permanent English settlement in what is now the United States," was abandoned twice before becoming "permanent," a condition secured by the cultivation of tobacco.

The haphazard spread of English empire in the Western Hemisphere did not

extend very far inland before 1651. By this time, the English had only settled along the coast of New England, along the Connecticut River, and on the shore of Chesapeake Bay, as well as on a few islands in the Caribbean. In Asia, meanwhile, the English had made inroads on Portuguese possession but had also run into conflicts with the Dutch. The English (chartered in 1600) and Dutch (chartered in 1602) East India companies engaged in a fierce competition for spices such as nutmeg, exclusively grown on the Banda Islands. As rivalry flared up, bloody incidents such as the “Amboyna Massacre” (1623) ensued, giving rise to a growing view in England that the Netherlands, rather than Spain, constituted the greater threat to English interests. And it was this realization that provided the background for the three Anglo-Dutch Wars in the second half of the seventeenth century.

In the global wars between Spain, Portugal, England, France, and the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, accurate maps and a proper understanding of prevalent winds and currents were of the essence. As the essay by Kees Zandvliet argues, the quest for cartographical information, which gave rise to the career of Henry Hudson and the early seventeenth-century exploration of North America, thus became central to the Anglo-Dutch conflict that spilled over into the Hudson Valley. The rise of Dutch cartography was to a large extent the result of the migration of Flemish cartographers following merchants to the north after the fall of Antwerp to Spanish forces in 1585. Increasingly, mapmakers in the northern part of the Low Countries started producing for a growing international market. They did not confine themselves to maps: they also produced pilot guides (Waggoners), globes, and atlases. Cartographers reacted to the independent and global attitude that Dutch merchants developed in the late sixteenth century. Working hand-in-hand with merchants such as Balthasar de Moucheron and pilots, cartographers engaged in a constant process of refining maps, making them more accurate and more reliable. Taking his lead from geographers such as Gerard Mercator, Moucheron advocated a new route to Asia by seeking a northeastern passage. Others, such as Petrus Plancius, favored a route across the North Pole, arguing that the abundance of sunshine in summer would open up the Polar Sea for ships. Such competing ventures often relied on government support in the form of monopolies for the production of crucial maps and charts for navigation overseas, usually in the form of copyright grants for a limited time.

Early Dutch charts for navigation in the Atlantic were produced by mapmakers in Edam and other cities in North Holland from 1600 onwards. Even though Dutch pilots knew their way in the Atlantic, large parts of the American coasts had hardly been explored. This lies at the root of Henry Hudson’s 1609 voyage in the service of the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The VOC had no interest in the American coast as such but was, in those early years, still looking for a Northeast Passage to Asia. Dutch publishers quickly responded to the expansion of sea voyages and the flow of incoming information. In their products, they often combined maps with information concerning the history, inhabitants, flora, fauna, minerals, location, accessibility,

climate, and fortifications. On a Dutch map such as the 1616 map of New Netherland, of which we assume Hessel Gerritsz, the first official mapmaker of the VOC, to be the (co-)editor, we see very explicit attention being paid to the locations of native tribes, combining information from Dutch explorers and Indians.

From 1621, Dutch trade in the Atlantic fell under the authority of the West India Company (WIC), which employed mapmakers, land surveyors, and engineers in the Dutch Republic and overseas. Yet the relative openness of Atlantic shipping resulted in WIC mapmaking agencies facing fierce competition. Chart production remained largely in the private sector. After its capture by the Dutch in 1630, Recife in Brazil became the WIC's overseas administrative center to coordinate military expeditions and hydrographic surveys. By this time, the Dutch had overtaken their Spanish and Portuguese rivals in the production of cartographic information.

Cartography obviously was of great importance for Dutch expansion in the Atlantic area. Contrary to the situation in Asia, though, the production of maps and charts was not controlled by a governmental or semi-governmental body. The VOC was much more in control over cartographical information compared to its Atlantic counterpart. In the Atlantic theatre, WIC mapmakers and publishers working for the open market were in close contact, at least in the field of small-scale maps and charts. In Dutch society as a whole, maps were considered a vital means for the practice of overseas expansion. They also were considered works of scholarship and art, and were very much seen as symbols of modernity. Therefore charts, as well as multi-volume atlases, globes, and wall maps, decorated the interiors of the new and confident elite of the Dutch Republic at the midpoint of the seventeenth century.

American Worlds

The second section of the book discusses the American Indian societies with which Hudson and later Europeans came into contact, and it tracks the history of contact between natives and newcomers in the Hudson Valley as well as the effects of interaction on both American Indian and European people. Placing the Hudson Valley in an Atlantic context, the essay by Timothy Shannon argues that rivers were the avenues of empire in seventeenth-century North America. They provided routes for exploration and the fastest, most convenient way for transporting resources from the interior to coastal seaports and beyond. We often imagine the early European settlements in North America as beachheads from which colonists slowly and uniformly advanced westward, but in fact the penetration of the interior varied considerably from one region to the next depending on the ease of inland navigation. In tidewater Virginia, tobacco planters dispersed quickly along the James, York, Rappahannock, and Potomac Rivers until encountering the fall line, where rapids, waterfalls, and rising elevations stopped oceangoing vessels from proceeding further. In New England, some colonists used the broad gateway provided by the Connecticut River to establish inland settlements at Hartford, Connecticut, and Springfield, Massachusetts, at a time when their

contemporaries were mostly clustered in coastal communities.

All rivers were not created equal. The Susquehanna is one of the longest rivers in eastern North America, but its fall line is not far from the head of Chesapeake Bay and its shallowness makes it ill-suited for large watercraft. For most of the colonial period, it served as an obstacle rather than an open door to colonization. The Delaware, on the other hand, became a major artery for commerce and settlement for three colonies: Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware.

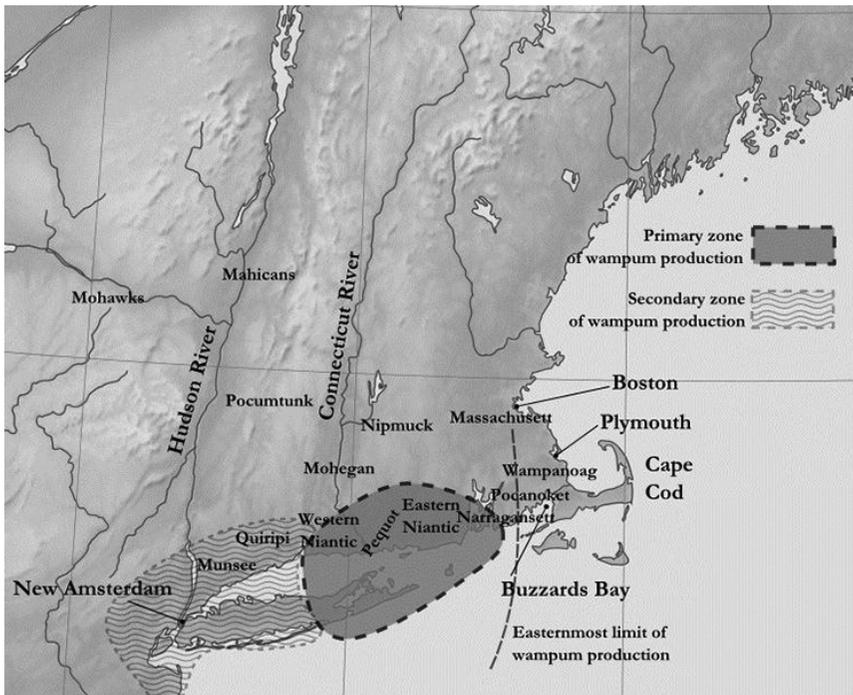
Two rivers exceed all others along the Atlantic coast for the routes they provided into the interior: the St. Lawrence and the Hudson. Not surprisingly, both became vital to the ambitions of Europeans, and a comparison of New France and New Netherland illustrates the advantages each offered. The St. Lawrence provided French ships with a navigable corridor into the continent as far as Quebec. From there, smaller watercraft (primarily the birch bark canoes made by the Indians of the region) could be used to reach lakes Ontario and Erie. The Ottawa River, from its juncture with the St. Lawrence at Montréal, provided another water-borne route to the west via lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior. The French presence in northeastern America spread out along these inland arteries, creating an empire held together by canoes, trade goods, and forts positioned at strategic portages throughout the Great Lakes watershed.

Similar to the French experience in Canada, Dutch colonization in North America moved in a thin ribbon along a great river. Large watercraft aided by the tides could sail as far north as Fort Orange (modern Albany). From there, a portage road around Cohoes Falls made it possible to connect with the Mohawk River and follow a water route all the way to Lake Ontario with only one significant portage at the Oneida Carrying Place (modern Rome, New York). Unlike their French rivals, however, the Dutch did not press westward in search of furs to buy or souls to save. They built Fort Orange and were content to let the Indians bring furs to them. Schenectady, established at the end of the portage road around Cohoes Falls, became the westernmost Dutch settlement. Neither it nor Beverwijck, the town that grew up around Fort Orange, ever became the seat of a missionary enterprise to rival what Jesuit priests were undertaking in Canada.

New Netherland and New France were similar in that both took their shape from the river systems that provided entry into the continent for their traders and colonists. In both cases, the fur trade attracted investment and colonizers, but it also retarded the growth of self-perpetuating settler populations that could rival colonies in New England and the Chesapeake. Other factors of geography and culture caused the paths of these colonies to diverge. The Hudson Valley's more temperate climate and the West India Company's endorsement of religious freedom of conscience made New Netherland a more relatively attractive destination for prospective emigrants than Canada. New France, however, engrossed a much larger share of the northern fur trade because of the willingness of its missionaries and traders to forge spiritual and familial ties with Indians deep into the continent's interior. Neither colony ever succeeded in solving its population problem, although New Netherland did show progress on this

front after the WIC gave up its monopoly on the fur trade. In both cases, the river in question served far more effectively as an avenue for trade out of the colony than as a conveyor of people into it.

As Paul Otto shows in his essay on the Munsee Indians and wampum, trade between Indians and colonists in the Hudson River Valley depended on the shell beads now commonly known as *wampum*, made by the coastal Natives. Like many other coastal dwellers on the mid-Atlantic shores, they manufactured shell beads, which in turn followed trade networks that brought the beads into the hands of Iroquoian speakers of the interior. But while wampum originated among Native people, its later development owes much to the intersection of European and Indian worlds. After the arrival of Europeans to North American shores between the Delaware and Narragansett Bays, Native-produced shell beads went from occasional production in small numbers to mass production in the hundreds of thousands. Wampum's nature, use, and application also evolved. These revolutionary changes to wampum accompanied changes in Munsee society that paralleled transformations experienced by Native Americans throughout coastal North America. Furthermore, these changes took place not simply as the result of intercultural contact, but also because of trans-Atlantic forces. Henry Hudson's voyage initiated sustained contact between the Dutch and the Munsees. It also linked the



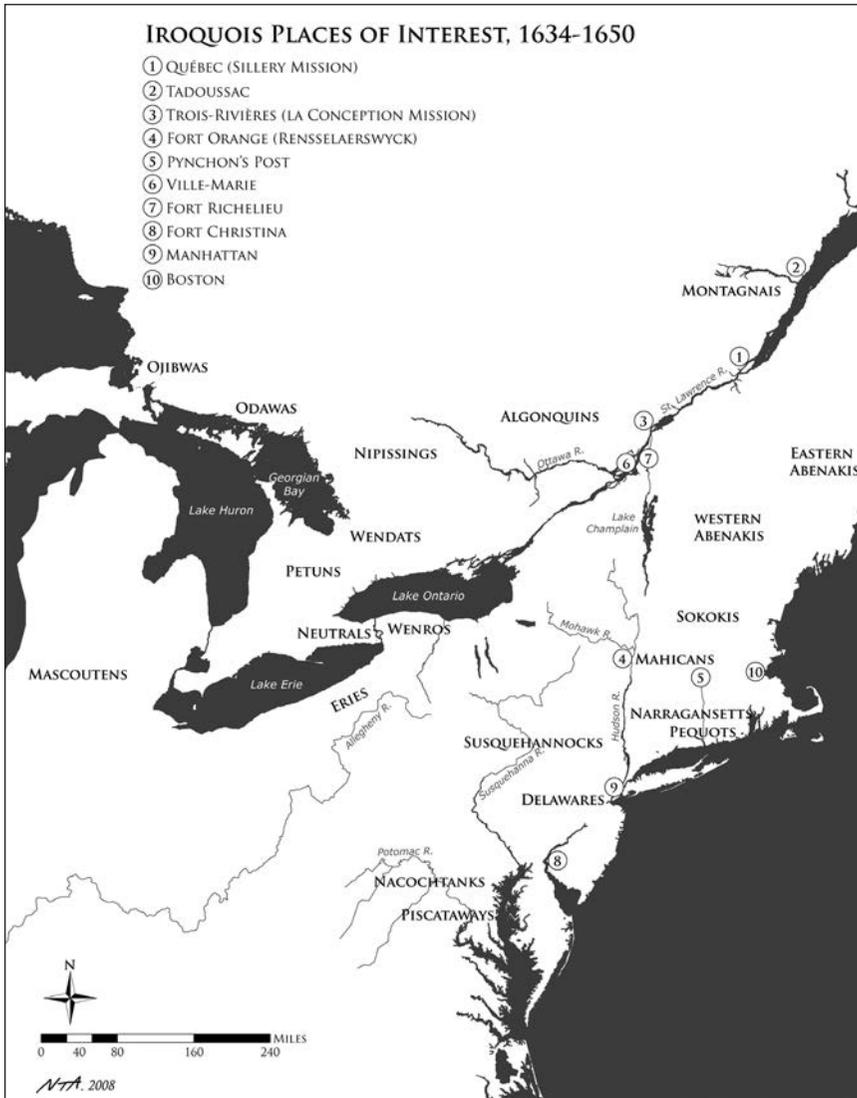
Primary and secondary zones of wampum production
(map by Lauric Henneton with assistance from Paul Otto)

Atlantic world exchange of goods and peoples with the Native wampum trade network, bringing profound changes to the Munsee people of the lower Hudson River Valley.

Wampum is the shortened term of the Algonquian word *wampumpeague*, which means “a string of white [shell beads].” Among the Dutch and the Munsees, wampum was commonly referred to as *sewant*, from the Munsee term *séewan* meaning “it is scattered” or “it’s all over [the place].” These beads held great spiritual and ceremonial significance for the Native peoples of New Netherland. The Munsees adorned themselves with wampum, employed it in marriage proposals, used it as an indication of social rank, and buried their dead with it. But while coastal peoples manufactured and used wampum, it was much more highly valued by inland peoples, especially the Iroquois, who received the shell beads in trade from its coastal producers. Wampum figures prominently in the Iroquois legends of the origins of their League: Hiawatha discovered wampum and used it to soothe the angry spirit of the Onondaga sachem Tadadaho. Dutch commercial activities in New Netherland led to a revolution in wampum production and to profound changes among the Munsees and other wampum producers. Production methods changed, with iron implements taking the place of lithic tools. This allowed the production as dark as well as white shells, which in turn led to a change in design, enabling first geometric and then pictographic designs in wampum belts. The use of wampum became more prominent in intercultural diplomacy. Native people became full-time producers of wampum, representing a major shift from traditional lifeways.

The evolution of wampum also owes something to the broader Atlantic world context. The most obvious development is the extension of European trade that brought demand for American furs and European-manufactured goods to pay for them. The fur trade stimulated wampum production that was in turn facilitated by the European goods that paid for and made the wampum. This Atlantic context meant a change in perspective for the Munsees themselves. While wampum continued to flow from the coast to the interior, the Munsees, who once were oriented toward the interior, had become re-oriented to the Atlantic, from whence came the goods they valued so highly and needed so much to continue their production of wampum. As Otto concluded in his talk at our panel in June 2014, wampum, once a product of Native North America, became a product of intercultural, Atlantic-world forces, and the traditional wampum producers—including the Munsees—became participants of this broader Atlantic world.

Wampum played a significant role in the interaction between the Iroquois and the Dutch of New Netherland. In his contribution to the book, Jon Parmenter analyzes documentary and archaeological evidence and sheds new light on the ways in which the idea of *kaswentha*, an Iroquois-conceived model of mutually beneficial intergroup relations represented by a Two-Row wampum belt, shaped Dutch relations with their Iroquois neighbors from the era of initial direct contact to the English conquest of 1664. Parmenter reverses the usual trajectory of “colonial” history, in which settlers arrive and act and Native people subsequently react. Instead, he seeks to reconstruct the entangled state of cross-cultural relations that prevailed in Hudson’s wake in what



Map of Iroquoia reprinted with permission from Jon Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods: Iroquoia, 1534-1701* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2010), p.42

is now New York. The essay also contends that our understanding of the character of early Dutch relations with the Iroquois is greatly enriched by an integration of Iroquois oral tradition with the bodies of evidence more commonly employed by historians (such as documents and archaeological data). Such an approach facilitates an appreciation of history-as-lived for all parties concerned, and that appreciation is the first step toward an escape from the persistent colonial mindset that emphasizes the effects of colonization

on Native peoples to the exclusion of any consideration of the ways in which Native polities shaped the experience of settler colonies in early North America.

Kaswentha may best be understood as an Iroquois symbol for the ongoing negotiation of their relationship to European colonizers and their descendants—depicted in material form as a long, beaded belt of white wampum with two parallel lines of purple wampum along its length. The lines symbolize the distinct identity of the two peoples and a mutual engagement to coexist in peace without interference in the affairs of the other. Thus, *kaswentha* signifies a separate-but-equal relationship between two entities based on mutual benefit and mutual respect for freedom of movement. The spatial metaphor bound up in *kaswentha* asserts that neither side may attempt to “steer” the vessel of the other as it travels along its own, self-determined path.

Present-day Haudenosaunee oral tradition associates the original elaboration of *kaswentha* relations between Iroquois nations and Europeans with a circa-1613 agreement negotiated between Mohawks and a Dutch trader named Jacob (a.k.a., Jacques) Eelckens at Tawagonshi (believed to be located near modern-day Norman’s Kill, south of Albany) prior to the formal establishment of nearby Fort Nassau. While the inauthenticity of the Tawagonshi document was established persuasively in 1987, substantial written evidence in support of Iroquois oral tradition concerning *kaswentha* does indeed exist. Iroquois speakers recited the *kaswentha* tradition for Anglo-American and French colonial audiences on at least fourteen different occasions between 1656 and 1748. Recent archaeological studies also indicate the possibility of such an association between the Mohawk-Dutch alliance and the oral memory of the concept of *kaswentha*.

Careful study of Iroquois-Dutch relations from 1609 to 1664, informed by Iroquois oral tradition of the *kaswentha* relationship, helps us to more fully appreciate the degree to which the principles of *kaswentha* operated in the daily lives of settlers and Native people alike in New Netherland. By extending principles of intergroup relations from the pre-contact era to new Dutch arrivals after 1613, the Iroquois sought to incorporate these potentially valuable neighbors as allies while maintaining their own freedom of movement, in both literal and figurative senses. The Dutch, after an initial learning curve of some duration, appear to have recognized the degree to which their interests also would be served by a relationship of peers in separate vessels.

The Establishment of Colonial Worlds

The third set of essays analyzes the formation of and relations between the colonies founded by the Dutch, English, and French in the Hudson Valley and the surrounding area. The year 2009 marked the 400th anniversary not only of Hudson’s voyage but of another crucial event. In July 1609, two months before Hudson began his exploration of the river today bearing his name, Samuel de Champlain arrived at the lake now named for him. As Leslie Choquette noted in her contribution to our panel in June 2014, Champlain’s participation in a Huron and Algonquian war party directed against the powerful Iroquois Confederacy embroiled the new French settlement at

Quebec in nearly a century of warfare that would have profound consequences for the fledgling colony of New France.

What were the French doing in North America in the first place? Like the English and Dutch, they were acquiring an Atlantic empire in the seventeenth century, not only on the North American mainland but also in the Caribbean. Champlain was not working directly for the French crown when he founded Port Royal and Quebec. In New France as in New England and New Netherland, colonial settlement initially took place through the mechanism of individual or corporate proprietorships. The initiative for both habitations therefore came from Pierre De Monts, the Protestant officer whom Henry IV had named exclusive proprietor of New France. De Monts' royal charter granted him a commercial monopoly and seigneurial rights over eastern North America from present-day Philadelphia to Newfoundland, in return for which he agreed to transport sixty settlers across the Atlantic. Seigneurial rights gave De Monts the ability to hand out large estates called seigneuries, which entitled their holders—the seigneurs—to collect dues from the farmers who would settle on them. This arrangement foreshadowed the New Netherland system of patroonships, in which the Dutch West India Company after 1628 granted land in fief to patroons in return for settling fifty colonists within three years.

Meanwhile, De Monts lost his trading monopoly due to complaints from rival merchants, and it passed to a succession of politically connected members of the upper nobility. All but one of the new proprietors (now known as viceroys) worked in association with a merchant company, and all agreed to send immigrants to Quebec as a condition of their exclusive privilege. Starting in 1624, they began to grant seigneuries along the banks of the St. Lawrence.

Colonization proceeded slowly nevertheless. Three years later, New France in its entirety had about 100 French inhabitants, seventy-five in Quebec and twenty-five in Acadia. To make matters worse, there were no French women at all in Acadia and fewer than a dozen in Quebec. By that time, the Virginia colony, despite a rocky start in 1607, had an English population of 2,000, plus there were 300 English living in Massachusetts (Plymouth and Salem) and another 100 in Newfoundland. Even New Netherland, with 200 people, was twice the size of New France, and since more than half of its settlers were French-speaking Walloon families, it had a faster-growing French population. By 1650, when the English population of New England and the Chesapeake surpassed 50,000, there were fewer than 1,500 French settlers in Quebec and only a few hundred in Acadia. By 1663, when King Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) dissolved the company for failing to fulfill its obligations, bringing New France under direct royal authority for the first time, Quebec's French population barely topped 3,000 and Acadia had fallen to the English. In comparison, the European population of New Netherland had grown from around 1,000 to nearly 10,000 between 1650 and 1663.

What explains the slow growth of French Canada? As Choquette argued during our panel, it was primarily a matter of economics, the demand for labor in particular.

The French Caribbean colonies, like Virginia, produced one staple crop—tobacco—in the early seventeenth century. In contrast, the Canadian economy revolved around a very different staple—beaver fur, in great demand in Europe for the manufacture of men’s hats. Pelts, of course, were obtained from Native hunters, not European servants and African slaves. The slow pace of French settlement in Canada therefore resulted primarily from dependence on a Native rather than a French and African labor force. Because its economy revolved around beaver fur, a staple commodity supplied by Native American labor and trade networks, the French needed to ally with the Indians, and there was little incentive for French people to immigrate. After 1649, the defeat of France’s indigenous allies by the Iroquois meant that French labor would indeed be required, in agriculture as well as the fur trade. Nevertheless, growth was limited both by Iroquois hostilities, which would continue until the Great Peace of 1701, and the colony’s rigid Catholic orthodoxy, which made it impossible for France’s many discontented Protestants to settle there. By 1650, the meager French population in the St. Lawrence Valley outnumbered the collapsing Native population for the first time, reinforcing French sovereignty.

New Netherland, meanwhile, occupied a middle ground between New France and New England, figuratively as well as literally. The important fur trade centered at Fort Orange (today Albany) required the Dutch to establish Indian alliances, which in turn embroiled them in Native warfare. Like Champlain, they learned about Native diplomacy the hard way, when the Mohawks drove the Mahicans away from Fort Orange, leaving the Iroquois as their principal trading partners. The privileged trading relationship between the Dutch and Iroquois at Fort Orange continued even after the conquest of New Netherland by the English in 1664 (attracting contraband furs from Montreal, to the dismay of authorities in New France), but relations between the Dutch and Indians grew increasingly hostile. In the 1640s and 1650s, the burgeoning colonial population sparked land disputes reminiscent of New England, and the ensuing hostilities played a part in the eventual conquest of the colony.

As Jacobs stated during our panel session, the Dutch were initially drawn to North America by the prospect of a lucrative fur trade, but for the West India Company, New Netherland held minor importance, as the company focused on the fight against the Iberian powers in the southern Atlantic. Privateering in the Caribbean was more attractive and the conquest of parts of the Portuguese sugar colony of Brazil promised a sweet prize. Usually New Netherland is compared—unfavorably—with the surrounding English colonies. That may make sense when looking back from the later development of thirteen colonies into the United States of America, but it reveals a teleological way of thinking, influenced by the rise of nineteenth-century nation-states as the ultimate and unavoidable next stage of human development. New Netherland from this perspective has been depicted as a failure: insufficiently populated, institutionally weak, economically feeble with an exclusive focus on fur trade; its culture, if there was any, was hardly Dutch. In other words, the Dutch were only there to make

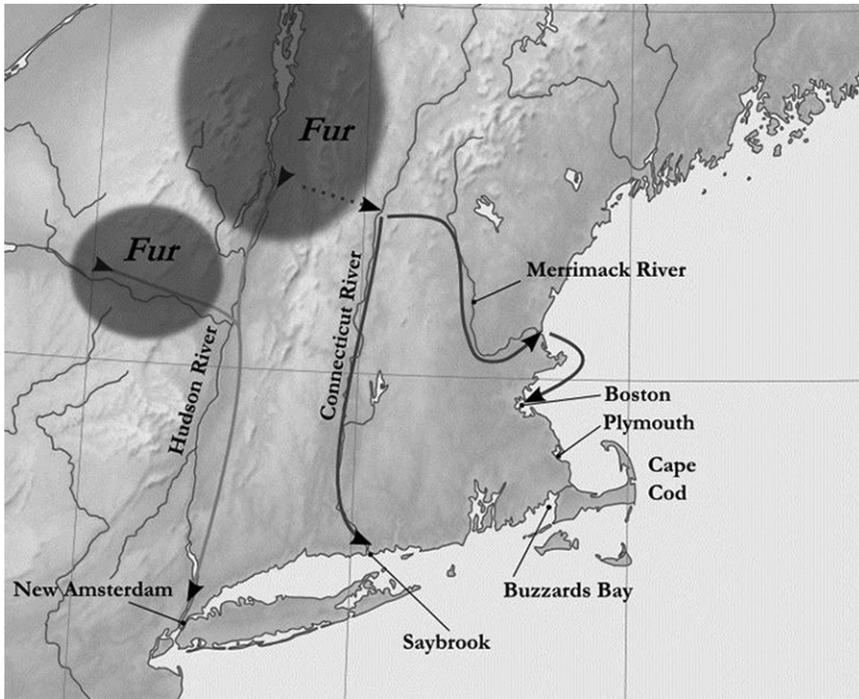
a buck and hardly left a trace after the English takeover.

Yet a comparison between the Dutch Republic and New Netherland reveals how essentially Dutch this colony was, despite its heterogeneous population: governmentally, religiously, judicially, economically, and sociologically, everything in New Netherland was based on practices in the Dutch Republic. Obviously, it was no carbon copy; factors of scale prohibited that. After all, New Netherland was a small colony of 7,000 to 8,000 inhabitants, whereas the Dutch Republic was a country of two million people; New Amsterdam had only 2,500 inhabitants, while Amsterdam was a metropolis with well over 100,000 residents. This was the result of a little immigration. Only in the 1650s, when the Dutch economy was slowing down and the Portuguese were about to reclaim Brazil, did migration to New Netherland become a viable option for more than just a few. And then New Netherland's population grew at a considerable pace and began to show a distinct social stratification. In a broad sweep, soldiers came from Germany, sailors from Scandinavia, farmers from the eastern parts of the Netherlands, along with merchants, ministers, and high officials who emigrated primarily from the province of Holland. Thus, the people who formed the highest layers of the New Netherland society shared a common cultural heritage, derived from Holland. By this time, after the fall of Dutch Brazil in 1654, New Netherland was the only sizeable Dutch overseas settlement colony. Batavia, for example, founded on Java in 1619, was not intended to be populated solely by Europeans: it quickly grew into a city of 16,000 inhabitants in 1650, but only twenty percent of those were Europeans. And the Cape Colony, founded in the early 1650s, took twice as long to reach the population that New Netherland achieved in forty years. Seen against the background of the Dutch Republic and its other colonies, New Netherland was an astounding success, and the decision of many Dutch to stay, despite having to suffer the yoke of "perfidious Albion," is proof of that.

As Lauric Hennenon points out in his essay, the relations between the English and the Dutch were initially very cordial, at least on the surface, but they soured when the English from Plymouth Colony moved west and set up a trading post on the Connecticut (or Fresh) River in 1633. The Dutch had just founded Fort Good Hope, or the "House of Hope" on the site of present-day Hartford. The Connecticut Valley had become an interface, however rudimentary, a permanent contact zone as opposed to an occasional place of rendezvous, and an increasingly disputed area.

In the 1630s, the Connecticut Valley rapidly became a byword for abundant beaver peltries and fertile soil, as opposed to the relatively barren rocky or sandy soil of coastal, eastern New England. In a preindustrial world, always prone to dearth if not famine, the fertility of the soil had strategic importance, all the more so for settlements otherwise dependent on unreliable supplies from overseas. Moreover, the river was a waterway, more or less parallel to the Hudson River, which provided a connection between the Atlantic Ocean and the markets around the Atlantic basin from the Chesapeake to England to the West Indies to the New England hinterland and its lucrative fur trade.

The proximity and even contiguity of the English and Dutch along the river made



Diversions in the fur trade (map by Lauric Henneton)

competition for the very same resources (fur, but also wampum) and the same middlemen (the local Algonquian tribes) more acute. The intertribal rivalries, in which the Europeans became involved, only added complexity to the situation. This was therefore not simply a neatly binary case of English against Dutch, as the English, like “the Indians,” were not united. If Massachusetts and more specifically Boston remained the political and demographic center of gravity (as the main port of entry and the most populous town of the region), the Connecticut Valley was becoming more and more populated and was the object of conflicting claims: of rival Native tribes (Pequot, Mohegan, Narragansett, Sequin), whose “loyalties and allegiances” were “rather fluid”; of the Dutch, who had invited the Plymouth English to the area but now regretted it; and of the Plymouth settlers who were being expelled by the Massachusetts emigrants, even though they had been there first. The Dutch (or at least some of them) explained their failure to keep the English out of what they considered their land along the Fresh River by their failure to “populate” it.

Yet Henneton reminds us that, enlightening and indispensable as it unquestionably is, focusing on a single place, such as the Connecticut River or, in this instance, New Amsterdam, can be misleading and cause us to see Manhattan, quite erroneously, as “the island at the center of the world.” As local actors and factors were embedded in increasingly global dynamics, we also need to shift our gaze from microscopic to

macroscopic and look at the global picture, i.e., beyond the limits of the Atlantic basin. At the Peace of Breda, which ended the Second Anglo-Dutch War in 1667, the Dutch agreed on the status quo post bellum by which they lost New Amsterdam and its peltries but gained Surinam and its sugar, not to mention, much further, the tiny island of Run (or Polaroon), in the Moluccas, then covered in nutmeg, which they had coveted for decades. Similarly, the event known in England as the “Amboyna massacre,” when ten Englishmen were tortured and executed in the East Indies in 1623, poisoned Anglo-Dutch relations for the rest of the century, surfacing at each period of tension between the two countries.

The Formation of Atlantic Worlds

The final group of contributions to our volume, “The Formation of Atlantic Worlds,” considers social and economic developments in the seventeenth-century Hudson Valley from a wider perspective in order to provide a better understanding of the development and character of African-American and Euro-American communities and of the character of religious belief and practice in the region. Both in terms of religion, trade, and migration, the interconnectedness of American, European, and African spheres increased throughout the seventeenth century, eventually forming Atlantic Worlds.

As Willem Frijhoff points out, adopting the Atlantic perspective on early modern Euro-American settlement, including that of the Hudson Valley, involves a major change of view away from that of national (e.g., the U.S.A., the Netherlands) or even regional or local bodies (New Netherland, New York) to focus on the sort of transnational and indeed transatlantic networks that prevailed politically and economically in the seventeenth century—in other words, in cultural areas founded much more on physical than on national space. As religious experience can only express itself through the culture of a given community and its members, and culture changes according to the conditions of time and space, an Atlantic perspective can shed new light on the character of religious practice in New Netherland, especially in terms of religious toleration.

There is a clear and important reason for the nature of toleration in Dutch North America, which had to do precisely with the transatlantic bonds between the Dutch and American Reformed communities. The prevailing historical image of the Netherlands itself, however, is quite clearly that of a Protestant, and even of a strictly Calvinist, nation. Yet as a national community in today’s Europe, the Dutch people boast at the same time of a strong tradition of toleration, in particular religious toleration. Taken in the sense of permissiveness for otherwise forbidden things or actions, or of openness to new, unofficial trends and movements, toleration is one of the most important tools the Dutch use for the regulation of their national community. Toleration is a value that the Dutch are proud of and consider to be at the heart of their historical identity.

But toleration has a very precise sense in the American context too, in particular in this geographical area formerly possessed and shaped by the Dutch. For some American historians such as Russell Shorto and others involved in New Netherland

history, the Dutch period was the real start of religious toleration as a basic American value. Yet Shorto, in his eagerness to celebrate the Dutch as the champions and founders of American toleration, places ideas above facts in his interpretation of the struggle between liberal and orthodox forces in the Dutch Republic. Indeed, the followers of the liberal theologian Jacobus Arminius were quickly defeated by the orthodox wing of the Reformed Church and forced to resign their ministries. Many had to flee the country for a while, and their political chief, the Grand Pensionary (the equivalent of a present-day prime minister) Johan van Oldenbarnevelt was beheaded after a mock trial under the auspices of the stadholder, Prince Maurice of Orange-Nassau. Moreover, the celebrated (especially by Shorto) lawyer Adriaen van der Donck (c. 1618-1655) certainly was not an Arminian but a militant orthodox Calvinist who married the daughter of a stern Presbyterian minister, Reverend Francis Doughty. On the other hand, his hated opponent, New Netherland Director Willem Kieft, came from a family with Remonstrant Arminian sympathies. Yet it is precisely Kieft's memory that was soiled by his cruelty and intolerance during "Kieft's War" (1643-1645) between the Dutch colony and its Native neighbors. From an Atlantic perspective, this apparent contradiction between the intolerance of a monopolistic church and the toleration that a whole national community ascribes to itself requires clarification.

The important concept in considering religious toleration, then, should not be "religion," or even "church," but "public church," i.e., a church appropriated by a specific cultural group and recognized as such by the public authorities; a church that had its own rights and pretensions in the public space and therefore provoked thoughts, symbolic action, and opposition by others. New Netherland was a Protestant colony but enjoyed individual freedom of conscience as far as the regulations of the homeland permitted it, at the judgment of the director and his council. That did not always include freedom of public expression, however, as the Lutherans and the Quakers learned the hard way in the 1650s. It is then precisely this political and sociocultural dimension of New Netherland's evolution that makes it possible to carve it into three periods, perfectly parallel to the evolution in the European Netherlands. The first period is the founding phase, from the colony's settlement in 1624 until approximately 1650: everything is then under construction. There were rules, but the rules were primarily intended to ensure public cohesion and harmony in a divided community menaced by enemies on virtually all the borders than to warrant the true Reformed faith. The Reformed Church itself patiently constructed its predominant, public place in New Netherland society, as it did in the homeland, still recognizing the rights to dissent in the personal sphere.

After 1650 a second phase started, characterized by a more rigorous internal mission policy: Dutch society had to be reformed in depth. It is the phase of the Further Reformation, or moral rearmament and formal pietism, the triumph of the practice of piety and ethics above doctrine and learning. However, real, socially compelling piety and morality were only accessible to the elite of the faithful. The triumphal Reformed Church therefore at the same time had to withdraw from the idea of a broad, popular,

general, and national church. Sustained by the theology of predestination, it adopted the ideology of the few elect and contented itself with a smaller group of true faithful. From that moment on, the initial, social acceptance of religious diversity might have developed into an intellectual variety of toleration, based upon the acknowledgment of the church's limits and the acceptance of other creeds, considered as of lower intrinsic value of course, but still acceptable because fundamentally Christian. We see this evolution quite clearly reflected in the policy of Petrus Stuyvesant, director-general of New Netherland from 1647 to 1664. As a representative of the pure church with a clear-cut moral mission in his colony, he was forced and was finally inclined to accept a minimum version of religious pluralism, but not without a persistent missionary attitude toward the dissenters and the other creeds.

A third phase started with the takeover of New Netherland by the English in the decades of the 1660s and the 1670s. The Reformed Church lost its monopoly in the public space and had to share its privileged position with the church of the new rulers, the Church of England, and the advocacy of toleration by the colony's new proprietor, James, Duke of York, who became a Roman Catholic in 1673. The bi-public regime that followed really must have been the true school of toleration, because for the first time two full-fledged churches had to live together and work out ways of coexistence in a shared society. The Dutch Reformed Church, now a private institution, counterbalanced its losses by closing the ranks and accentuating its Dutch embedding as a form of Dutch ethnicity. American toleration as a social value really started at that very encounter between intellectually related yet socially opposite churches.

We have therefore to look at toleration in a less intellectual, more dynamic way than Shorto does. Toleration is not an essential quality of whatever population or nation. Rather, it develops as a social and cultural practice within a community that needs solutions for diversity, helped by the intellectual and moral discourse on the virtues of toleration. That means also that toleration is never totally achieved or definitely acquired: it has to be recovered, regained, and retested over and over again—a lesson in humility for all of us, according to Frijhoff.

As Claudia Schnurmann points out in her essay, while the Englishman Henry Hudson was trying to close a gap between Europe and Asia through his search for a Northwest Passage in 1609, he took Europe and its ways of life to America: He followed traditional European patterns with regard to racial and cultural arrogance and he used methods of colonialism that would dominate European involvement in Atlantic trade, politics, and economics for decades to come. Hudson, his first mate Robert Juet, and the VOC ignored rival European claims, as well as the rights of Native Americans and evidence of the presence of European rivals in North America, when they described the land as an abandoned paradise and its inhabitants as godless savages, thereby allowing the Europeans to take possession of America's lands and peoples. Thus, from the beginning Hudson and his crew had no sense of the cultural "other"; the mixed Dutch-English crew possessed European prejudices and treated the American Indians

accordingly.

At the same time, Hudson followed certain patterns with regard to trade and the valuation of America. He exchanged European manufactured goods for resources from America's waters and lands: tobacco, furs, fish, oysters, lobsters, and wampum, used both by Europeans and Native Americans to create and maintain their involvements in an Atlantic trade system that was useful to both for many decades.

In her contribution to our volume, Joyce Goodfriend presents us with another facet of the seventeenth-century Atlantic World by turning the spotlight on Africa. To Goodfriend, the 400th anniversary of Dutch beginnings in North America was an appropriate time to confront the inequity at the heart of standard accounts of colonization that conceive of European migrants as people and African migrants as commodities. She suggests, then, that we make a conceptual leap in our interpretation of the subject of migration to New Netherland and couple the stories of the European and African migrants to the Dutch West India Company's North American colony in one narrative. Her proposal is rooted in a broader conversation about creating a national narrative that is more inclusive and that reflects the makeup of the United States in the twenty-first century. Arguably, the most intractable problem involved in constructing a genuinely pluralistic version of the nation's past that holds appeal for school children and the general public yet is consonant with the work of academicians is finding a satisfactory way to incorporate slavery into the narrative. Because standard renditions of early American history invariably have highlighted the accomplishments of European-descended peoples, many Americans have been averse to inserting African slaves into the narrative as historical actors.

Merging the two streams of migration into the Hudson Valley, as Goodfriend conceives of the patterns of African and European migration to New Netherland, thus brings into view the experiences shared by these two groups of pioneers. To think of the African men and women who arrived in the colony not simply as slaves but as voyagers whose travel histories were often longer and more circuitous than those of their European counterparts is a means to disavow the dehumanization of Africans that occurs whenever the linkage between "African" and "slave" is made by teachers and students of the early modern world.

Reorienting our perspective on the flows of people to the New Netherland colony by charting the ocean voyages of those who journeyed to the North American Dutch colony from Africa with stopovers in Curaçao or perhaps Brazil also directs our attention to the pivotal role played by Dutch slave traders. Moreover, it helps us to understand the alacrity with which New Netherland's European settlers responded to the cues in their environment by seizing the opportunity to participate in the commerce in slaves that stretched from Europe to Africa to the Americas. To satisfy the local company's need for slave labor (and subsequently the desire of private individuals for slaves), enslaved Africans were procured at Curaçao, the Dutch slave entrepôt in the Caribbean, and even in Africa.

An examination of the records of New Netherland reveals how well-documented the lives of people of African descent in the colony are. We can view them at work, at church, and in taverns, and once given a measure of freedom, as tillers of the soil on their own farms. Surely it is time to identify these men and women as immigrants and not just slaves. Thinking of the human cargo that arrived in New Netherland more expansively, as Goodfriend advocates, does not lessen the obligation to contrast the situations of European and African migrants and assess the consequences of the advantages enjoyed by immigrants from Europe. What matters is that we do not allow the perceptions of earlier generations of historians, both professional and amateur, to limit our conceptual horizons and dictate who should or should not be considered an immigrant. If we think of each ship sailing into New Amsterdam's harbor as bringing migrants who worked and played, ate and drank, loved and sorrowed, and at least occasionally prayed, we will have a clearer picture of the African and European peopling of New Netherland and a firmer foundation on which to graft the history of the Hudson River Valley, New York State, and the American nation.

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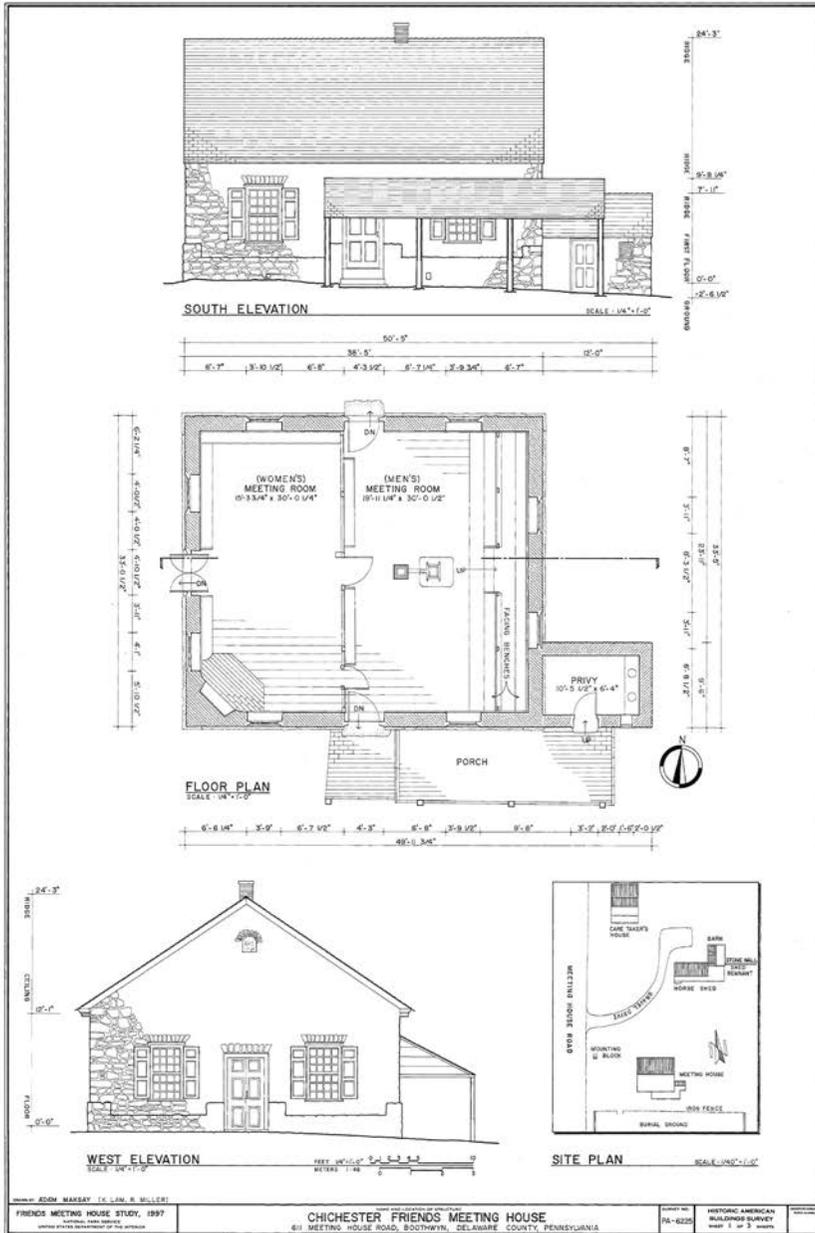


Fig. 2. Chichester Friends Meeting House, Boothwyn, Pennsylvania, floor plan and elevations. Built in 1769, the larger room was used for religious and men’s business meetings; the smaller room was reserved for women’s business meetings and other non-religious functions (note fireplace). This meeting house is similar in size to Dutchess County’s earliest meeting houses, although they were constructed of wood rather than stone. Drawing by HABS, 1997.

Source: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs_haer



Fig. 1. Christie House, c. 1747. This house was built in the Clove in the Town of Union Vale just west of the Oblong in the Beekman Patent. Its one-and-one-half-story, center-chimney plan form is typical of New England domestic architecture of the period. It was moved a number of years ago to a lot adjoining the Oblong Meeting House and, inexplicably, renovated into a “Dutch” house. Photo by Neil Larson

The Architecture of Quaker Meeting Houses in Dutchess County

Neil Larson

Quaker meeting houses in Dutchess County reflect the architectural expression of the Society of Friends and continuous efforts by the group to balance their inner and outer worlds. The area became a focal point of the growth and development of the New York Yearly Meeting during the eighteenth century following the establishment of the Oblong Meeting in 1731. Over the next 200 years, Dutchess County maintained one of the largest Quaker populations in the United States and was a principal source of Quaker religious and domestic architecture and material culture. Although this extensive collection of resources has yet to be systematically documented or studied, Quaker meeting houses—the most conspicuous artifacts—have attracted the attention of historians and preservationists. In 1989 eight of the fourteen extant meeting houses in Dutchess County were listed on the National Register of Historic Places.¹ At that time, overviews of the architecture and the history of the Quaker community in the county were written. These will be used here for a further exploration of the

distinguishing characteristics of meeting house design and their expression of the Quaker idea of plainness and anti-establishment values.

Dutchess County is located on the east side of the Hudson River midway between New York City and Albany. Formed in 1683, it was among the original twelve provincial counties established by the English following their conquest of New Netherland in 1677. Growth of the county was slow; initially its population was limited enough that it was governed under the jurisdiction of Ulster County, located across the river. Early settlement was concentrated in Dutch, German, and English enclaves along the Hudson, primarily at the mouths of major creeks (or kills), such as the Fishkill, Wappinger, Fallkill, Crum Elbow, Landsman, and White Clay. While large land grants had been patented across the full extent of the county by the end of the seventeenth century, those in the central and eastern parts of the county were not surveyed to the level of farmsteads until well into the next. Dutchess County was the last Hudson River county to be populated. As a result, its population came from all parts of the region, as well as neighboring colonies. Unlike the other counties on the east side of the Hudson, much of its land was offered for sale rather than as leaseholds, which made it an attractive destination for land seekers from overpopulated areas of New England, New Jersey, and Long Island.

One of the first of these areas to open up to freeholders was within the Equivalent Lands, or Oblong Patent, a strip of land less than two miles wide ceded to New York by Connecticut when the longstanding boundary dispute between the two colonies was resolved in 1731. Quakers from meetings in overcrowded communities in southeastern Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and on Long Island migrated there, in part because of their objections to having their taxes go to the support of an official church and a militia. The Oblong Meeting was the first in Dutchess County to be recognized by the New York Yearly Meeting. The names of subsequent meetings reflected the patents in which Quakers had spread: Nine Partners, Little Nine Partners, and Beekman. By 1828 there were fourteen meetings within the present bounds of Dutchess County and nine others in neighboring counties and states associated with quarterly meetings located there.² Today, fifteen historic meeting houses or churches associated with the Society of Friends, ranging in construction dates from 1764 to 1928, survive in the county and represent all phases of the evolution of meeting house architecture from its origin in Friends' dwellings to twentieth-century expressions of the enduring Quaker plain aesthetic.

Meetings in Houses

At least five stages of meeting house architecture can be identified through the course of American Quaker history. In all of them there is one overriding principle: to foster the individual's direct inner communion with God without the intervening structure, rituals, and authority of the established church. As George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, declared "God dwells not in temples made with hands... but in the hearts of men."³ In fact, Fox advocated open-air meetings where there were no man-made

List Of Quaker Meeting Houses In Dutchess County (31)

Name	Location	Type	Const. Date	Condition
Oblong	Meeting House Rd., Quaker Hill, Pawling	Preparative	1742	Not extant; site preserved
Oblong	Meeting House Rd., Quaker Hill, Pawling	Monthly	1764	Plan & façade altered in c.1790; retained by Hicksites; has functioned as museum since 1936
Oblong Orthodox	Quaker Hill Rd., Quaker Hill, Pawling	Orthodox Meeting	1831	Converted to a single-family dwelling in 20th century
Poughkeepsie	S. Clover St.	Preparative Meeting	1814	Not extant; last meeting established in Dutchess County in 1811
Poughkeepsie	Washington St.	Preparative Meeting	1820	Replaced S. Clover St. MH; retained by Hicksites; abandoned in 1894 and converted into a two-family dwelling; not extant
Poughkeepsie		Hicksite Meeting	1894	
Poughkeepsie	Mill St.	Orthodox Meeting	1828	Not extant
Poughkeepsie	112 Montgomery St.	Orthodox Meeting	1863	Addition of new façade in 1890; functions as a Church of Christ
Poughkeepsie	249 Hooker Ave.	Reunified Meeting	1928	Active MH; Alfred Bussell, architect
Oswego	Oswego & Smith Rds.	Preparative Meeting	1751	Not extant; burned 1757; site on opposite side of road
Oswego	Oswego & Smith Rds.	Preparative Meeting	1757	Not extant; near site of present MH; "30 ft. square & one-story high"
Oswego	Oswego & Smith Rds.	Preparative Meeting	1790	Replaced 1757 MH; retained by Hicksites; continues to function as MH; meetings once a year
Beekman	Arthursburg	Preparative Meeting	1790	Not extant; square dimensions
Beekman	Emans Rd. Arthursburg	Preparative Meeting	1809	Retained by Orthodox Friends; altered for function as grange hall in c. 1925
Pleasant Valley		Preparative Meeting	1806	
Branch	Deuel Hollow, Dover	Preparative Meeting	1783	Not extant
West Branch	LaGrange	Preparative Meeting	1800	Not extant
Poughquag	Gardner Hollow	Preparative Meeting	1771	Not extant
Stanford		Quarterly Meeting	1800	Retained by Hicksites
Stanford		Orthodox Meeting	1829	Built by Orthodox Friends
Stanford		Orthodox Church		
Little Nine Partners		Preparative Meeting	1800	Not extant
Northeast		Preparative Meeting	1806	Not extant
Nine Partners	Route 343 & Church St., Millbrook	Monthly Meeting	1745	Not extant; constructed of logs
Nine Partners	Route 343 & Church St., Millbrook	Monthly Meeting	1751	Not extant, replaced log MH; burned in 1778
Nine Partners	Route 343 & Church St., Millbrook	Quarterly Meeting	1780	Retained by Hicksites; used for ceremonial meetings
Nine Partners	Route 343, Millbrook	Orthodox Meeting	1828	Not extant; located east of existing MH
Crum Elbow	Quaker Lane, East Hyde Park		1798, 1810	Built in two phases; retained by Hicksites in 1828 (only one member elected to join Orthodox sect)
Creek	Salt Point Turnpike, Clinton Corners	Monthly Meeting	1777-1782	Retained by Hicksites in 1828; altered for use as grange hall in 1921; still functions as grange hall
Creek	Salt Point Turnpike, Upton Lake	Orthodox Meeting	1828	Not extant
Clinton Corners Friends Church	Salt Point Turnpike, Clinton Corners	Orthodox church	1890, 1914	George Randolph Freeman, Poughkeepsie, architect of 1914 renovation
Bulls Head	Bulls Head Rd., Stanford	Weekly Meeting	c.1970	Built for current meeting

impediments at all to distract his followers' exploration of their inner light. Outdoor meetings were not uncommon during the initial years of the Society's existence, both in England and in the American colonies, although it was as much due to economic and political circumstances as it was to a rejection of ecclesiastical architecture.⁴ Quakers were strenuously denounced and persecuted by the established churches in New Netherland and New England, as they were in their homeland, which resulted in them often meeting in secrecy and in ad hoc locations. Thus, the first buildings within which they met for worship were their own dwellings or barns. Domestic architecture suited the Quakers' world view and mode of worship. By and large, they were rural families of modest means who rejected the ceremony and sumptuousness of the state church, as well as the vanity of upper-class materialism. Any building that provided seclusion and enough space for a meeting was a suitable place.

The First Meeting Houses

The earliest Quaker meetings were unstructured and decentralized. However, by the time settlement had begun in Dutchess County, an administrative hierarchy with the practice of business meetings had been instituted in the New York Yearly Meeting.⁵ Clearly this action posed a paradox that would affect Quakers for years to come. There was resistance to these organizational measures, as many Friends considered it to be backsliding into conventional church practice. Nevertheless, Fox and other Quaker leaders determined that networking the increasing number of meetings would provide aid and support to the members of the separatist group. Business meetings helped promote these interrelationships, but they also introduced a new level of authority that more closely governed the appropriateness of individual Friend's interaction with the non-Quaker world. Although Quaker men and women were considered equals in the household and the meeting house, the business meeting structure instituted separate gender roles. Men adopted jurisdiction over financial and policy actions, whereas women dedicated themselves to social and family issues and aid to the needy. Both were involved in disciplinary matters, such as marrying out of meeting, public behavior, and failing to show the requisite restraint in dress and manner. With the requirement for separate men's and women's business meetings, a second room was introduced into the meeting house, a feature that would be a fixture of meeting house design in the future.⁶

The growth and spread of the Society, along with the increasing tolerance shown by provincial governments, resulted in the construction of buildings that functioned solely and specifically as meeting places. Like other anti-Anglican religious groups, they were designed without the elaborate scale or decoration of churches and were intentionally called meeting houses. This was the second stage of evolution of meeting house architecture, and its design was determined by the requirement to provide separate meeting spaces for men and women and little else. For although the Yearly Meeting instituted the manner in which meetings would be conducted, it did not prescribe any standard as to the dimensions or design of buildings; in this case, meeting house plan-

ning remained decentralized and under the control of their members. It is because of these limited expectations that Quaker meeting houses, no matter where they are to be found, generally reflect the building methods and material preferences of their local communities. Designed and built by local craftsmen, usually members of the meeting, they were rooted in their place and time and conceived with an individualized sense of restraint and simplicity inspired by Quaker ideals. Yet, even at this early date, there was a conscious desire to demonstrate the legitimacy of their beliefs that elevated the craftsmanship to an artistic level, where plainness was not simply a matter of taking away decoration, but rather creating a new manner of expression

There is no way to know the exact appearance or meeting room configuration of Dutchess County's earliest meeting houses, as they are no longer extant. No description is known of the first Oblong Meeting House, built in 1731, except that it was deemed too small by the time the second meeting house was erected in 1764. A few years later, it was moved from its site opposite the existing meeting house on Meeting House Road on Quaker Hill to the nearby Osborn Homestead, where it was used as a barn, suggesting that it was a wood frame building of certain size. (This adaptation effectively demonstrates how little Friends consecrated their meeting houses.) A log building was erected in 1745 for the first meeting house at Nine Partners. It was replaced with a wood frame structure in 1751, which was destroyed by fire in 1778. The first Oswego Meeting House, dated 1751, may have been smaller than the "one-story high and 30 ft. square" building that replaced it after it burned in 1757. From what little information that has been passed along about these buildings, as well as the characteristics of those that came later, it can be assumed that Dutchess County's first meeting houses were relatively small, domestic in design, and constructed of wood in the methods practiced by local carpenters. As these Quaker settlements were made up of recent transplants from meetings in New England and southern New York, their architecture also embodied the building traditions of their root communities (Fig. 1).

A recent survey of historic Quaker meeting houses of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting documented a number of examples of this earliest phase of meeting house architecture still intact in the Delaware Valley.⁷ The design characteristics of these buildings provide a sense of what had existed in Dutchess County. In all cases, women's meeting rooms were smaller and set off from the main room where religious meetings and men's business meetings were held (Fig. 2). Sometimes women's meeting rooms were located in a smaller wing set off from the core of the building, indicating the status of the two rooms on the exterior (Fig. 3). (A comparison of meeting house architecture in the Philadelphia and New York Yearly Meetings dramatically illustrates the extent to which local vernacular building methods and design characteristics differentiated between the two regions.)

The oldest meeting house in the New York Yearly Meeting is located in Flushing (Fig. 4). When listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1977, it was reputed to have been built in two sections dating to c. 1694 and c. 1717. In a recent analysis of the

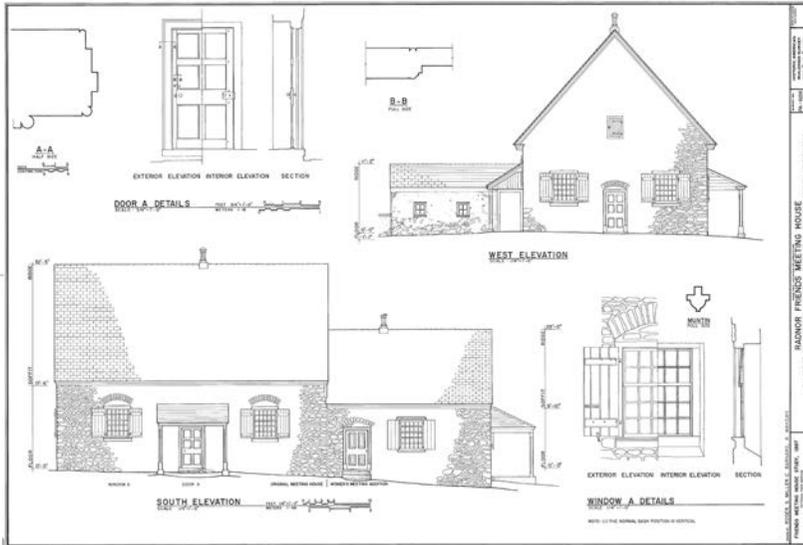


Fig. 3. Radnor Friends Meeting House, Ithan, Pennsylvania, south and west elevations. Construction of larger main section began in 1718 and took four or more years to complete; the smaller wing was added at a unknown later date. Drawing by HABS, 1997. Source: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs_haer

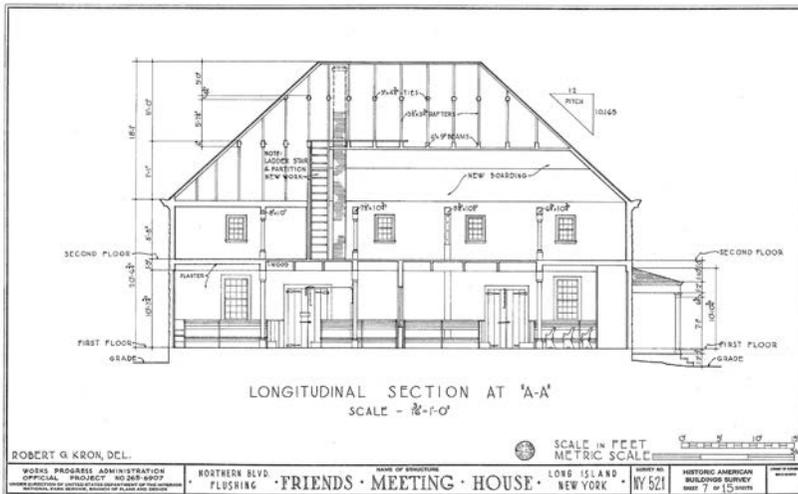


Fig. 4. Friends Meeting House, Flushing, New York, longitudinal section. The existing doubled plan is a 19th-century alteration of the 1717-1719 building. Lap joints in the first-story ceiling girder in second bent from the east (left) wall or just west of the chimney indicate where a women's meeting room was originally divided from the rest of the house. Drawing by HABS, 1936. Source: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs_haer

building, architectural historian Carl Lounsbury has concluded that it was constructed as a single unit at the later date.⁸ Notches cut in a cross beam between the first and second stories were initially construed to have been evidence of the outside wall of the earlier, smaller building. Now they appear to indicate the location of a partition enclosing a women's meeting room on the building's west side. The Oblong Meeting House in Dutchess County contains evidence indicating that it originated in a similar fashion. Lounsbury found physical evidence of a smaller meeting room for women enclosed on the second story of the structure's west side when it was built in 1764 (Fig. 5).

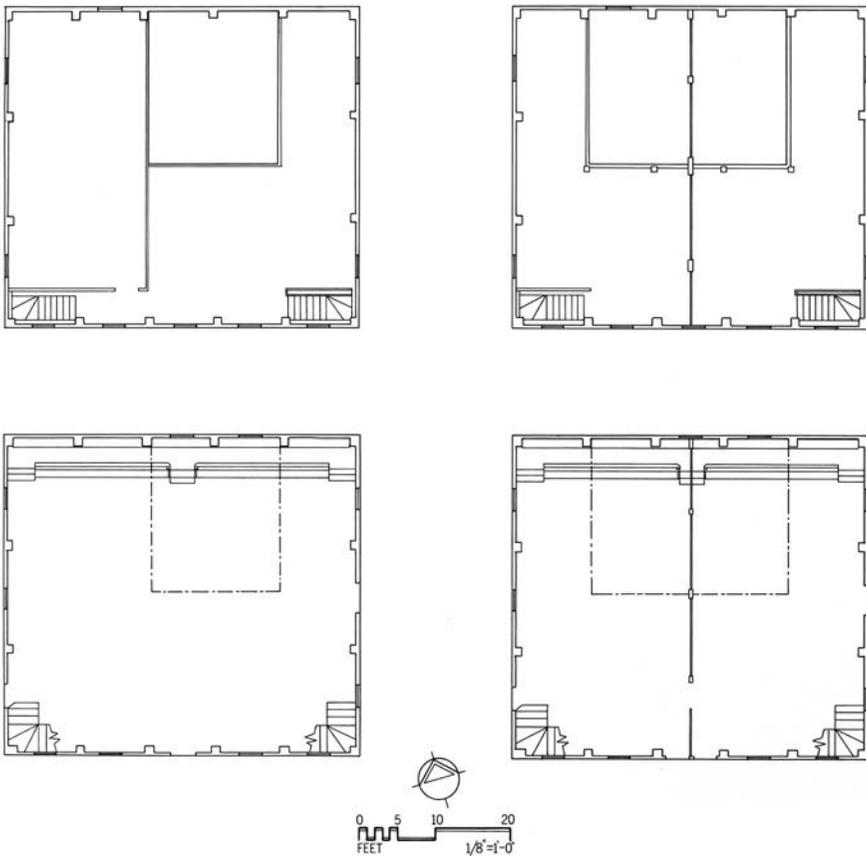


Fig. 5. Sequential floor plans of the Oblong Meeting House, Pawling, New York. Plans on the left represent original conditions (1764), first floor on the bottom and second floor on the top, and plans on the right depict existing conditions. The plan in the upper left shows the women's meeting room enclosed on the west side of the gallery. This was removed when the plan was later balanced with the addition of a central shuttered partition in c. 1790.
Drawings by Carl R. Lounsbury, 1988 and used with permission

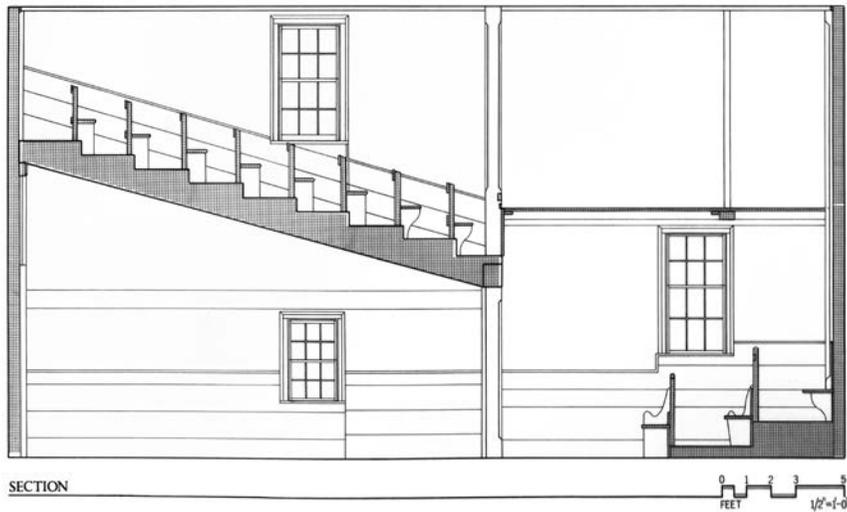


Fig. 6. Section drawing, Crum Elbow Meeting House, East Hyde Park, New York.
 The section shows the interior of the older west side of the meeting house, where evidence exists for a partition that enclosed the section under the gallery.
 Drawing by Carl R. Lounsbury, 1988 and used with permission

The only other extant meeting house in Dutchess County having evidence of an unbalanced room plan is the Crum Elbow Meeting House, which was constructed in two stages in 1798 and 1810. The west side of the building was erected first; it had a women’s meeting room enclosed under the gallery on the south side of the building (Fig. 6). This room was probably separated by a moveable or “shuttered” partition so the men’s meeting room, which occupied the front of the room containing the podium and facing benches, could be joined with the rest of the house for religious meetings. The room division was unconventional at Crum Elbow in that the women’s meeting room was actually larger than that for men. This configuration likely was chosen as a temporary measure while the eventual addition that balanced the plan was pending. Since it was built during the period when meeting house plans already had been brought into balance, it has been assumed that the Crum Elbow Meeting House was conceived as it appears but was built in two stages, twelve years apart, due to economic expediency.⁹

In general, it can be said that there are design associations between the “mother” meeting house in Flushing and the Oblong and Crum Elbow meeting houses that reflect the regional cultural milieu in which Quakers participated in the eighteenth century. This can be characterized in much the same ways that a family of meeting houses has been identified in the Delaware Valley that are associated with the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The Oblong Meeting House is similar in appearance to the Flushing building—that is, it is wood frame construction, large in scale, two stories in height, and of a design consistent with the New England origins of its Society (Figs. 7 & 8).



Fig. 7. Friends Meeting House, Flushing, New York, view from southwest. The second meeting house on this site, this building was constructed 1717-1719. The fenestration and balanced front façade with two entrances are the result of late 18th- and early 19th-century alterations. Photograph from HABS documentation, 1936. Source: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs_haer



Fig. 8. Oblong Meeting House, Pawling, New York, view from southwest. When built in 1764 there was a single doorway in the center of the front façade. Postcard image, c. 1920



Fig. 9: View of Crum Elbow Meeting House, East Hyde Park, New York, from southwest. The western half of the building was constructed in 1798, the east in 1810. The porch was added later. Photo by Neil Larson, 2006

However, the frame of the Flushing house employs a Dutch bent system, with large cross beams spanning the full depth of the building joined and braced to posts in the front and back walls, which reflects the community composition on western Long Island at that time. The more homogeneous New England settlement in the Oblong produced a meeting house without these alien features. The plan dimensions of the Flushing Meeting House are 62½ ft. wide and 42½ ft. deep; the Oblong Meeting House is smaller, 46 ft. wide and 41 ft. deep. The buildings look even more similar because of their wood shingle siding; however, evidence was recently discovered that indicates the Oblong Meeting House originally was sided with beaded weatherboards.¹⁰ This being the case, the Oblong building would have looked more like—and set the standard for—the Crum Elbow Meeting House, as well as the other clapboarded meeting houses and dwellings in Dutchess County than the shingled architecture typical of the region around Long Island Sound (Fig. 9).

Balanced Meeting Houses

The third stage of meeting house development began as the Society of Friends achieved a more distinctive presence as their separatism became more figurative than real. The challenge of staying true to their anti-establishment philosophy after the establishment was dramatically changed by the Revolution, and as Friends became increasingly engaged in worldly pursuits, reaching a tipping point. As American society expanded, prospered, and offered greater social diversions, especially in the urban centers of New

York and Philadelphia, Quaker elders were determined to rein in the level of Friends' interaction. The Quaker Book of Disciplines was recodified, emphasizing what was appropriate in dress, speech, and lifestyle, and transgressors were more strenuously admonished. One deviancy strongly discouraged was marriage to outsiders, a matter Quaker women were called upon to address in their business meetings. In her study of Delaware Valley meeting houses in Pennsylvania, Catherine Lavoie concluded that the practice of designing (or altering) meeting houses with two rooms of equal size divided by shuttered partitions was an acknowledgement of the equality of men and women in the Society. This equality also was expressed on the exterior, as separate but equal entrances were symmetrically placed on front facades to represent the balance of male and female domains in the meeting.¹¹ Part of the reasoning behind this emphasis on the woman's place in the meeting house apparently was to give renewed and heightened attention to the importance of marriage and family and maintaining separation from the outside world.

Yet the taste for balance and symmetry in architecture was an ideal that all building designers strove for in the period. Few buildings of the elite or middling sort did not embody visible elements of Classical symmetry. Throughout the eighteenth century, European-Americans sought to bring order and organization to the wilderness as their Enlightenment view of man and nature, as well as expediency, directed them to do. So the gradual movement to order and standardization was not a course unique to the Quakers, nor was it particular evidence of their fundamental separation from mass society. In fact, it was just another paradox they experienced in their attempt to follow a modest existence within a materialistic world. Even though they avoided direct participation in the Revolutionary War, Quakers, as much as any group, celebrated in the independence that was won. All modes of domestic and religious architecture were updated in response to the enthusiasm for a new world order. The traditional Classicism was figured to represent the staid mentality of the old order; it was displaced by highly stylized Neoclassical forms and modes of decoration that evinced the spirited optimism for the new republic. By design, buildings were billboards for one's affiliation with the old or the new. Because it swept so efficiently and effectively through the landscape, the vernacular on which meeting house architecture was based changed in appearance and the meeting houses with them.

The first balanced meeting house to appear in Dutchess County was constructed in Clinton Corners during the Revolutionary War. Clinton Corners was a thriving settlement in the Nine Partners Patent that had attracted a sufficient number of Friends to begin holding occasional meetings in 1762. It was named the Creek Meeting because it was located across the Wappinger Creek from the Nine Partners Meeting, from which it had branched. The meeting was granted official preparative status in 1777, at which point the construction of the existing two-story stone building began (Fig. 10). By one account, its unusual choice of material was made when the wood frame Nine Partners Meeting House burned down in 1778. Due to privations and harass-



**Fig. 10: View of Creek Meeting House, Clinton Corners, New York, 1777-1782.
Photo by Neil Larson**

ment experienced during the Revolution, the building was not completed until 1782. (Only Quaker dissenters would have thought of undertaking a construction project during the war; apparently it was not appreciated by their patriot neighbors.) Its large scale and galleried interior indicates the extent to which the Quaker population had increased during the period, not just in Nine Partners but throughout the county. As the network of meetings expanded, Creek became a monthly meeting associated with the Stanford Quarterly Meeting in Stanfordville. When Creek was completed, only the Oblong Meeting House was larger, and it had not yet been adapted into a balanced plan.

The Creek Meeting House was built in a stolid style of its Colonial forerunners, meaning it does not display the elegant restraint and craftsmanly finesse of the Neoclassical buildings that would come later. In this latter group, the Crum Elbow Meeting House in East Hyde Park was one of the first to appear (Fig. 9). Once the western half was completed in 1798, its balanced plan and symmetrical fenestration was foreordained, even though it would take another twelve years to complete the building. Just as the Oblong Meeting House is an object of its time and place, so too does the Crum Elbow Meeting House represent the stage to which rural architecture of Dutchess County had evolved at the turn of the nineteenth century. Its simplified form, with facades so flat that there are neither eaves nor architraves, evinces the plain taste popular throughout the region's farm communities, whether one happened to be Quaker or not. With two stories, the building was more than a dwelling, which was typically no more than a story and a half; and with facades symmetrically arranged with windows and small doors, it could not be construed as a barn, though it was big

enough. Skilled joinery, including a principal rafter roof system not found in domestic architecture, and an austere but well-finished interior identified it as something special. In the period following the war, the Hudson Valley landscape was dramatically transformed in response to societal shifts and changing world views, and the Crum Elbow Meeting House illustrates how the Society of Friends incorporated new elements into meeting house design.

In the 1790s and early 1800s, smaller meetings, such as those in Oswego and Arthursburg, built new houses with balanced plans that were one and one half stories in height with meeting rooms of equal size side-by-side in a rectangular plan (Figs. 11 & 12). They were more domestic in scale, although their elongated dimensions and twin entrances distinguished them as something else. Of course, with the cemeteries and wagon sheds that typically augmented the site—and the absence of barns or other agricultural buildings—there would have been no confusion as to the buildings' function. Small meeting houses differed from the others only in that there were no galleries. Yet as was the case with Crum Elbow, the extent of their plainness was greater than any rural home of means, even those inhabited by Quakers. Bernard L. Herman has observed, "Where Quaker meeting houses created a collective visual identity around the outward expression of faith, Quaker dwelling houses remained steadfast expressions of individual and family attainment."¹²

The Nine Partners Meeting House, which was constructed in 1780, is the most fully developed Quaker building in Dutchess County illustrating the expression of the refined Neoclassical taste (Fig. 13). The plan of the large, two-story brick building measures 60½ ft. wide and 43½ ft. deep, nearly equaling the size of the Yearly Meeting House in Flushing. The brick on the front façade is patterned in a Flemish bond, which represented the highest standard of masonry (the other three walls were laid in a common bond) and aesthetics. The doubled façade is precisely symmetrical with flattened features and shallow eaves. While it is a unique building, the design and construction methods of the building are consistent with the area's evolving architecture practice. By this time, there is little to associate the structure with the New England antecedents discerned in the earlier Flushing and Oblong meeting houses; the Nine Partners Meeting House emerged from its Federal Period Dutchess County community.

As in earlier examples, ecclesiastical forms and iconography were rejected to inspire Friends to maintain an inward focus, and the two-room plans reflected the point to which the meeting structure had developed. Separate spaces created for men and women to hold business meetings were equal in size and could be joined by raising shutters in the dividing partition for unified religious meetings. Facing benches represent the enhanced role of elders, leadership, and record-keeping with the emergence of a more centralized, hierarchical organization of the Society of Friends. Still, restrained as they were, there would have been no doubt as to the function and association of the Nine Partners and Crum Elbow meeting houses. It would have been obvious that they were not churches, but that they were Quaker meeting houses. The external organization,



Fig. 11: View of Oswego Meeting House, Moores Mill, New York, 1790.
Photo by Neil Larson

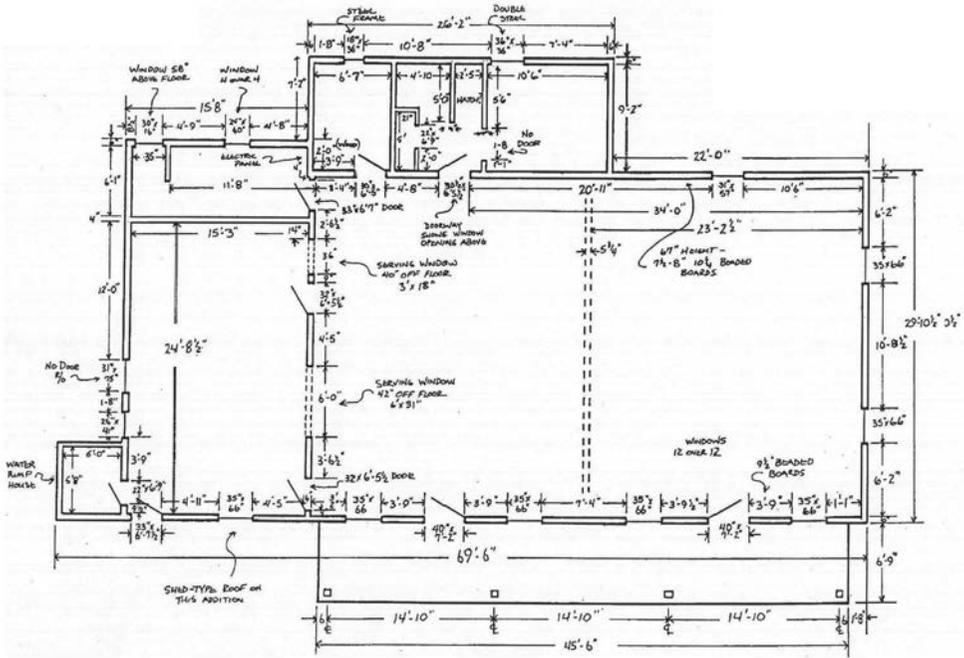


Fig. 12: Floor plan of Beekman Meeting House, Arthursburg, New York, 1809.
The room on the left side is a later addition.
Measured drawing by Anthony Novack, 1985



Fig. 13: View of Nine Partners Meeting House, Millbrook, New York, view from southeast. The building was constructed in 1780. HABS photo taken 1936. Source: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs_haer

doubled plans, and neat restraint were all indicative of the Friends' religious values and meeting practices. The design visually reflected to the anti-traditional posture at the core of the Quaker doctrine, but this expression had become more aggressive.

Whereas individuals can mediate such confrontations discretely and internally, organizations require mission statements and symbols. The Society of Friends had a clear agenda, which initially was defined in opposition to the church establishment and its emphasis on material, often sumptuous symbols rather than the individual's personal realization of God's light within them. But as the Society came into its own, external practices and objects attained more importance. No longer content to operate discretely in the world, Quakers had become prominent in their social positions and comfortable with their political ideology. Their antiwar and antislavery positions served as radical symbols of their separation from mainstream society, and their image took on a corresponding sharper edge. By the end of the eighteenth century, the meeting house had been transformed into an overt symbol of modesty, restraint, and separation from its origins as a simple and unadorned building where meetings took place. Likewise, Quaker dress and plain speech were more aggressively expressed and referential to the overall group identity. Gradually the Society of Friends stopped retreating from the world (and hiding from their tormentors) and engaged the world head-on with civil disobedience.



Fig. 14. Nine Partners Meeting House, Millbrook, New York, view of gallery level. HABS photo taken 1936. Source: http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs_haer

The Idea of Plainness

The Nine Partners Meeting House can be said to epitomize the expressive power of the Quaker idea of plainness, by this point appropriately considered more generally as a plain style, that is, a design of graceful simplicity and elevated craftsmanship, all of which combined to emphasize a reasoned rejection of established religious and cultural values. The fine craftsmanship removed any suggestion that the absence of sumptuous detail was due to a lack of understanding or ability. It was an unnatural and deliberate distortion of accepted modes of design that was confrontational rather than passive. The paradox of plainness was that it was a carefully conceived and highly stylized mode of expression. And it was very effectively presented in the Nine Partners Meeting House. The neat, angular form with its precise masonry pattern is devoid of any extraneous embellishment other than the scrolled ends of gutter supports on the front (which may, in fact, be later additions). The interior features were conceived with a minimum of ornament and executed with utmost finesse. Unpainted pine contrasts with the white plaster walls in a stark, abstract manner (Fig.14). Deeply chamfered posts support the gallery, and board partitions and paneled shutters have been joined with precision. The simplicity of the moveable benches belies their careful construction. Doors, windows, and iron hardware are all crafted in the best manner. Carl Lounsbury aptly articulates the work in this building as “an exemplary of the Quaker aesthetics of sufficiency, where

unpainted woodwork and fittings are well joined and pared of superfluous moldings and turnings.”¹³ The visual effects of this modest composition are as dramatic as in any sumptuous church interior, with the darkened wood and low level of natural light contributing to a solemn atmosphere.

The idea of plainness was not conceived by the Quakers; its usage can be identified in early admonitions issued from Puritan pulpits, and it was a common tenet of the spiritual enthusiasm during the First Great Awakening. The emphasis Quaker leaders placed on religious doctrine and social behavior in this period can be equated to actions taken earlier by Jonathan Edwards and other eighteenth-century revivalists to reawaken religious devotion in response to the decline of moral principles in the society at large, an enduring religious theme. The Great Awakening also was a democratizing movement, which appealed to commoners alienated by elite churches and lavish ceremony. Associating their plain beliefs and lifestyles with piety gave these preachers and their congregations a moral edge in the class struggle. Their expression of this division or separation was depicted in alternative ways that purified (abstracted) the established symbols and distorted their reflection so that they were as incomprehensible and alienating to the establishment as the high church and elite society were to them.

Sweet Mary, sigh not for the town,
Where vice and folly reign;
Spurn not the humble gown
That suits the rural plain.¹⁴

No sooner was plainness elevated to a pious virtue by preachers than its adherents applied it to social relationships. The laboring classes and landed gentry held each other in equal disdain and both believed that they held the moral high ground. Likewise for farmers and merchants in the Hudson Valley who struggled over control of state government during the Federal Period; and in New York there was an eternal struggle between the city and the country. The Quakers were not so much at odds with their local communities; in fact these social, economic, and political threats resonated strongly with their religious beliefs, and they participated as vigorously as anyone. The rhetoric that emerged from the debate of whether the United States should be a nation of farmers under a loose network of local leadership or a federation of states with a central government was loud and confrontational. As established rural communities found their way of life and political supremacy eroding by the rising economic and political influence of commercial interests in the cities, they enacted similar measures to preserve their identity and confront the perceived threats posed by the changing times. Hudson Valley farmers adopted the mantle of plainness for political ends. Hudson Valley art and architecture of the period, as well as fashions of dress and speech, adopted a plain style both as a rural preservation movement and as an anti-establishment statement, which gave their expression a mannerist quality.¹⁵ Nowhere was it said that Quakers served as a model for the broader rural preservation movement, but the adoption of plainness as an ideal suggests that it was. It is no coincidence that plainness became

the ideal for both Quaker and rural leaders.

Another way to interpret the radical expression of the period, in both religious and secular modes, is in the context of Romanticism. The conventional notion of the American Romantic movement originates in the literature and landscape painting of the mid-nineteenth century, but its roots are clearly to be found in the anti-establishment fervor that reached its peak in the early 1800s. Romantic movements cycle through history as change (or “progress”) fosters disillusionment in the minds of groups that feel either left out or oppressed by it. The disillusioned prefer to have things left the way they were or fondly recall a better past. Idealists are especially prone to disillusionment if their goals are rejected, which in a social, religious, or political confrontation guarantees that one party or another will be disappointed. As this disillusionment is internalized, the emotional response colors expression. Thus, a writer like Washington Irving, who was disillusioned with the vulgarity and materialism of post-war New York society, spun tales that showed both his appreciation of the past and his disdain for the present. While he aspired to sophisticated style, his satires had primitive settings and used simple language. Landscape painters employed nature as their primitive motif, using real places as the historical context in which to express their ambivalence to change. Other painters, like the Quaker Edward Hicks, simplified their techniques and reduced the detail in their portraits and scenes to emphasize their rejection of the establishment taste.¹⁶ People who designed and built dwellings and meeting houses expressed their Romanticism in similar ways.

Meeting Houses after the Separation

The theological dispute that led to the Separation of 1827 can be seen as part of the struggle between traditional and progressive elements in early nineteenth-century society. However, the “liberal” or Hicksite faction was the one resisting changes in the traditional religious practice and expressed disillusionment with the increasing church-like behavior of the Quaker establishment. Their rationalistic thinking was rooted in the eighteenth century. They assumed a position that allowed for a wide variety of theological opinion and a greater emphasis on the inward being, equality, and tolerance. Hicksites were, indeed, liberal in the sense of their outspoken antiwar and antislavery positions, but their ideas were Romantic in the context of their time. The alternative faction was considered Orthodox because of their belief in the authority of the doctrine, but they were also evangelical in their promoting beliefs and recruiting new members. More progressive and more inclined to reach out to the world, they affiliated with other Protestant evangelical groups and moved into the mainstream of contemporary American life. Orthodox Friends were more conservative politically, although they made significant changes to traditional Quaker doctrine and practice.

The Separation resulted in a significant building campaign, since one faction or the other had to find new accommodation, although in most cases the Hicksites held on to the existing meeting houses. Despite the tensions caused by the Separation, it was

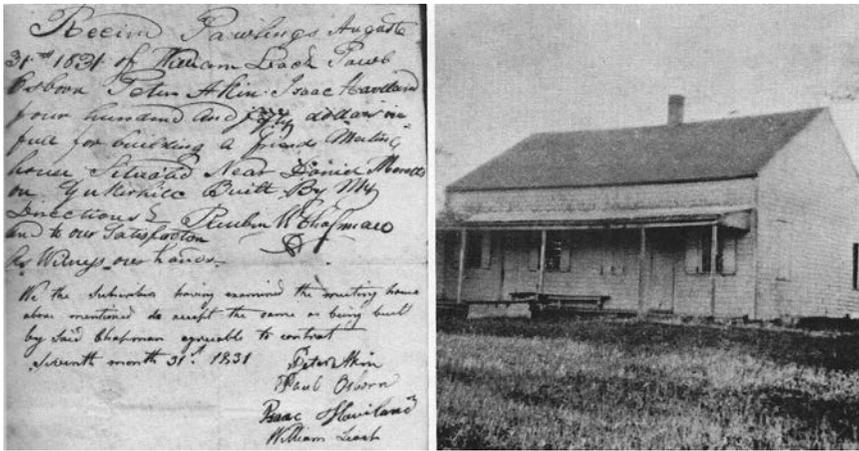


Fig. 15: Historic photograph of Orthodox Meeting House in the Oblong. Receipt for its construction dated “Seventh Month 31st 1831” included on left. Source: *Town of Pawling, 200 Years* (Pawling NY: Town of Pawling 200th Anniversary Committee, 1987), 29

not immediately reflected in meeting house architecture. For example, the Orthodox Meeting House built in 1831 on Quaker Hill is indistinguishable from those built three or more decades earlier (Fig. 15). Other Orthodox houses erected in Nine Partners (1828), Creek (1828), Stanford (1829), and on Mill Street in Poughkeepsie (1828) followed suit. Of those mentioned, the meeting houses on Quaker Hill and in Stanford survive as dwellings; the others are gone.

In 1863, Orthodox Friends in Poughkeepsie moved from their Mill Street meeting house to a new building on Montgomery Street. By this time, Orthodox meeting houses began to incorporate features that brought them closer to the design of modest churches of the period. This was particularly true in urban areas like Poughkeepsie. The architecture reflects the evangelical Friends’ efforts to broaden their appeal with the adoption of some mainstream Protestant practices, such as hired ministry, hymn singing, and Sunday school. The Montgomery Street Meeting House had the tall, rectangular form of traditional churches with a gabled façade distinguished by a single central entrance and rose window. The interior contained a single meeting room simply furnished with benches; two tiers of facing benches were located in the front and a gallery in the rear. By one account, women held their business meetings in this space while the men retired to a room in the basement for theirs.¹⁷ The building was made more church-like in 1890 when an arcaded Romanesque-Revival façade was added to the front and the interior was renovated with the addition of a narthex, pews, and a front platform with pulpit (Fig. 16).

At the same time the Montgomery Street Meeting House was undergoing renovations in 1890, the Orthodox Friends of the Creek Meeting were building a new



Fig. 16: Montgomery Street Orthodox Meeting House, Poughkeepsie, New York.
The rear section of the building was constructed in 1863; the front façade was added in 1890. Photo by Neil Larson

meeting house in Clinton Corners. Like the Poughkeepsie building, it reflected the changing practice of the meetings and evolution of meeting house architecture at the end of the nineteenth century. And like the meeting house on Montgomery Street, the Clinton Corners building was later altered to make it more church-like. Yet outside the limits of the city, meeting houses maintained their modest scale and design. A historic postcard view depicts a one-and-one-half-story wood frame building similar in form to its predecessors. However, like the Montgomery Street house, it presented its gable end as a front façade, although the apex was clipped with a jerkin. Separate entrances were maintained, but they were recessed back from the corners on porches within porte cocheres jutting out from the sides. It is not known how the interior was finished or divided because in 1914 the building was totally renovated into a church, which shows little resemblance to traditional meeting house architecture (Fig. 17). The Stanford Orthodox Meeting moved into a similar church building around the same time. These late Quaker meeting houses and churches are distinctive as examples of the evolving theology and architecture in Dutchess County, as well as within the entire New York Yearly Meeting. The fact that there are only three meeting houses built in this period indicates the dwindling Quaker population in the county and the decreasing relevance of its ideology. The Hicksites became particularly isolated because of their



Fig. 17: Quaker Church, Clinton Corners, New York, 1914. An earlier meeting house built in 1890 is represented by the white-painted section in the rear.

Photo by Neil Larson

idealistic preservation of increasingly outdated beliefs. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Society of Friends had reached its lowest point. It would take decades to recover its identity.

Reunification and the Revival of the Meeting House

By the early twentieth century, the Society of Friends was highly susceptible to outside influences. Like many faiths, its doctrine had been undermined by Darwinism and the secularization of society in general. Some Quakers began to re-examine their faith, and in Dutchess County a unifying figure emerged. James DeGarmo was a birthright Friend who had left the Society and joined the Episcopal Church. In 1897 he pronounced that “an effort is in progress to put [the Society of Friends] more fully in line with the requirements of modern thought and action.”¹⁸ DeGarmo perceived that a new Quaker spirit was reviving the declining faith. Hicksites had become more open to modern thought, and Orthodox Friends were more accepting of traditional ways of conducting meetings. However, it would not be until 1955 that the Society was reunified.

The first opportunity for Hicksites and Orthodox Quakers to reconcile in Dutchess County was presented in 1926, when the Orthodox Poughkeepsie Friends decided to build a new meeting house. By that time, the meeting was attended by both Orthodox and Hicksite Friends, the latter having been forced to abandon their own meeting house due to dwindling numbers. Alfred Busselle, a New York City architect, was selected to

interpret “the sense of the meeting” and design a meeting house that would satisfy both viewpoints. Busselle was educated at Haverford College, a Quaker institution, which doubtless made him sensitive to the historical and contemporary issues involved. Oral tradition indicates that Bussell was presented with demands for stained-glass windows, an organ, and a steeple from one faction, while the other side suggested replicating a pre-Separation meeting house. The result is quite distinctive (Fig. 18).

The National Register Nomination Form for the Poughkeepsie Meeting House (Hooker Avenue) described the building as follows.

The building that Bussell [sic] designed blended the ideas of both and is symbolic of the blending that was occurring within the Society itself. The building, designed in the style of the eighteenth-century church architecture, returns to the traditional rectangular shape and embodies the symmetry and simplicity that was such an integral part of the traditional meeting house form. There is little in the design that is purely ornamental and nothing that detracts from the quietude that seems inherent in the building. Although the simple interior is arranged in a church-like fashion, it reflects a creative compromise in the interior arrangement of space. While pews are placed parallel to the gable end of the building, a contemporary rising bench has replaced the pulpit. Other traditional Quaker architectural elements were also incorporated into the interior of the building. A sliding paneled partition that serves to open space [used] for Sunday school and other meetings is highly reminiscent of the center dividing partition in early meeting houses. Additionally the hand-planed wainscoting of uneven widths evokes the same sense of Craftsmanship evident in earlier structures.

In all Bussell [sic] created a meeting house that visually established a traditional basis for the Society of Friends in the twentieth century and accommodated functional and aesthetic changes that elevated the practice of the meeting's current with contemporary life. Importantly, the new meeting house is also a dramatic symbol of reconciliation that Dutchess County Friends achieved after nearly 100 years of separation; a separation that dwindled their membership, fragmented their Society, and diluted their theology. The Poughkeepsie Meeting House (Hooker Avenue) is not so much a nostalgic building as it is a new meeting house type embodying the growth and development of the Society of Friends in the twentieth century.¹⁹

The Hooker Avenue building also represents the culmination of 200 years of Quaker meeting house architecture in Dutchess County. In the earliest stage, Friends held meetings in their homes, barns, or outdoors. When the first meeting house was built in the Oblong in 1742, it was likely not much more than a barn by design, a function to which it was put when the existing Oblong Meeting House was completed in 1764. The new house was the first to break away from its domestic antecedents to look and function as a religious meeting place. This marked the period when Quakers were emerging from suppression and secret meetings and making a place for themselves in the world. It was also the time when the network of meetings was growing and organizing, and the new Oblong Meeting House was built with separate rooms for men and women to hold business meetings. The Quakers' anti-establishment theology expanded from church to community as their antiwar and antislavery positions put them at odds



Fig. 18: Poughkeepsie Meeting House, Hooker Avenue, Poughkeepsie, New York, 1928. Photo by Neil Larson

with their neighbors. After the Revolutionary War, they joined with those neighbors, particularly in rural Dutchess County, to defend the integrity (and political control) of the agrarian society against the expanding commercial class in the city. This Romantic struggle against change did not succeed, but Quaker theology provided the basis for the pious rhetoric and the expression of plainness in all things rural, including meeting house architecture. In this instance, the Nine Partners Meeting House, built in 1780, epitomizes the “high style” of plain architecture. The shifting values in American society in the early nineteenth century took its toll on the Friends as well, leading to the Separation of 1827 and the long, slow decline of Quakerism and its membership. The Separation led to the building of new meeting houses, mostly by members of the Orthodox group since the Hicksites tended to hold on to the existing houses.

Far fewer meeting houses were built in Dutchess County during the rest of the nineteenth century. Those that were built looked more like churches than the traditional meeting houses. There was a revival of Quakerism in the early twentieth century, which in Dutchess County led to the reunification of Orthodox and Hicksite Friends in Poughkeepsie and the construction of a new meeting house that symbolized the journey they had travelled in the years leading up to 1926. This meeting has recently

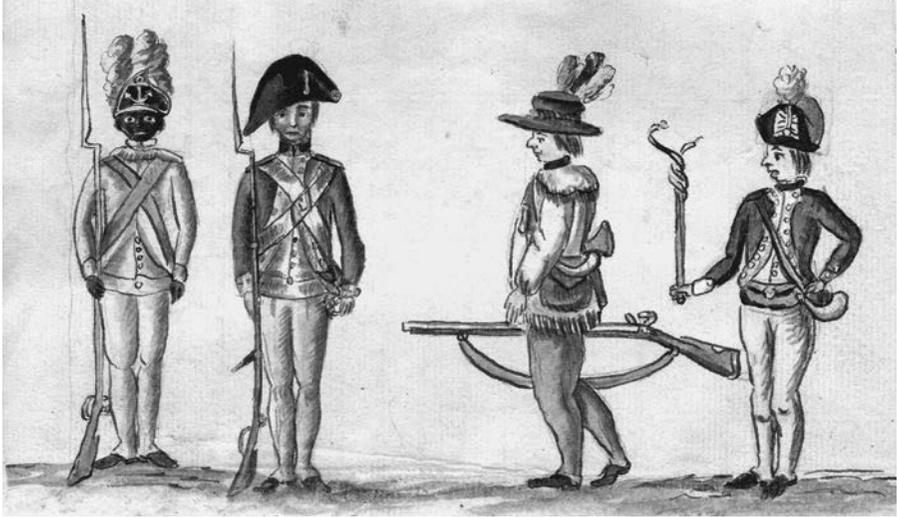
disbanded due to dwindling membership and the distinctive meeting house now is for sale. Only one active meeting is left in the county: Bull's Head near Stanfordville, which occupies an old one-room schoolhouse moved to a small parcel donated by one of its members. Although a meeting house has not been built in Dutchess County since 1926, the many that survive are landmarks to the presence of the Society of Friends and the architectural expression of its history and core values.

Neil Larson is an architectural historian and president of Larson Fisher Associates, a historic preservation planning firm based in Woodstock, New York.

Endnotes

1. "Dutchess County Quaker Meeting Houses Thematic Resources," National Register Nomination Form prepared by Melody K. Moore with Neil Larson. The Oblong Meeting House was listed on the National Register individually in 1973. Copies of these nomination forms are available at <http://www.oprhp.state.ny.us/hpimaging/>. A listing of all the meeting houses constructed in Dutchess County follows this essay.
2. Hugh Barbour et al., eds, *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 39-41.
3. As quoted in Catherine C. Lavoie, "Quaker Beliefs and Practices and the Eighteenth-Century Development of the Friends Meeting House in the Delaware Valley," *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption*, Emma Jones Lapsansky & Anne A. Verplanck, eds. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 158.
4. Some of the first Quakers to arrive in the New World landed in New Netherland in 1657, only a decade or so after the Society of Friends coalesced in Britain.
5. *Quaker Crosscurrents*, 12.
6. Lavoie, 183-184.
7. Lavoie, "Quaker Beliefs and Practices and the Eighteenth-Century Development of the Friends Meeting House in the Delaware Valley," 158-165. Catherine C. Lavoie is senior historian for the Historic American Building Survey of the National Park Service, which documented these buildings in the 1990s. This documentation has been published by the Library of Congress's American Memory Project, which can be found online at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs_haer/.
8. Personal communication with Carl Lounsbury, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia, 5 January 2009.
9. Moore & Larson, "Dutchess County Quaker Meeting Houses Thematic Resources," National Register Nomination Form.
10. Workers discovered the weatherboards while making repairs to the building in 2006 and left a section exposed on the east end of the building. It has been assumed that the boards were the original siding (they are the first layer), although the matter has not been intensively studied. Wood shingles were added to many clapboarded buildings in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as weekenders introduced Colonial Revival and cottagizing modifications.
11. Lavoie, 184-186. Lavoie has determined that the Buckingham Meeting House, built in 1768 in Lahaska, Pennsylvania, was the first "doubled plan" to appear in the United States. She relates that a delegation from the Queen Street Monthly Meeting in New York City sent to see the Buckingham Meeting House in 1774 returned to request "the committee appointed to superintend the [Queen St.] building, procure a plan of [the Buckingham Meeting House]... and inquire if there are any parts of it that can be made better" [186]. In her estimation, this was determined the point at which the doubled form was introduced to the New York Yearly Meeting. What this implies about the balanced interior and front façade of the 1717 Flushing Meeting House was not considered.

12. "Eighteenth-Century Quaker Houses in the Delaware Valley and the Aesthetics of Practice," *Quaker Aesthetics, Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption*, Emma Jones Lapsansky and Anne A. Verplanck, eds. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 205.
13. Stated in a draft entry for the Nine Partners Meeting House in a developing catalog of eighteenth-century American religious architecture.
14. *Plough Boy*, 19 August 1820, 89. The *Plough Boy* was a radical agrarian periodical published in Albany, New York.
15. Edward F. Rothschild, *The Meaning of Unintelligibility in Modern Art* (1934; rpt. NY: Oriole Editions, 1973); Neil Larson, "The Politics of Style: Rural Portraiture in the Hudson Valley During the Second Quarter of the Nineteenth Century," Masters Thesis, University of Delaware, 1980.
16. Edward Hicks was closely monitored by his Quaker meeting, since elders otherwise forbade fine arts in Quaker households. He had to choose his subject material carefully—Peaceable Kingdoms apparently were ruled acceptable—and consciously restrain his technique. Carolyn J. Weekley, "Edward Hicks: Quaker Artist and Minister," *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 212-234.
17. Moore & Larson, National Register Nomination Form for Poughkeepsie Meeting House (Montgomery Street), 1988.
18. James M. DeGarmo, *A History of the Hicksite Quakers and Their Doctrines* (NY: Christian Literature Co., 1897).
19. Moore & Larson, National Register Nomination Form, Dutchess County Quaker Meeting Houses Thematic Resources, 1988.



Soldiers in Uniform by Jean Baptiste Antoine de Verger, 1781-1784.
Anne S.K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library

Notes & Documents

This article was initially presented as the lecture "Black Patriots Revealed: African Americans in the Continental Army," February 12, 2012, at New Windsor Cantonment State Historic Site.

Substitutes, Servants, and Soldiers

African American Soldiers at New Windsor Cantonment

Matt Thorenz

On the morning of April 19, 1775, Cato Bordman, a "negro" from Cambridge, Massachusetts, answered the call to arms as a member of Captain Samuel Thatcher's Company of militia. Facing him was a column of 700 to 1,500 British redcoats under the command of General Thomas Gage. Although his service lasted one day, Bordman nonetheless participated in what is arguably the most important day in American history. Two months later, on June 17, another African American, Philip Abbot of Captain Benjamin Ames' Company, Colonel James Frye's Regiment of militia, was killed while defending Breed's Hill from the frontal assault of General William Howe's army of over 3,000 British regulars. Philip was believed to have been a servant of Nathan Abbot and was acting as substitute in his master's stead.¹ From the first shots fired at Lexington Green in the spring of 1775 to the final discharge of troops at New Windsor and West Point in the summer of 1783, African Americans played an important part in defending a revolution that championed freedoms and independence to some, while justifying the subjugation and enslavement of others, namely themselves. The stories that can be gleaned from the historic record of those Black soldiers that served in the Massachusetts and New Hampshire lines at the New Windsor Cantonment of 1782-1783 are just some examples of how African Americans found common ground among their white comrades in the service of their country while living in a time of slavery and inequality.

In an October 5, 1775, letter from Philadelphia to General William Heath, John Adams wrote of the American army around Boston:

It is represented in [Philadelphia] by some persons, and it makes an unfriendly Impression upon Some Minds, that in the Massachusetts Regiments there are great numbers of Boys, Old Men and Negroes, Such as are unsuitable for service. . . . I should be glad to know if there are more of these in Proportion in the Massachusetts Regiments, than in those of Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, or even among the Rifle Men."²

Adams' feelings reflected those of his fellow representatives in the Continental Congress, who feared they were paying for troops who, because of age, infirmity or race, were otherwise unable to fight and defend the revolution effectively from the might of the most powerful army in the world.³ However, the individual "rights" afforded to slaves and freed Blacks varied from province to province. In Massachusetts, where more money was made off the importation and sale of slaves than the use of them as labor, slaves were given the right to own property, testify in court against whites, and even sue for freedom.⁴ However, one cannot assume that slavery in New England was less harsh and more liberal than Southern practices. Slaves were still treated as property and status symbols by their owners.⁵ ⁶ Slaves caught as runaways were subject to the same forms of brutal punishment that characterized Southern plantation culture.⁷ However, there were ways by which slaves could "win" their freedom.

Despite living under harsh conditions, New England slaves were able to obtain their freedom, under a master's consent or otherwise. Jude Hall of Kensington, New Hampshire, ran away from his new master, Nathaniel Healy, because he "resented being sold."⁸ Cato Fisk of Epping, New Hampshire, possibly won his freedom via manumission, being legally set free. Upon the death of his master, Dr. Ebenezer Fisk, Cato was appraised at 25 British pounds on January 2, 1777. In May of that year, he enlisted in Captain William Rowell's Company, 2nd New Hampshire Regiment for three years. Both Jude Hall and Cato Fisk were members of this regiment while it was garrisoned at New Windsor in 1782-1783.

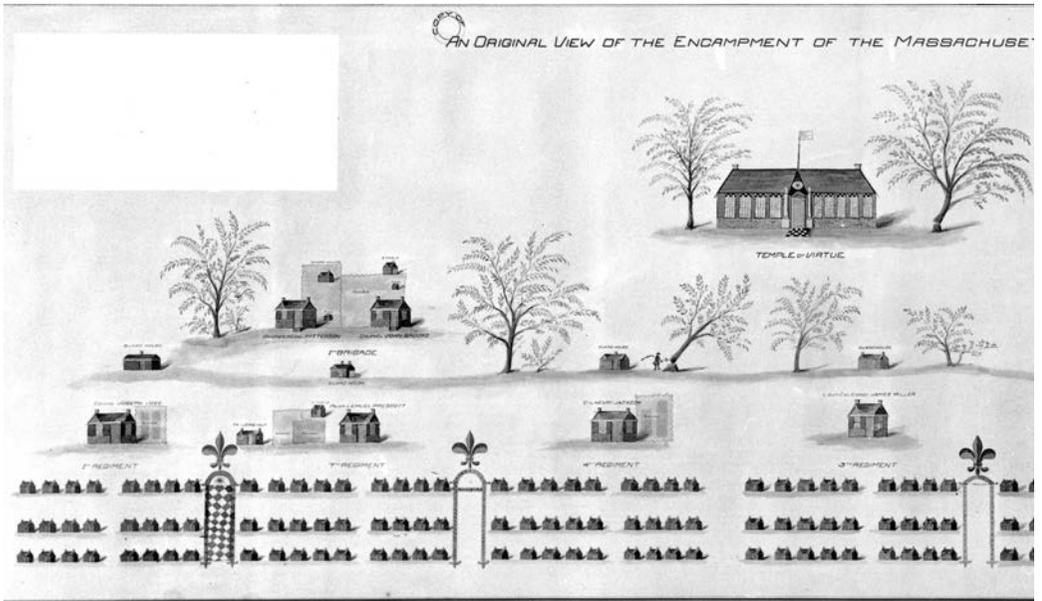
The enlistment and arming of free and enslaved Blacks was looked upon with suspicion by some members of the Continental Congress and patriot sympathizers, who feared Blacks lacked a basic knowledge of the "virtues of liberty" as they were born into slavery and would be inclined to incite violence against whites once they were armed.⁹ Several months before the shots at Lexington and Concord were fired, two Blacks by the names of York and Joe conspired to murder the inhabitants of Kingston, New York, while setting several fires throughout the city with the help of neighboring slaves and Native Americans. The plot was later found out by Joe's owner, resulting in the imprisonment of twenty conspirators. In May 1775, the Town Council of Newburgh, New York, fearing a slave revolt as a result of white preoccupation with the war resolved that "any person owning Negroes in this precinct shall not on any account whatever, suffer them to be absent from his dwelling . . . the daytime off their farm without a pass; and in case any house or farm after sundown . . . Negroes be found abroad, contrary to the above . . . they shall be apprehended and caused to receive 35 lashes or any number less as the said committee shall deem proper."¹⁰

However, as the war progressed, more Continental Army recruiters looked to free and enslaved Africans as an alternative pool of enlistees to fill the depleted and understrength ranks of Washington's forces.¹¹ The army that had grown to over 20,000 troops "Fit and Present for Duty" in July 1775 had dwindled to around 7,556 by February 1778.¹² Until June 1778, the American army had only a pair of moral victories at Trenton

and Princeton, New Jersey, to show for the loss of Long Island, New York City, and Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress convened and delegated. The army's first winter encampment at Valley Forge also "thinned the herd" of over 800 troops, lost through sickness and starvation. Worse still, Britain herself was offering slaves an opportunity to gain their freedom by enlisting in the British armed forces. This strategy used Congress's reluctance to arm blacks to undermine the rhetoric of the Revolution's most ardent supporters. With the cause of independence in question and without strong, able-bodied men to raise the strength of Washington's beleaguered army, the hopes of America winning its independence were dimming.

The Congressionally authorized troop quotas of 1777 induced officers to seek African-American recruits, and a 1779 law giving recruiters a ten-dollar bounty per head further increased enlistment. By April 1778, Massachusetts only exempted Quakers from the draft, legally allowing Blacks to serve in the Continental Army.¹³ Towns throughout New England established enlistment committees that actively drafted African Americans to meet their quotas.¹⁴ Towns such as Wallingford and Stratford, Connecticut, were able to bring in thirteen and fourteen Black recruits out of a pool of 132 and 114 enlistees, respectively, while 200 soldiers of African descent would be recruited in Rhode Island to furnish that state's famous 1st Rhode Island Regiment. This shift in the racial composition of the American army can be seen in the observations of a diarist in central Massachusetts in 1777, who stated he encountered no regiment without "a lot of Negroes." In return, Black enlistees were promised their freedom (if presently enslaved), as well as monetary compensation and land bounties. One such example was that of five Blacks from New Hampshire who were paid twenty pounds in addition to a mileage allowance of 16s., 8d. in return for their enlistments. Cato Freeman of Andover, Massachusetts, was promised "Freedom in three years," and duly enlisted in the 9th Massachusetts for three years to meet the January 1, 1781, quota.¹⁵ ¹⁶ Nineteen-year-old Drummer Jabez Jolly, a sailor and/or farmer from Barnstable, Massachusetts, enlisted "For the War" in Rufus Lincoln's Company of the 7th Massachusetts in either November or December 1779 by Lieutenant Freeman. It is interesting to note that while at New Windsor, the same officer was implicated in several charges of assault on a fellow officer and noted in Private Thomas Foster's diary as beating a Sergeant Howard of the 7th Massachusetts Regiment.¹⁷ ¹⁸

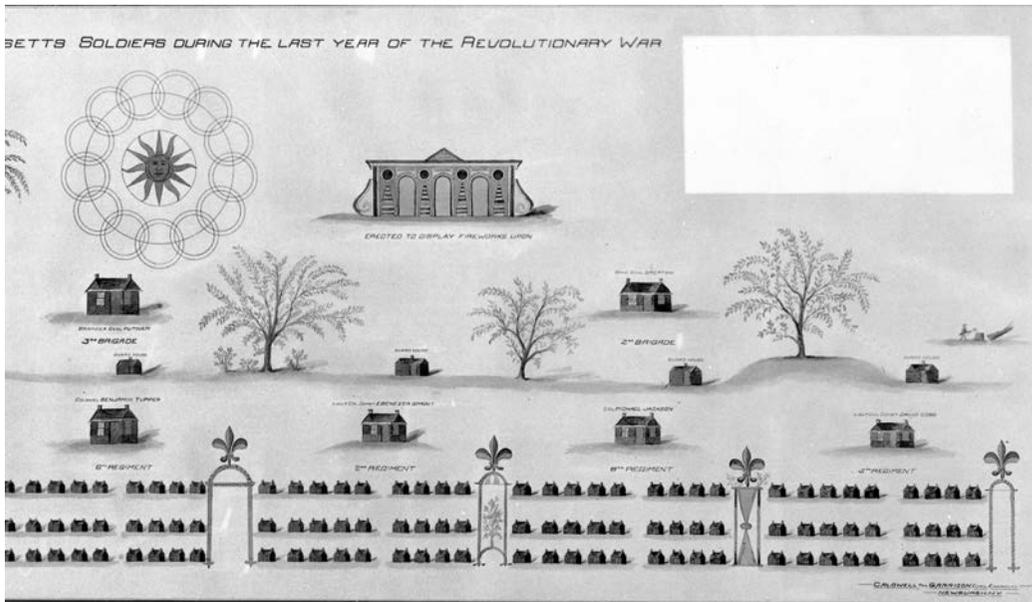
The training regime Washington's soldiers underwent at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-1778 built the foundations of a strong professional army that would prove itself throughout the latter half of the American War of Independence. Despite this, the actions of some officers and soldiers continued to challenge this newly instilled sense of discipline. During the winter encampment of 1782-1783 at New Windsor, both white and Black soldiers found themselves before general court-martials for infractions ranging from being absent without leave to insubordination, assault, and theft. Cato Fisk, now re-enlisted in the 2nd New Hampshire, had been charged with overstaying his furlough and was listed as "Deserted" on his company's muster rolls for February 16,



Drawing of the Massachusetts Line at the New Windsor Cantonment after the sketch done by Private William Tarbell of the 7th Massachusetts Regiment. Caldwell and Garrison Civil Engineers, Newburgh, New York. Collection of Washington Headquarters State Historic Site. This engineer version captured the details of the original drawing that had faded over the years

1783. Prosecution for such a crime could carry a sentence of death. However by this stage of the war, when prospects of a spring offensive were uncertain and with many war-weary soldiers wishing to return home, Fisk's crime went unpunished. Prior to his regiment's arrival at New Windsor, Drummer Jolly had been arrested and tried in June 1782 at a regimental court-martial near West Point for "abusing another soldier." Sentenced to receive thirty lashes, he was soon pardoned. Private Robert Green of Captain Day's Company wasn't so lucky. After being tried at a regimental court-martial on January 4, 1783, for leaving his post while on sentry duty, Green was sentenced to receive sixty lashes.¹⁹

White and Black soldiers not only shared the same crimes and punishments but also the responsibilities of maintaining order and discipline. These duties ranged from standing guard and retrieving supplies to building winter quarters and digging latrines. Shortly after enlisting for three years in February, 1781, Private Cato Everet of Captain Green's Company, Colonel Vose's (1st Massachusetts Regiment) was listed "Joined Lines on Guard." The "Lines" were a string of fortifications and guard posts that stretched from the area around West Point as far south as Westchester County, along the Croton River. Their main purpose was to defend the Hudson Highlands from British attack from New York City and protect the citizenry from the criminal elements of the region



(known as “Cowboys”). One job that appears prominently in service records is that of “Servant.” This role was filled by privates who were adjoined to high-ranking officers, such as colonels and generals, and required to tend to the officers’ personal needs. Polishing boots, cooking, running messages, and even emptying chamber pots were some of the many chores these soldiers/servants would have to perform while on detached service. Perry Cesar of Rufus Lincoln’s Company, 7th Massachusetts Regiment, was a servant to “Col. Gimat” from June to November 1781. Jean-Joseph Sourbader Gimat arrived in America as a member of the Marquis de Lafayette’s staff in 1777 and was given a commission as a major in the Continental Army. By 1781 he was promoted to colonel and placed in charge of a light infantry battalion that served under Lafayette’s command throughout the Yorktown Campaign. As his service record notes, Perry would have been with Gimat during the time of Yorktown, while the rest of his regiment remained protecting the Hudson Highlands (Lesser, 210). As Perry Cesar marched south to Yorktown, Boston Black, from the 7th Massachusetts Regiment was sent “on extra duty” as a servant to General John Glover at West Point. Glover had made a name for himself early in the war as the commander of the 14th Massachusetts Regiment, which helped Washington’s Army evade capture by ferrying them to Manhattan after the disastrous Battle of Long Island in August 1776, as well as transporting Washington’s army across the Delaware to surprise the Hessian garrison at Trenton, New Jersey, on December 25, 1776. Although they contributed to the structural hierarchy of the Continental Army as servants, the Black soldiers of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire lines also would prove their worth on the battlefield, leading to Great Britain’s eventual defeat.

Over the last several decades, historians have uncovered the important role that African Americans performed in the Revolutionary War. Black soldiers took part in every major action of the conflict, as Continental and redcoat, servant and soldier. Thus, it is not surprising that the service records of those Black soldiers in the Massachusetts and New Hampshire Lines at New Windsor Cantonment were extensive and showed experience equal, and in many cases surpassing, that of their white comrades. Jude Hall's first taste of battle occurred at Bunker Hill on June 17, 1775, when he reported being "thrown headlong by a cannonball striking near him."²⁰ As a member of the 2nd New Hampshire Regiment from December 1776, to the end of 1783, he was present at many of the actions in which his regiment participated. After the Battle of Monmouth in June 1778, Hall earned the name "Old Rock" as a testament to his endurance and courage during one of the hardest fought battles of the war.²¹ The following year, Hall and his regiment took part in the Sullivan-Clinton expedition against the Iroquois, and at the end of his second term of service in December 1779, he re-enlisted for a third time, for the duration of the war, and was with his regiment at New Windsor in 1782-83.²² Another New Hampshire soldier, John Reed, served from 1776-1784. Reed served in the New Hampshire militia regiments that took part in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, and Bennington. Reed re-enlisted just before taking part in the October 1777 Battle of Bemis Heights, which led to the defeat of General Burgoyne's army at Saratoga. Reed spent the remainder of his service guarding the Hudson Highlands and eventually was discharged after the disbandment of his regiment in January 1784.²³

One of the most famous actions involving Black troops took place in nearby Pines Bridge, New York (now Yorktown), on May 14, 1781, when a detachment of 200 men of the 1st Rhode Island Regiment (also known as "The Black Regiment") was surprised by a force of 260 mounted and dismounted Loyalists under the command of Oliver Delancey. Colonel Christopher Greene, Major Flagg, and ten men were killed, with twenty-three taken captive. Captured soldiers of African descent were sent to the West Indies and sold into slavery. The First Rhode Island would later encamp briefly at New Windsor in the fall of 1782 prior to being sent north for the abortive attack on Fort Ontario.

Toward the end of the American War of Independence, General Washington proposed the awarding of "Badges of Honorary Distinction," to recognize those soldiers who served faithfully and continuously from their enlistment to the cessation of hostilities. These badges came in the form of an inverted chevron worn on the left arm of the regimental that represented three years of faithful service. Private Cuff Leonard, of Captain Hastings' company of the 7th Massachusetts Regiment, who served from March 24, 1777, to June 10, 1783, was "entitled to 1 and 2 stripes."²⁴ Cato Fiske, along with fellow New Hampshire soldiers London Dailey and Caesar Wallace, received Badges of Honorary Distinction for serving six, four, and five years, respectively. An August 1782 register of Captain Lincoln's Company, 7th Massachusetts Regiment, to determine which privates and noncommissioned officers were eligible to receive these badges lists Cesar Perry, an African American, as one of the most qualified. One of

the most remarkable African-American recipients was Nantucket resident Michael Pease. Pease enlisted in May 1777 for the duration of the war, and by the end of his enlistment, on June 10, 1783, he (like Cuff Leonard) was “entitled to 1 and 2 stripes.” What makes Pease’s story particularly interesting is that he was born in Portugal; the circumstances of his arrival in North America remain unknown.

On April 19, 1783, news of a general cessation of hostilities reached the troops of Washington’s army at New Windsor. In June, the remnants of the Continental Army were marched to West Point, where the troops were given their discharge papers and sent home to resume lives they had postponed when they enlisted. With the end of the war, the now fourteen United States had no role for Black troops, and white Americans in general picked up the banner of prejudice just as quickly as they cast aside the idealism of their Revolution after it had been won. Despite their personal sacrifices and the courage they displayed while fighting one of the most powerful armies in the world, the Black soldiers of Washington’s army returned home to find the same hostility and racism they had left before the war began. On February 7, 1787, Cato Fisk, along with eighteen other Blacks, was warned to leave Exeter, New Hampshire, for reasons unknown. Fisk would spend the rest of his life as a pauper and itinerant laborer, trying to support his wife and three children. Three of Jude Hall’s sons were kidnapped and sold into slavery, while his son-in-law, Ben Jake, was viewed as a “troublemaker” and, along with his family, run out of town and their house demolished. Jude’s other son, George, lived long enough to celebrate the abolition of slavery in New Hampshire in 1820. With his father, he took center stage in the festivities.²⁵ London Daily ran into severe financial trouble when several court actions were brought against him for unpaid debts, leading to his imprisonment in October 1820 for a judgment of \$50.75 in addition to \$5.62 damages. Despite these financial and judicial setbacks, on July, 22 1818, London, along with the son of fellow Black veteran Tobias Cutler, attempted to form a “Society beneficial for [Blacks living in Exeter].” London and his wife were positive fixtures in the Black community of Exeter for the remainder of their lives.²⁶ Other soldiers, like Cicero Swett, remained slaves after returning home, but used their compensation to buy back their freedom. Although the war for American Independence was over, it would take another war to end the enslavement of Black Americans.

Eighty-six years after Jude Hall escaped to freedom to answer the call to arms against the “enslavement” of the thirteen colonies by Great Britain, his grandsons Aaron and Moses Hall enlisted in the 3rd U.S. Colored Infantry and 54th Massachusetts Regiments to fight in another war, against the institution of slavery itself. Unlike their illustrious grandfather, Aaron and Moses would, ironically, serve in a segregated army. However, one cannot help but feel they were instilled with the same sense of duty and obligation as their grandfather to prove themselves worthy defenders of American freedoms and for the release of their fellow African Americans from the bonds of slavery. The American War of Independence was unique in that it would be the only conflict until the Korean War, almost 200 years later, in which white and Black soldiers fought alongside each

other in the American Army. It also laid the foundations for African Americans to fight on the battlefield and in the meeting halls for principles of liberty and equality they rightfully deserved. The deeds of these men would resonate in the hearts and minds of Black soldiers in every American conflict from the War of Independence to the present day. The deeds of these brave men must never be forgotten, and the words of American poet and abolitionist John Greenleaf Whittier in his essay “Black Men in the Revolution and War of 1812: A Review” is appropriate:

The return of the festival of our national independence has called our attention to a matter which has been very carefully kept out of sight by orators and toast-drinkers. We allude to the participation of colored men in the great struggle for American freedom. It is not in accordance with our taste or our principles to eulogize the shedders of blood even in a cause of acknowledged justice; but when we see a whole nation doing honor to the memories of one class of its defenders to the total neglect of another class, who had the misfortune to be of darker complexion, we cannot forego the satisfaction of inviting notice to certain facts which for the last half century have been quietly elbowed aside, as no more deserving of place in patriotic recollection than the descendants of the men to whom the facts in question relate have to a place in a Fourth of July procession.²⁷

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Endnotes

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Pete Seeger performing on the stage at Yorktown Heights High School.
Photo by James Kavallines for the *World Journal Tribune*.
Image courtesy of Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

Teaspoon Brigade:

Pete Seeger, Folk Music, and Intellectual Property Law

Steven Garabedian

New York's Hudson River Valley is one of the nation's folk music capitals. Premier American folk icon Pete Seeger was a Beacon local from 1949 until his passing in 2014, and for years his Clearwater Festival has showcased some of the best folk music artists in the country to raise funds for cleaning up the Hudson River and promoting environmental activism. Like the river, folk music is a public resource; it is, we might say, public music. This definition makes sense, most immediately, because much folk music of traditional origin has been formally assigned to the "public domain" as regards legal copyright. Additionally, folk music is public music because much of it has been claimed in spirit by folk music enthusiasts, like Pete Seeger, as the communal creation and common property of everyday Americans. Still, just as in the private-versus-public interest debates that emerge in other sectors of our contemporary world, questions over the "ownership" of public music have surfaced over the last half-century. When folk went commercial for the first time with groups like The Kingston Trio and Peter, Paul, and Mary in the 1950s and '60s, public music suddenly brought big money and commercial claims. From his hand-built cabin in Beacon, Pete Seeger waged a battle to make public music serve the public interest. Long before I relocated to the Hudson River Valley, I interviewed Seeger and gathered archival materials documenting a behind-the-scenes battle over the rights of folk music artists, collectors, interpreters, and audiences.

I called Pete Seeger at his home twelve years ago. I didn't expect him to answer, and I hadn't called about folk music copyright reform. I was a pre-doctoral research fellow at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., enjoying a joint appointment split between the National Museum of American History (NMAH) and the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage (CFCH). I'd been given the Seegers' phone number by folk music scholar Ron Cohen, and I'd been told by Cohen that Toshi Seeger, Pete's wife, would most surely answer. She would take my name and contact info. At some point later, Pete would get in touch with me. The flood of entreaties that the Seegers received on a daily basis made this screening protocol only fitting.

Sitting in my writing cubicle that day at the NMAH, I was startled into eager action when a voice I recognized answered directly. It was Pete Seeger himself, as casual and

unassuming in his greeting as one would imagine from his iconic public reputation. I asked if he had a few minutes for some questions relating to my doctoral research on folk music collecting and scholarship; he said he was always glad to “run off at the mouth.”²¹

In 2002, I was two years away from completing my Ph.D. Seeger was a spry eighty-three years old. I had been awarded an in-residence fellowship at one of the nation’s leading public history institutions and repositories. The Smithsonian’s NMAH collected, preserved, and exhibited U.S. heritage, from George Washington’s uniform to Abraham Lincoln’s top hat to the Woolworth’s lunch counter from the first Civil Rights sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960. The Smithsonian’s CFCH was not a museum with public exhibitions, but it was a nerve center of American vernacular music and culture. Located off the mall in downtown Washington, the CFCH housed, among other materials, a vast sound recording archive and the full records, correspondence, music catalog, and ephemera of Moses Asch’s influential independent label, Folkways Records. With my fellowship at the Smithsonian, I was at an epicenter of U.S. public life, culture, and politics, and on this day in June, I was talking to one of the nation’s central twentieth-century shapers and resisters.

Seeger didn’t seem as taken with himself as I was. The man was not one to cultivate celebrity. If he had a good song or a good cause on his mind, he did not shrink from the spotlight. But suggestions of fandom were clearly off limits. If you got through



Pete Seeger entertaining at the opening of the Washington, D.C. United Federal Labor Canteen, sponsored by the Federal Workers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 1944. Photo by Joseph A. Horne. Image courtesy of Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

to him and there was an opportunity to talk, he was going to make it count. On this day, we moved rather quickly from my narrow dissertation research questions to his broader ongoing concern for folk music copyright and public domain reform. I didn't know it then, but Seeger was in the midst of a new project that has since unfolded in the growing discourse on public rights and intellectual property. Seeger had something on his mind, and he had found a willing audience.

"I'm trying to get the copyright law changed now," he offered. From there, Seeger began to detail his efforts to establish the Committee for Public Domain Reform. In the past, he recounted, those artists or commercial parties who asserted legal claim as "arranger and adaptor" of traditional material in the public domain received all royalty payments. Before The Kingston Trio, Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, and Peter, Paul, and Mary in the folk music boom of the 1960s, this practice hardly mattered, however. Folk music was not in commercial currency and there was no steady revenue of any sizable degree being generated by folk music publishing, recording, or performance. Seeger's own group, The Weavers, did have several arrangements of other folks' material that became big-sellers, among them the Israeli song "Tzena, Tzena" and Lead Belly's version of the folk standard "Goodnight Irene" in 1950. But this commercial surge was short-lived. By 1952, The Weavers had been crushed by American anticommunism. Until the mass revival of the 1960s, there was no money in folk music. Few people cared about its rights and wrongs.²

By the turn of the millennium, a wealth of artistry and commerce had risen on a foundation of global traditional music and culture. The fall before I spoke with him, Seeger had issued a call in the folk music periodical *Sing Out!* via his regular column, "Appleseeds." He summoned:

Songs have been written all over the world which have fallen into public domain. These songs continue to be used by contemporary recording artists and record companies as sources of inspiration for new songs. In these cases, the new copyrights and recording masters owe a monetary debt to the original sources.

It is our quest to recognize and honor the original sources of lyric and/or music content which have and continue to be included in contemporary music.

We propose that a share of mechanical, print, and performing royalties from such new works be sent to the "public domain commission" in the country of origin. Such commissions will determine where the funds can be used.

This income will serve the cultures and countries which have helped inspire us.

Please join us in this effort.³

Seeger had followed up with a clarification that summer. Published in the June 22, 2002, installment of "Appleseeds," this was the open conversation in which he was involved when I happened to call only a few days later. What he was proposing, he elaborated, is that "when someone 'adapts and arranges' an old song which is in 'the public domain' they no longer collect 100 percent of the royalties which come in for this version." He was not calling for the abolition of "public domain," he found it nec-

essary to explain to wary readers. “Not at all,” he stressed. “What I and my publishers are recommending is finding some way to get money to Third World countries when someone puts new words to one of their ancient melodies. . . . We think that every country in the world should have a Public Domain Commission.”⁴

As Seeger told me, the point of the campaign and its practical instrument, the Public Domain Commissions, were to allot folk originators, most of them unrepresented and disempowered in this market field, “some, but not all, maybe 50/50,” of any royalties accrued from commercial adaptations.⁵ It was perhaps “just nibbling away at a huge problem that needs a worldwide solution,” he granted in his column that summer, but it was an effort toward balancing the scales after years of inequity. The international Public Domain Commissions “wouldn’t have to bother with all the tens of thousands of songs written every month,” he stipulated, “but when a song somewhere starts to earn money they’d consider it” on behalf of their own people.⁶ In our phone call, Seeger added that he had gotten his publishers, Richmond Organization and Harold Leventhal, signed on. Documents were being composed and Seeger hoped to get the movement all the way to the World Intellectual Property Rights Organization (WIPRO) of the United Nations. Headquartered in Geneva, the WIPRO (now WIPO) is the “international clearinghouse for copyright,” explained Seeger. “They are trying to standardize intel-

lectual property rights when it comes to music copyright.”⁷

These were not my pressing concerns for the dissertation and not the reason for my call, but they were certainly relevant. In fact, in the Folkways Records archives at the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, I had been tracking as a side issue to my main research an early, behind-the-scenes dispute over traditional music, public domain, and intellectual property rights. The tussle involved Seeger, Folkways Records owner Moe Asch, and eminent folk music collector Alan Lomax. In public statements throughout his life, Seeger was customarily diplomatic in his mentions of Lomax and copyright. Though only four years his senior, Alan was a pivotal influence, a kind of “concerned older brother,”⁸ who mentored a young Seeger as he found his way into folk music. Lomax had



Alan Lomax playing guitar on stage at the Mountain Music Festival, Asheville, N.C., c.1940s. Image courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Lomax Collection, [reproduction number, e.g., LC-USZ62-111157]

hired the nineteen-year-old Seeger as an assistant at the Library of Congress in 1939, and it was Lomax who had made the fateful introduction between Seeger and the worldly Woody Guthrie at a benefit in 1940.⁹ Seeger appreciated Alan's importance and was sensitive in public comments. On the evening of Lomax's passing in July 2002, Seeger was interviewed for a remembrance by NPR correspondent Lynn Neary. The reporter ventured, "He [Lomax] also could be controversial, though, couldn't he? He claimed authorship at times of some songs that really belonged to the tradition." Seeger replied directly: "No." He explained:

What happened was he found himself in England. He couldn't get a job here because of McCarthyism and the blacklist. And so he went to England, and there a recording was made of "Rock Island Line" which was making hundreds of thousands of dollars for some people over there and not one penny was going to the guy who recorded "Rock Island Line" for Alan back in Arkansas, a man named Kelly Pace. So, Alan came back to New York and went to a publisher and says, "Copyright all the songs I ever collected." That's perfectly legal if you say you've adapted and arranged it. The publisher says, "Can you say you've adapted and arranged them?" and, he says, "Of course, I've adapted and arranged everything I ever collected." And, he probably did in a way.¹⁰

The primary materials I had uncovered in the Folkways Archive, however, revealed a deeper tension. In a letter from Lomax to Seeger, undated but likely from 1960 owing to the book reference, there was a distinct note of sourness. Lomax wrote:

Dear Pete, There is no question that the copyright aspect of THE FOLK MUSIC OF NORTH AMERICA [sic] is the least important part of the book. I thought that you could see further than that. And, I am very disappointed that you cannot.... You have made your career around a large body of recordings, in which you have quoted liberally from Lomax books. At the time neither one of us saw what would be the result.... When I asked you to remedy this situation, you agreed to do this — both with the Weavers to whom you gave a repertory and with Moe to whom you gave catalogue — all without any sort of acknowledgement. So far there a lot of meetings with no results. All you have to do is to acknowledge your sources in print and see that your associates, both ex- and present, do the same. This may involve some difficulties, but then so did the collection and arrangement of these pieces. You have this obligation and I see no reason for you not to carry it out.

On this typewritten letter from Alan to Pete, Seeger had added a handwritten annotation in the upper left corner: "show to Harold and Moe." He meant music manager Harold Leventhal and Folkways owner Moses Asch. Additionally, someone else (not Seeger, judging from the script) had added a further note at the bottom of the page: "Either don't use Alan's stuff — or give a paragraph — on sources for each song — I'd make it as ridiculous as possible." The sarcasm suggested frustration.¹¹

To a degree, Seeger did work to acknowledge the Lomax claims in his recorded output for Folkways. In a letter I found in the Folkways archives dated September 6, 1958, Seeger wrote, "Dear Moe, Alan and I have been talking over the past years of recording work I have been doing for you and I wish to acknowledge in this letter to you the songs from Lomax books and Lomax sources which I have recorded for your

company.” A follow-up letter, also located in the archive, dated May 22, 1960, reiterated the point: “Dear Moe, In view of the fact that I want to go over a number of brochures for LP’s I’ve made for you and reprint them I would like to know if I can also reprint the labels of a number of these records for the following reasons.” Among Seeger’s list of rationale that followed, his first item was that “[s]ome songs need to be given copyright credit to Alan Lomax or other people from whom he has collected the songs.”¹²

Both documents reflect compliance. But it was compliance with reservations. As Peter Goldsmith relates in *Making People’s Music: Moe Asch and Folkways Records*, “[Lomax] pressed Seeger” to compose the first letter from 1958. Seeger, however, “was among those disinclined to regard genuine folk songs as property,” Goldsmith states, “and reportedly wrote Asch very reluctantly.” Asch’s reaction to the Lomax claims, moreover, was guarded at best. To Lomax’s publisher, he replied that he would not “make blanket concessions nor agree to sweeping claims without a more careful analysis of the specific material.”¹³ In confidence, Seeger appeared equally resistant. In a handwritten annotation at the top of the second dispatch, Seeger confided, “Dear Moe—have sent this formal letter to you so I can send a carbon to Alan. While I feel that many of his claims need to be questioned, I’d like to stop the pressure from him. Pete.”¹⁴

This testy backstage exchange involving three of the leading lights in the emergent folk music establishment—Seeger, Lomax, and Asch—was preceded by a private correspondence between Seeger and Lomax that was even more fraught and direct. In 1958, the year The Kingston Trio kickstarted what would become the 1960s folk boom with their hit “Tom Dooley,” Seeger heralded the fortuitous return of Alan Lomax to the United States after an eight-year political exile evading McCarthyism. In a public “Welcome Back, Alan” in *Sing Out!*, Seeger praised Lomax as perhaps the nation’s “foremost folklorist.” Lomax “left the U.S.A. as an ‘enfant terrible,’” he joked, “and he returns a legend.”¹⁵ Still, already at this early date, the copyright issue was a bother to their relationship. In a candid personal note from Seeger to Lomax, dated “c. 1957,” in the Seeger home archives, Seeger opened, “This is in no way a proper and sufficient



Alan Lomax recording the Pratcher brothers. Photograph by Shirley Collins. Image courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Lomax Collection, [reproduction number, e.g., LC-USZ62-111157] Permission of Association of Cultural Equity

response to your letter, but I wanted to get something off without too much delay. If you will send me a list of all songs to which you are attaching copyright claim, I will be very glad to notify any record company, radio or TV station, or publisher that I use these songs with, of such claim." On the value of Lomax's fieldwork and published folk music songbooks, Seeger offered no equivocation. "I agree," he continued, "that your research has been fundamental to the present folksong revival." But on the question of collector copyright, the singer was frank and personal. Seeger stated:

If you include as coauthors your original informants such as Ironhead, Mrs. Ball, George Turner, et al, you will be on firm ground . . . If you don't do this, I feel you will be in for more trouble than you realize.

. . . [sic] You see, Alan, I feel that above all you weaken your case dreadfully by being in any way bitter yourself. . . . If you are going to be bitter about anything, be bitter about this cockeyed system where the gambling man is rich and the working man is poor. . . .

The truth is that you, and I, and others like us have been lucky, far luckier than we realize. You with stepping into a Library of Congress job when you were so young. Me for meeting you. If we realize this, and realize also that we are all just links in the human chain anyway, isn't the important thing to be a strong link rather than a long link, if I think I mean what I think I'm saying?

I'll grant you, all the city-billies are doing better than the true folk sources, such as you mention . . . Why don't you write an article: "Why I Am Now Copyrighting Folk Songs," and include in it personal accounts of some of these fine people. Also include stories on exactly what you did, in a couple of cases, to change their songs. Or would this be endangering your copyright?

Take care of yourself, Alan. A lot of us love and admire you, even when we think you are wrong, as occasionally happens, or when we think you sound condescending, which occasionally happens, too. Take it easy, but take it. Pete¹⁶

In a second private letter from the same period, Seeger further expressed that he had a "few exceptions I feel I should take" to Lomax's correspondence concerning copyright. Why, Seeger wondered, was Lomax pressing his claims now. "Yes, I'm making a better living than before," he acknowledged. But, as he reminded Lomax, "I have been for twenty years almost blacklisted from commercial work," and, Seeger continued, "[A]t the moment I have an indictment for contempt of Congress with a possible year's jail sentence and \$1,000 fine hanging over my head."¹⁷ Whose interests were served by the copyrighting of vernacular music previously unclaimed as public domain? In this nascent period, just as folk music was beginning to be discovered for its commercial potential, the letters between these two founding figures mapped out what became the common opposing currents on traditional music and intellectual property. Lomax believed he had to protect his folk music fieldwork from a seeming sudden "Wild West" of pop music exploitation, and Seeger held back to ask whose rights were really being protected.¹⁸

As the mass revival took hold by the turn of the decade, the behind-the-scenes tension over folk music copyright assumed public form in 1960 in the pages of *Sing*



Ethnomusicologist Charles Seeger seated in automobile, with family, standing, left to right: wife Constance Seeger, concert violinist, and sons Pete, Charles, and John. The family was ready to leave Washington, D.C. for their 1921 “trailer trip” musical expedition to bring classical music to rural areas.
Image courtesy of Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

Out! magazine. Editor Irwin Silber inaugurated an impassioned debate on the subject with an extended review he authored on folklorist Herbert Haufrecht’s *Folk Sing, A Handbook for Pickers and Singers*. Titled “Folk Songs and Copyrights,” the piece raised tough questions and angered some readers. Haufrecht’s book was the occasion for Silber’s straight talk, but the criticism branched outward. In their own folk music songbooks, asserted Silber, Alan Lomax and his father, John A., for instance had listed themselves as “co-authors” of Lead Belly songs that “were notated word for word and note for note from recordings made by Leadbelly [sic] in the years shortly before his death.”¹⁹ If Silber granted that folklorists did deserve fair credit and compensation for their crusading work collecting traditional music, his article at the same time begged the issue of what exactly is fair in a property system where folk informants, folklorists, and music industry owners and managers did not participate on even ground.

Over the course of the revival, some central figures voiced unyielding stances on traditional material and the rights of property. Late in 1960, as the issue stewed on the front burner for *Sing Out!* readers, columnist Israel “Izzy” Young, owner of the influential Folklore Center in Greenwich Village, registered his views as regards Lomax and copyright. “Alan Lomax’s new book *Folksongs of North America* . . . promises to be the greatest anthology yet of American folksong,” he wrote. “The only sour note occurs when we are warned that our heritage, so movingly described, is entirely copyrighted.”²⁰ It seemed to Young, perhaps, that his wry prediction from a year before was in fact coming true. As folk music began to climb the Hit Parade following The Kingston

Trio's version of "Tom Dooley," Young quipped that "there will be so much money to be made in Folk Music in the next two to three years that politics and personal differences will be forgotten in the desperate attempt to copyright every folk song ever written."²¹

In principle and practice, Izzy Young was opposed to the commodification of traditional music formerly assumed for the public domain. Young in 1969 was still sticking to it, even as the money flowed in to others. He asserted, "Music should be part of everything but it's not part of everything in America. It's part of the business scheme. . . . I'm living within the business system," Young acknowledged as a small business owner, "however, I've put on 400 concerts and never signed a contract with anybody, I've never owned a percentage of anybody. . . . I've never copyrighted a song."²²

A figure even closer to Pete Seeger, the respected elder statesman of folk musicology, Charles Seeger (Pete's father), similarly looked at the commercial developments of the mass revival with disappointment. He addressed the debate in a formal article in the academic journal *Western Folklore* in 1962. In "Who Owns Folklore?—A Rejoinder," Seeger questioned the very premise of intellectual property as regards traditional music. He pondered:

Perhaps the Russians have done the right thing, after all, in abolishing copyright. It is well known that conscious and unconscious appropriation, borrowing, adapting, plagiarizing and plain stealing are variously, and always have been, part and parcel of the process of artistic creation. The attempt to make sense out of copyright law reaches its limit in folk song. For here is the illustration par excellence of the Law of Plagiarism. The folk song is, by definition and, as far as we can tell, by reality, entirely a product of plagiarism.²³

At the time, the position of the father on this matter exceeded that of the son. Thus, Charles Seeger concluded:

One surely has a right to claim copyright in a table of contents, an arrangement of titles, one's headnotes, or in editorial and critical comment. But one has no right to try, thereby, to limit the normal currency of a folk song unless one has "arranged and adapted" it beyond all semblance of folk song—in which case it is a fraud to publish it as a folk song.²⁴

For Woody Guthrie, the acclaimed "communist Shakespeare in overalls"²⁵ of the folksong revival going back to its leftwing roots in the 1930s and '40s, the whole concept of music and property was just another part of the human comedy. Guthrie laughed it off all along. Referring to a contemporary, Guthrie shrugged, "Aw, he just stole from me. But I steal from everybody. Why, I'm the biggest song stealer there ever was."²⁶

As I found in my Folkways Archives research, Pete Seeger was inspired by such arguments, public and private, to seek a forum of judgments by informed insiders in music, publishing, and law. In the archive, I tracked a trail of letters responding to Seeger on the issue of public domain music and copyright. In the rush of the revival it appears that Seeger was trying to find a clear heading amidst the growing storm of voices with an interest in folk music. The responses to Seeger ranged from short to long, defeated and resigned, engaged and hopeful. One correspondent, field collector



Woody Guthrie, *World Telegram* photo by Al Aumuller. Image courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division

Vance Randolph, wrote that it “never occurred to me that I ‘owned’ the songs that people were kind enough to sing for me. . . . It is a confusing and dismal situation, but I haven’t the foggiest notion what should be done about it.”²⁷ Another letter writer, folklorist Helen Creighton of the National Museum of Canada, was similarly pessimistic: “You ask about copyright. I gave up worrying about that years ago because I couldn’t get anywhere and it seemed that I could do nothing but make bad friends.”²⁸ Herbert Haufrecht responded as well, despite the review he had received from Silber. “By my not replying in the columns of SING OUT [sic] and by this late reply to your letter,” he answered, “you might think that I am evading the issue. Not at all!” In a formal, two-page

reflection, Haufrecht laid out his position. He concluded, “As it stands now, the copyright law does not make provisions for the various types of rights of collector, arranger, compiler or editor of folksongs. The law should be amended to accommodate these varied contributions.”²⁹ Music publisher Howard Richmond answered, too. As he readily admitted at the outset of his letter, he saw things in terms of “a commercial entrepreneur” who did not want “to discuss this matter in print, under my own name, or to be quoted” because “the opening of any discussion by me makes me more vulnerable than anyone else.” As Richmond figured it, “There is a basic, common law right that everyone is entitled to have in any personal property he owns or creates.” When a folk music collector gathered “five or six variants of a folk song” and recombined elements of these variants into a whole, Richmond held, the collector had “in effect created a new original version” worthy of remuneration.³⁰

This effort at what Seeger called a “pocket-size symposium” culminated in a draft statement, “Prefatory Remarks In Column In *Sing Out* Magazine,” that the singer prepared in the winter of 1961. “In the last few issues of this magazine,” he explained, “numerous words advised and ill-advised have been printed on the general subject of the copyrighting of folk songs. . . . This writer is interested in seeing the discussion continue because I am convinced that the present copyright law is unrealistic and unjust. Sooner or later it will have to be revised.” I found the manuscript item along with the other documents in the Folkways Archive. The draft statement included Seeger’s handwritten edits, among them “[I]s it better to print as is or to develop it,” question

mark implied, at the bottom of the page.³¹ In fact, the piece was not published “as is.” Instead, it showed up as part of a longer piece, “The Copyright Hassle,” two years later. For the time, this was Seeger’s considered position paper on the issue. He referenced his father on the Russians and abolishing copyright altogether in a “Worth Quoting” excerpt box, and wrote:

Face it: the reason so many arguments come now about the pros and cons of copyrighting folk songs is that money is being made from them. “If he gets all that money, why shouldn’t I?” Back in the thirties, when no one was making money out of folk music, this argument never came up. . . . The copyright hassle is not too different from a lot of problems we face in our modern world. Many, confronted with a bad situation, will throw up their hands and say it’s unsolvable unless you change the whole system of society. But this attitude often results in nothing being done.³²

In the remainder of the article, Seeger outlined three measures which he believed might move things forward. These included pushing for “a law saying that all recording companies should pay two cents per song per record into a PD (public domain) fund for any PD song on the record,” and establishing that this envisioned “PD fund” would “have the right to sue people who unjustly claim copyright control over folk songs.” Though a full campaign failed to materialize after this call to action, it was Seeger’s first formal attempt at public domain reform.³³

In the early 2000s, when I got him on the phone, Seeger had just resumed his campaign for copyright reform. An expose in *Rolling Stone* on the case of Solomon Linda and what became the song “Wimoweh,” or even more popularly “The Lion Sleeps Tonight,” wasn’t the cause for his renewed public effort, but it added to the momentum. Though the article, “In The Jungle” by journalist-activist Rian Malan, was critical of a host of artists and music industry figures, Seeger included, the singer applauded it as a positive. He wrote in to the magazine:

Hooray for muckraking journalists and for the journals like *Rolling Stone* that will print them. Even if Rian Malan did not get all his adjectives straight, in the main he did what was long needed. Now the way is open for reform in world copyright laws, so that someone who puts new words or a new arrangement to a public-domain melody can collect some of the royalties, but not all. . . . I hope there will now be discussions in many little “folk song” journals like *Sing Out!* In a few years there should be changed rules in the offices of “intellectual property” in Geneva, as well as in Washington, DC.³⁴

Malan’s piece traced in exacting detail the trail of exploitation by which a Zulu musician originated a now instantly-recognizable global smash-hit melody line in a recording studio in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 1939, only to die in 1962 “so poor that his widow couldn’t afford a stone for his grave.” The musician was Solomon Linda. He recorded the song “Mbube” (“the lion” in Zulu) with his group The Evening Birds. The recording was made for the local independent Gallo Records, and the song was a hit in South Africa, selling perhaps 100,000 records in its first ten years of life. As was customary, the group was paid a one-time flat fee for the effort. There was no talk of

a contract, or royalties or copyright ownership. Linda was said to have “walked out of that session with about one pound cash in his pocket.” He became a local performing superstar, in high demand nights and weekends. Beyond that, he expected no further returns from “Mbube.”³⁵

Though successful in his own community, Solomon Linda never did, as the line goes, have the security to quit his day job. Meanwhile, “Mbube” migrated to the U.S., where it really started to make money. First, The Weavers popularized it as “Wimoweh” in the early 1950s. The title had been changed not as a clever cloaking device for plagiarism, but rather more innocently because Pete Seeger misheard the wording on the scratchy 78 rpm original. In 1961, The Tokens released their global hit, “The Lion Sleeps Tonight.” The Tokens had learned the song from The Weavers. Or, as journalist Malan delineated it, “‘The Lion Sleeps Tonight’ was a reworking of ‘Wimoweh,’ which was a copy of ‘Mbube.’ Solomon Linda was buried under several layers of pop-rock stylings, but you could still see him beneath the new song’s slick surface, like a mastodon entombed in a block of clear ice.” Then, Disney featured the song in what became *The Lion King* film and theatrical sensation in 1994. By that point, Rian Malan contended, it was “the most famous melody ever to emerge from Africa, a tune that has penetrated so deep into the human consciousness over so many generations that one can truly say, here is a song the whole world knows.” In Malan’s investigations, he determined from industry analysts that royalties and related earnings from Linda’s melody could reasonably be totaled at \$15 million. In 2000, when the article came out, Solomon Linda and his family members had seen only a few thousand dollars come their way since the original recording in 1939.³⁶

The story of “Mbube” and Solomon Linda was exactly the kind of situation Pete Seeger had been trying to prevent since his original copyright reform projects in the 1960s. As Seeger told me in our phone interview in 2002, “‘In the Jungle’ was my fault, but I didn’t know it.”³⁷ He reiterated the point in an audio interview in 2007, and wrote about the case in his revised *Where Have All the Flowers Gone* in 2009 as well. When he was a younger and more trusting showbusiness newcomer with The Weavers in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Seeger had looked aside, or simply had been looking elsewhere, as his managers and publishers set about copyrighting many of the folksongs he and the group recorded. Using the same legal mechanism that Seeger came to reject, his handlers copyrighted key Weavers recordings as original interpretations deserving of any accruing commercial returns. The language used on the legal forms was “adapted and arranged,” and the rationale employed was that contemporary interpretations of traditional songfare, no matter how slight, constituted legitimate new works. On these grounds and employing fictitious monikers to conceal their identities, Howard Richmond and Al Brackman claimed the routine fifty percent publishers credit for themselves and fifty percent composer credit for The Weavers on any royalties generated by the material.³⁸

In the 1950s, as money was being earned on “Wimoweh,” Seeger tried to do right

by the song's originator. He told his management to find Solomon Linda and send a share of the royalties. A check for some \$1,000 was cut and delivered, but Seeger "didn't bother to ask exactly" what percentage was being allotted Linda, and he "assumed this was the first of many such payments, and that a standard songwriter's contract had been signed" with the singer. "Foolish me," he wrote in reflection in 2009. Ultimately, in relative terms, Solomon Linda got almost nothing in these years. Seeger had made a good-faith individual effort for it to be otherwise. However, as he recognized, piecemeal private remedies were no lasting solution to a systemic problem. Seeger had been stymied by a business system that encouraged profiteering over principle. In his 2007 audio interview, he admitted, "I didn't know how much I was involved until that article in *Rolling Stone* came out." And as he wrote in *Where Have All the Flowers Gone*, Rian Malan "did not get every fact straight, but basically he taught me how wrong I'd been to leave finances entirely in the hands of others."³⁹

By 2006, Pete Seeger had put the pieces together to finally mount an international folk music copyright campaign. A formal, two-page document had been prepared on behalf of his Committee for Public Domain Reform. It set down concrete measures to improve the legal practices concerning traditional music. It ended with five "Pete Seeger examples" of public domain misdeeds and restitution, from "Wimoweh" to the Xhosa lullaby "Abiyoyo" to "Where Have All the Flowers Gone" (inspired by a Russian folk song) to "Turn, Turn, Turn" (from The Bible) to "We Shall Overcome" (from southern African American sacred tradition).⁴⁰ Seeger had told me in our phone interview, "Twenty years ago, the Folklore Society tried to change the law, but it fell apart. Forty years ago, so did my father." In the new millennium, with the clout of a kind of universal elder statesman, he was pushing again. "Now, I've written up this proposal, and I sent it, among other places, to the WIPO office in Geneva, Switzerland. And, I got a nice letter from the man in charge," he explained. "We'll see what happens."⁴¹

Long before the passing of Pete Seeger on January 27, 2014, I had been reflecting on this side episode in my doctoral research and that fortuitous phone call in June 2002. This is not an obituary. It's not even a remembrance for things gone by. Pete Seeger's music, deeds, and ongoing campaigns remain very much alive. Today, Seeger's effort toward folk music copyright reform has indeed made its way to the international stage and the World Intellectual Property Organization. In the last years, Seeger had turned over the legwork to musician, public intellectual, and activist Mat Callahan. Originally from San Francisco, Callahan lives these days in Switzerland. He is a crusader of considerable force in his own right. Beyond advancing the practical mechanisms for copyright reform through formal channels like the WIPO, Callahan, like Seeger before him (and Seeger's father before that), questions the very premise of intellectual property in music in the first place. In his speaking and in his penetrating book, *The Trouble with Music*, Callahan calls for the same understanding of music embodied in Seeger's Old Left revival concept of "people's songs" from the 1940s. At its best, music is public and communal, not private and exclusive. Callahan argues, "Music arises

from and gives expression to relations between people. . . . Music is, above all, a social product expressing social relations. It never was and can never be the solitary expression of one person alone.”⁴² The commodification of music as private property, and its enforcement through copyright, can be situated in a historical context of privatization going back for centuries in Western market systems, Callahan writes. He elaborates:

Enclosure was the process by which common land, owned by no one and used by many for planting crops and grazing animals, was turned into units to be owned by individual lords. This process began during the late Middle Ages but became a great wave across Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. Its function was to make private poverty of once ownerless space and to drive the peasantry off of it and into rapidly expanding industrial production. . . . Proponents of Enclosure used exactly the same arguments then as do the proponents of privatization now.⁴³

In this perspective, music copyright does not truly assign artist credit and contributions where due, and it only has really served to increase the earnings of music business insiders, corporations, and publishing companies. “The fact is that the vast majority of all music, literature and art ever made was made without copyright ‘protection,’” Callahan contends. When it comes to grassroots music made and shared in common, formerly assumed as public domain and then copyrighted since the folk revival for commercial sale, “Music that was already being composed and performed was turned into a commodity enriching a few and impoverishing a multitude.” The system must be reevaluated, says Callahan.⁴⁴

Whether reform or radical overhaul, change in this circumstance appears to be hard and slow in coming. Like the effort in the late 1950s and ’60s, the laws and practices surrounding music and property are entrenched, with vested interests behind them. Perhaps the best way to end, however, is the way Seeger himself often did. In interviews and public engagements, he frequently concluded with his “Parable of the Teaspoon Brigade.” It goes like this:

Imagine a big seesaw. One end is on the ground, held down by a bushel basket half full of rocks. The other end of the seesaw is up in the air with a bushel basket on it one-quarter full of sand. Some of us have teaspoons and are trying to fill it. Most people are scoffing, “It’s leaking out as fast as you put it in.”

But we say, “No.” We’re watching closely, and it’s a little more full than it was. And we’re getting more and more people with teaspoons. One of these days that whole seesaw will go *zoop!* in the opposite direction. People will say, “Gee, how did it happen so suddenly?”

Us and all our little teaspoons over thousands of years.

Keep in mind that we have to keep using our teaspoons, because the basket does leak. Are you in the Teaspoon Brigade?⁴⁵

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Endnotes

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4. Pete Seeger, "Appleseeds," *Sing Out!* (Summer 2002): 86.
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45. David King Dunaway, *How Can I Keep from Singing?: The Ballad of Pete Seeger* (New York: Villard Books, 2008), ix-x.

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.

The Shaker Museum | Mount Lebanon

Ian Dorset, *Marist* '15

“We entered a grim room, where several grim hats were hanging on grim pegs.” So wrote Charles Dickens about the Shaker village at Mount Lebanon in *American Notes*. The year was 1842, and Dickens came from a society that valued the material over the spiritual. The village may have seemed grim to the famous author, but it suited the spiritual beliefs and practical philosophies of the Shakers. Today, Shakers are perceived largely the way Dickens saw them—which comes as no surprise considering our own consumer-driven society.

Even so, an interest in Shaker culture remains. Though the lifestyle may not be appealing to some, the Shakers’ crafts and practical innovations still draw attention. John S. Williams, an investment broker from New York City, was a collector of Shaker crafts and products. With the help of Shaker leadership at then still-operating villages in Sabbathday Lake (Maine), Canterbury (New Hampshire), and Hancock (Massachusetts)—he founded The Shaker Museum and Library at his farm in Old Chatham, Columbia County, in 1950. In 2001, the museum’s Board of Trustees began plans to relocate to New Lebanon. The goal was finally achieved in 2012, when the Shaker Museum | Mount Lebanon officially opened.

Under the leadership of Ann Lee, the Shakers emigrated from England around 1774. They were not accepted in their homeland because of their somewhat radical



“*Second Dwelling House*, view through door with railing, candle stand, and double clothes hanger (North Family, Mount Lebanon, New York).” Image courtesy of the New York State Museum

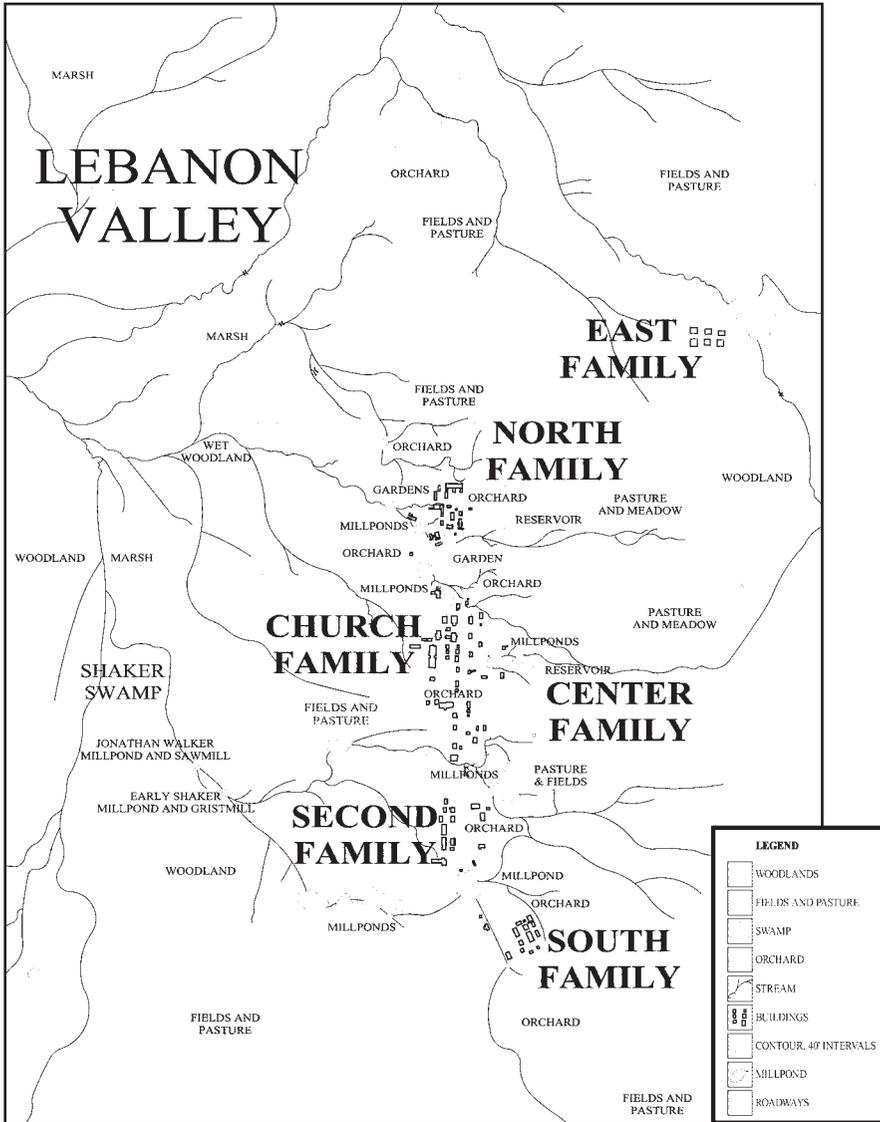
religious beliefs. Shaker opposition to churches and established ecclesiastical practices was seen as a disturbance; eventually they left England to escape persecution. Arriving in America, they settled outside of Albany in the isolated area of Niskayuna. It offered a perfect setting for Lee and the Shakers to practice their religious beliefs without interference—at least for a few years.

The Shakers began to enter the public eye, albeit not in a positive light, during the American Revolution. The Shakers were inherently pacifist, and their disinterest in the conflict made them suspect as British conspirators. Ann Lee was even arrested for her antiwar beliefs and imprisoned in Albany for five months. Distrust for Shakers also may have stemmed from their lack of support for democracy. Representative governments were seen as too volatile for Shaker communities and in direct opposition to their views on God. Explaining his distaste for the democratic system, Shaker Brother Isaac Youngs claimed, “God had given men wills of their own, but only to do His will, not theirs.”

Despite the events of the Revolutionary War, the Shakers began to thrive in the 1780s. A turning point came when Joseph Meacham, an elder of the New Light Baptists in New Lebanon, converted to the Shaker religion. Meacham quickly rose to a position of power within the Shaker community; in subsequent years, his leadership in New Lebanon helped define Shaker culture in America. In this way, the village at Mount Lebanon became perhaps the single most influential Shaker village in the country. For one thing, Meacham established regular daily meeting times, which became integral to the Shakers’ structured lifestyle. The organization of these meeting times was facilitated by the construction of the first meetinghouse, built in 1785 on land owned by George Darrow.

Shaker craft also became a subject of interest for non-Shakers with a less-is-more mentality that valued function over fashion. Shaker buildings featured linear living spaces, while their furniture was built in the Federal Style, which utilized boxy shapes and tapered rectangular legs. It is no surprise that both the architecture and craft of the Shakers were so uniformly defined by straight lines and exact geometric proportions, as most design was supervised by Shaker leaders who encouraged manufactured goods to be simple yet effective, simultaneously deemphasizing material wealth while maintaining a focus on spirituality.

The entire Shaker village at Mount Lebanon consisted of several different families—East, South, Center, Church, and Second, among others. The museum is contained within the property of what once was the North Family. These “families” were not built upon blood relation, due to the Shakers’ devotion to celibacy. Rather, they were spiritual families consisting of anywhere from fifty to 100 believers led by an Elder. The families were economically self-sufficient—each complete with dwellings, barns, and workshops—but all gathered for worship in a communal meetinghouse. The North Family is an ideal location because it contains many of the village’s most iconic buildings, perhaps the most important being the Great Stone Barn. This massive building, 200 feet long and fifty feet wide, stands as a monument to Shaker ingenuity.



**Contextual Plan, Macro Scale, Mount Lebanon Shaker Village
Cultural Landscape Ca. 1942. North Family, Mount Lebanon Shaker Village,
202 Shaker Road, New Lebanon, Columbia County, N.Y.,
Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.**

Unfortunately, it is only a shell of its former self due to a devastating fire in 1972. The fire was the result of arson, a crime that has damaged and destroyed many buildings in the village. The multimillion-dollar restoration of the Great Stone Barn is currently the Shaker Museum's biggest project; the work should be completed later this year. A



“Historic American Buildings Survey, William F. Winter, Jr., photographer, August 1931, SOUTH SIDES, Gift of New York State Department of Education. Shaker North Family Barn, State Route 22 & U.S. Route 20, New Lebanon, Columbia County, N.Y.”, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.

display in the nearby Poultry House offers details about the process.

Many other historic buildings also are open to the public. The Granary has been adapted for use as a visitors' center. The first floor contains a reception desk and Shaker souvenirs available for purchase. Walls on the second floor are lined with historic photographs of the village. The building once functioned as a place to store grain and flour. The overhang above the front entrance is actually a hollow tube that once contained a pulley system used to haul heavy materials to the upper floors. Due to the weight it had to support, the Granary is one of the sturdiest buildings in the North Family. Though today bright red, the building is thought to have once been a pastel pink. In fact, most of the museum's buildings were probably originally painted in pastel colors that have faded over time.

Tours originating at the Granary take visitors to the Wash House. The first room seen is a perfect representation of Shaker belief. Much of the walls consist of large windows that let in vast amounts of light, making the room glow. For the Shakers, the room's sparseness and powerful natural lighting were meant to reflect the infinite light and space of Heaven. The spaces between the windows contain the innovative Shaker pegs from which they hung furniture. On the far corner of the room, drying racks stick out from the wall. The racks have tiny wheels on the bottom that allow them to be retracted into the wall when not in use. They stand over the boiler room; steam rising from the drying clothes would travel through two giant pipes to the upstairs, where it was collected. The Wash House offers a prime example of the Shakers' efficient use of space, which they so highly valued. Even the gutters were used in innovative ways. Rather than draining water from the roof to the ground, they collected water, which Shakers used to create pigments for clothing. Rainwater was less mineralized than

groundwater, and therefore created purer colors.

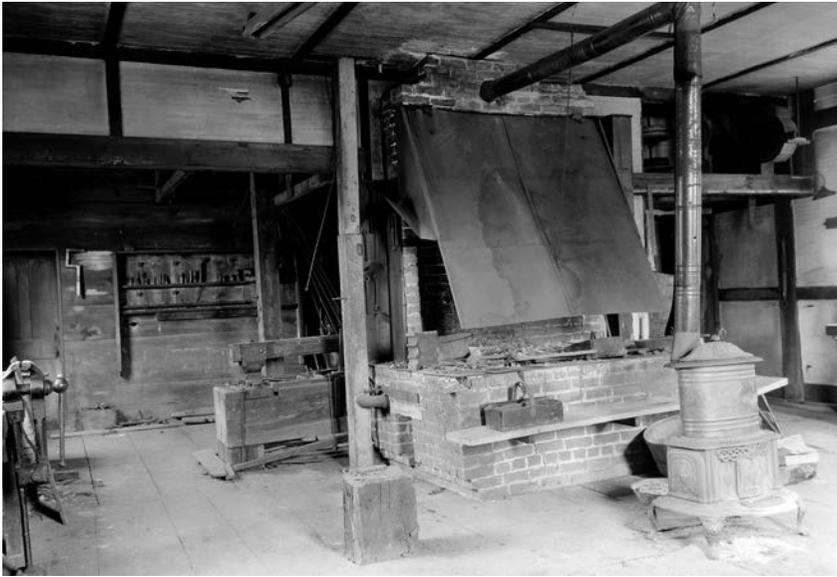
Perhaps the most interesting part of the Wash House is the second-floor schoolroom, where faded chalk is preserved on the chalkboards. Because Shakers were celibate, almost none of the village's children lived with their birth parents. Most had been adopted for various reasons. Often, mothers who could not care for their children would leave them in the Shakers' care. This was the only way to keep Shaker villages going without procreation. However, adopted children were given the option to leave the village between the ages of sixteen and eighteen; most left. Because children were given this choice, Shakers felt practical education was just as important, if not more so, than traditional subjects such as arithmetic or writing.

From the Wash House, we take a narrow stone path down to a dirt road. The path is a remainder of the sidewalk system that once connected buildings in the village. Some of the stone came from recycled headstones, objects Shakers saw no use for; they were seen as symbols of individualism, a concept the Shakers shunned.

The Brethren's Workshop, another tour highlight, features several hallmarks of Shaker craftsmanship. The practice of dovetailing—joining perpendicular pieces of wood with interlocking joints—is on display here within the drawers of the various



**“Historic American Buildings Survey, William F. Winter, Jr.,
Photographer 1920s, IRONING ROOM WITH DRYING RACKS,
Gift of New York State Department of Education. Shaker North Family
Washhouse (second), Shaker Road, New Lebanon, Columbia County, N.Y.”
Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.**



**“Historic American Building Survey, William F. Winter, Jr., Photographer 1920s,
SMITHY FORGE, Gift of New York State Department of Education.
Shaker North Family Smithy, Shaker Road, New Lebanon, Columbia County, N.Y.”
Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C.**

woodworking benches. (Among these benches sits a curiously short one. This was the workbench of the famous but extremely short Shaker craftsmen Orren Haskins.) Not only are these drawers very durable and resistant to being pulled apart, but they are light for their size. It is also important to note that the drawers are built under each workbench. By saving space, they help to maintain the Shaker ideal of spacious living.

Buildings in the museum stand as monuments to the innovations and beliefs of the Shaker community, but they only remain because of historical restoration efforts. By the mid-twentieth century, the Shakers had diminished to just a few small villages, and their culture was in danger of being lost. Perhaps the most pressing issue was old age: As more and more young Shakers left the communities, the elderly began to make up the majority. Most of the new converts during this time were people seeking new lives. As sociologist William Sims Bainbridge put it, Mount Lebanon became “a refuge rather than a revolution.”

Considering its significance in Shaker culture, the decline of the village at New Lebanon was a powerful indicator of the decline of Shaker culture as a whole. It was here that Joseph Meacham wrote the Concise Statement, whose expression of Shaker ideology helped spread Shaker culture to a wider audience. Mount Lebanon also provided a leadership model. After the death of Lucy Wright, Meacham’s successor, leadership passed to groups of Elders, a system imitated by most other Shaker villages. In the second half of the 1800s, the North Family at Mount Lebanon was even labeled the

“progressive party,” as North family leaders led the charge in adapting Shaker customs to the changing times. They were the biggest representatives of the United Society (the Shakers’ official name), and their efforts at public relations eased tensions with American society by making Shakers less sectarian. All of this made it that much more of a crushing blow when Mount Lebanon was forced to shut down.

The end came in 1947, when then-leader Emma King pushed for the village’s closure to save money for the Shaker Central Trust Fund. In addition to aging populations, the Great Depression also took its toll on Shaker communities. Villages around the country started shutting down due to an inability to sustain themselves, starting with western villages like South Union in Kentucky and spreading to older villages in the Northeast. After Mount Lebanon officially closed, only three active villages remained—Sabbathday Lake, Canterbury, and Hancock.

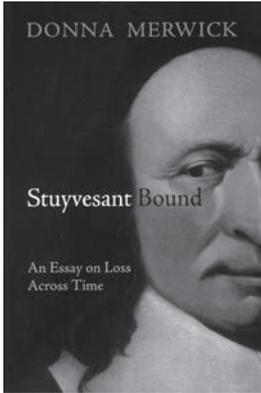
With the help of a Save America’s Treasures grant from the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the Shaker Museum was able to secure the North Family site. In 2004 and 2006, the World Monuments Fund ranked the village as one of the 100 most endangered historic sites in the world, making the museum’s relocation timely. Other sections of the village adjacent to the museum grounds are maintained for use by the Darrow School; buildings there have been adapted for modern uses such as dormitories and libraries. Restoration of the village continues. As the Great Stone Barn nears its completed renovation, the walls are being injected with semi-liquid cement grout to fill in gaps created both from the fire and exposure to the elements. The top portions of its walls must be completely reconstructed; the mortar there had almost entirely deteriorated. Steel bracing also is being installed on the west wall to provide structural support and prevent further movement. These improvements bring the Great Stone Barn closer to allowing public accessibility. In addition to the barn renovations, the museum also purchased sixty acres of land next to the North Family village in the spring of 2014; it now contains walking trails open to the public.

While Charles Dickens may not have appreciated the lifestyle of the Shakers, their place in shaping our country is unforgettable. They had the rare distinction of being “not defined by a regional or ethnic association, but by a voluntary group ethos” (Bishop). Their innovations still draw the attention of tourists and consumers alike. In this way The Shaker Museum | Mount Lebanon encapsulates a unique chapter in American history.

In 2015, the museum is open from June 19 through October 12, Fridays to Mondays from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Exhibitions are mounted during the season; scheduled tours are offered each day. Visitors also have the option of taking self-guided tours, but these are limited to only the grounds, as access to buildings is only available through the guided tours. Admission is by donation, which helps preserve the buildings and enables museum programming. The Shaker Museum | Mount Lebanon is located at 202 Shaker Road, New Lebanon, (518)794-9100 and online at shakerml.org.

Book Reviews

“No Country for Peter Stuyvesant”: Book Review Essay



Stuyvesant Bound: An Essay on Loss Across Time by Donna Merwick, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013) 219 pp.

The nation or country, what entity is of more importance to modern society? What about capitalistic economy, secularization, democracy, and progress as normative American values? All hold sway, for better or worse, on our perceptions of the world and our place within it. And it is from this vantage point in modernity that we look toward the actions of those who lived before us, reaching back through time to filter the past through the eyes of the present. This is history, and this is why the practice of history is an art and not a

science. It is imperfect, an extension of historians and the times in which they live.

But how then, asks Donna Merwick, can we better understand Peter Stuyvesant from our vantage point in the modern world, back to one that was premodern and existed between the post-Reformation and pre-Enlightenment periods? A world in which the United States of America cannot be predicted or imagined, though the history written about Colonial America often chooses a narrative that fits into a story of nationalistic genesis. A creation story that makes the founding of America seem both inevitable and secularly divine. The histories of nations are filled with their own deities, prophets, and sacred texts. In America, one has to look no farther than the Founding Fathers and the Constitution. All this a historian must weed through to find the North America of the seventeenth century in which the colony of New Netherlands existed, and where Peter Stuyvesant acted as Director-Governor for some seventeen years. It is to this place and time outside the confines of the nation state in which Merwick takes us in *Stuyvesant Bound: An Essay on Loss Across Time*.

Duty, Belief, and Loss

Merwick asks us as readers to consider Stuyvesant from three perspectives: duty, belief, and loss. The first topic of duty reflects his oath to the Dutch West India Company. An oath, as the one taken by Stuyvesant on July 28, 1646, before the assembly of the States General and “before God,” was a “sacred undertaking” and gave him the authority to act as the personification of the West India Company (WIC) itself. It bestowed on Stuyvesant the power to take action on the ground in the New Netherlands, while a “government-by-correspondence” was kept with the distant WIC in Holland. But

Stuyvesant did not rule with as much authority as one would think; the Netherlanders never liked to give one individual too much power (to the frustration of some in the House of Orange), as the rule of government was usually local and comprised of civic minded citizens. Merwick writes, “The States General’s grant of a municipal charter to New Amsterdam in 1653 created solid grounds for that changeover. Self-government modeled more closely on practices in Holland gradually improved the lives of the city’s tradespeople and merchants. Many scholars have carefully studied this transformation. My concern here is to evaluate the repercussions of the charter on Stuyvesant’s subsequent career in New Netherland and his afterlives in historians’ evaluation of him. The charter meant that Stuyvesant was effectively stripped of his authority as magistrate of the city of New Amsterdam.”

Even as someone who has studied Dutch New York, I found the level of autonomy given to New Amsterdam surprising, and that Stuyvesant’s role in what would become New York City was mostly “consultative.” The government comprised of “Burgomasters and Schepenen” would only last for a little over a decade, until the city was ceded to the English in 1664.

Another obstacle Stuyvesant faced in his duty as director was the sparse population of New Netherlands, especially in his ability to negotiate boundaries with the surrounding English colonies, which were more populous. Merwick cites a prominent Virginia Company colonist from 1659 concerning the “political logic” of the time, “saying that Virginia and New England were meant to touch.” If Stuyvesant had his hands full with boundary disputes with other colonies, his most pressing concerns were internal. As Merwick points out “Stuyvesant lived in an American Indian world.”

Multicultural from the Start

Citing statistics, Merwick explains why Stuyvesant governed New Netherlands with a strategy of peaceful deterrence: “In the mid-1660s, there were about 8,000 men, women, and children, widely scattered in four locations: Manhattan Island and Long Island; Beverwijck (Albany), Wiltwijck (Kingston); and two primitively fortified settlements on the Delaware.” This is in comparison to an estimated 14,000 American Indians who lived within the territory of New Netherlands. The cultural interactions between various American Indian nations and the peoples of New Netherland were “constant if not daily.”

In 1643, reflecting the larger Atlantic world that it was part of, Stuyvesant’s predecessor Willem Kieft noted eighteen languages spoken in New Amsterdam. Merwick writes that “like other leading historical figures, Stuyvesant has been chained to the vagaries of American historiography’s own history. As we shall see, he was tied to a paradigmatic conceptualization of American colonial history that severely limited the human diversity that marked the seventeenth century.” Addressing the myth of homogeny, the actual history points to a North America that was multicultural from the start, and has been continuously from our colonial past right through to the present.

Personal Spirituality

Merwick approaches Stuyvesant's religious beliefs by recognizing the pitfalls of modern faith that operate from the perspective of the post-Enlightenment. Merwick writes, "New Netherlanders made efforts to access God in their everyday life," as she considers "the construction of a nonsecular cultural formation," one that focuses "on everyday practice, that is, personal spirituality." Merwick continues by arguing against the historical stereotypes that depict Calvinists of Stuyvesant's time as an antithesis to humanism: "I think it is our Enlightenment triumphalism that plays out here. Our analytical orientation to New Netherland's troubles in the pre-1653 years is expressed in categories constructed in modern times—that is, as secular humanism/reason versus Calvinism/unreason. This is a false dichotomy. In the seventeenth century, a Calvinist was an individual who accepted Calvin's teachings...that did not mean he or she thereby opposed the new humanistic sciences and arts embedded in the broader culture in Holland."

What Merwick addresses here goes beyond history, to how we today interpret the art and literature of the past. Both are now analyzed through the lens of the time and place of composition, in combination with a biographical/chronological approach to an author's or artist's life, in an effort to gain a better understanding of their work. The key, though, is to try to understand what religion was to those in the past, not as it looks today to us from the vantage point of hindsight. This is of course an unattainable view, but recognizing this paradox gets us closer to a more accurate telling of past events and participants. Merwick is a masterful teacher as well as writer, and these attributes combine to give the reader a better grasp of this concept.

The Ghosts of Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper

The history of the Hudson Valley is haunted by many towering figures, but no specters loom larger on this landscape than Irving and Cooper. These two apparitions are for the most part benevolent, but in the context of history, Merwick points out how authors often appropriate historical figures to fit into the larger narratives running through their work. "Irving expected that by elaborating on the dichotomy between the modernizing nineteenth century Americas and the seventeenth century New Netherlanders, each would make the other more real. And from the early Dutch history, the Americans would come to realize the availability of alternative political structures to those in which they were choosing so perilously to live," writes Merwick. In short, Stuyvesant is cast as a historical actor in a fictional drama, one where "Irving was not writing to do justice to Stuyvesant, but to advance a more just American society."

Like the idyllic shepherds of a bucolic Greece, created by Virgil in *The Eclogues* to serve as a contrast to the urban Roman society of the poet's time, so too did Dutch New York serve as a metaphor to a more pastoral lifestyle. With Irving portraying in *Knickerbocker's History* a fictional arcadia, in stark contrast to the New Yorkers of his

own time. On this topic, Merwick draws one of the most insightful explanations I have come across concerning Irving's critique of the American society of his era, one that he watched evolve over his lifetime: "Irving's advice was that they should think carefully about modernization and how they were allowing disciplines to dictate the rhythms of their lives. Those disciplines were now apparent to him in four modes of behavior: acceptance of a frenetic economic, geographic, and psychological mobility; adoption of a work ethic that left little time for leisure and defined it as nonutilitarian in any case; an inclination for aggression in vicious factional politics; a popular distaste for negotiation in favor of warfare; and an uncontrolled thirst for territorial expansion, even to the point of finding it thinkable to exterminate rightful indigenous owners."

I would only like to add that fiction, in the form of the novel in the early modern period, can be at times considered historical. As there is history based on documentary evidence as put forth by Merwick, we can also ask ourselves if for the most part those concerned with documents in the past were not the most privileged in society, meaning those who were literate. As Stuyvesant was a privileged Dutch man, so he has a rich collection of historical documents to draw from, but the history that can be gleaned from older novels can reveal truths to the human condition. Is the work of Jane Austen or Daniel Defoe any less historical than document-based research? And as Merwick shows with Irving and Cooper, we can sometimes gain a better historical grasp of certain times not by how the authors wrote history themselves but how they appropriated history to their own ends. Merwick makes this point without addressing it, as her direction in the text is more concerned with the perception of Stuyvesant through time.

To Suffer Loss

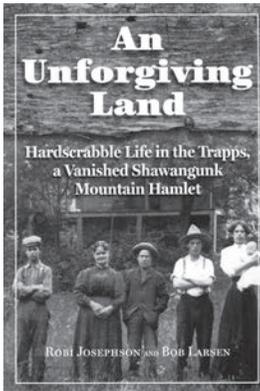
Merwick explores the surrender of New Amsterdam to the English in 1664, and how Stuyvesant's role in these events has been interpreted differently by various historians through time. But she also goes into detail on one of the most under-studied but interesting aspects of Stuyvesant's biography, the years 1665 to 1667, when he is put under investigation and must defend the loss of New Netherlands to the States General in Holland. As Merwick observes, Stuyvesant had a hand in writing his own history as he submitted seventeen years' worth of documents, some "70,000 words" toward his own defense.

It was an impolite and at times ugly investigation. The West India Company tried to lay all the blame of the loss onto Stuyvesant; to his former employer he became "a man who had failed to observe his oath." The WIC's argument to the investigating committee was that Stuyvesant "acted like a pawn of the burghers, that is like the city's 'militia captain and not a servant of the Company.' Their conclusion: he should have defended the fort even though the city would have been reduced. In their words, 'it ought to have been defended until the English had reduced it [the fort and the city] by their overwhelming force.'" As we have already seen, Stuyvesant had the

title of Director-Governor of New Netherlands but little power over New Amsterdam to influence the outcome of the English invasion. The city wanted to surrender, and Stuyvesant bore the burden of being the messenger who has no choice but to accept the weight of another's decision.

Stuyvesant Bound: An Essay on Loss Across Time is academic with a capital A. I do not mean that it is too complicated a read or written over most readers' heads. I mean academic in the word's root form: that what Merwick writes will bestow not only a better understanding of Peter Stuyvesant the historical figure, but also in how we view the world around us that is created by the history of the past. It is higher learning, what those in a less ironic age would call wisdom. It is by no means an "easy read" because you will find yourself at times stopping to reflect, to wonder about those that once called America home. To think back on how we ourselves have been misled by certain historians and the histories they created, and how that affected our perceptions of the world and our place within it. To have been misled is to be part of a nation, it is mandatory; the choice of whether to accept mistruth is optional, that is citizenship.

Jim Blackburn, Wesleyan University



An Unforgiving Land: Hardscrabble Life in the Trapps, a Vanished Shawangunk Mountain Hamlet,
Robi Josephson and Bob Larsen.
(Delmar, NY: Black Dome Press, 2013) 303 pp.

An Unforgiving Land: Hardscrabble Life in the Trapps, a Vanished Shawangunk Mountain Hamlet, by Robi Josephson and Bob Larsen, is a handsome and well-made volume, so much so that even the reader with no particular interest in or knowledge of the place that this book so admirably and thoroughly documents would be compelled to select it from a bookshelf for browsing. Do so and you will be hooked, like me, by this tale of passion and poetry in lives of material poverty and persistence, struggle and subsistence. The poetry begins with the well-chosen title containing those numinous words of place: *unforgiving land* and *hardscrabble life*, words that resonate with those always intriguing words *vanished* and *mountain hamlet*. Add that evocative place-word *Shawangunk* and even if readers do not already know that the Shawangunk Mountains of Ulster County, New York—the Gunks—are “one of Earth’s last great places,” they will be drawn into the compelling story of this place and its people. To paraphrase Walt Whitman—*who touches this book touches the land and the people of the land*.

One way to describe this volume is as a model of *close reading* and *writing* of local history. The well-organized chapters survey with documentary perspicacity three cen-

turies of life in a small and obscure mountain community—the Trapps Mountain Hamlet—beginning with the section entitled “Birth of a Hamlet, 1730-1830,” with its chapters “Entering the Wilderness,” “Colonial Land Grant,” and “A Pioneer Settlement.” The next section, “Growth, 1830-1900,” presents chapters entitled “Hearth and Home,” “Artists and Builders,” “School Days and Heydays,” and “Saints and Sinners.” Through these chapters, the reader enters the life of the community—the school and church ways and days, the news of weddings and elopements, auctions and baptisms, parties and dances: “All year people gathered in the evenings to play music, dance, sing hymns and songs, and tell stories. People played banjos, fiddles, accordions, and mouth harps. Some had pianos or even an organ . . . people took out the furniture and took up the rug for square dancing” (62).

But the hardscrabble life was anything but a perpetual song-and-dance party as the next section, “Survival, 1830-1900,” reminds us with its chapters on “Farming and Gathering,” “Wood and Stone Cutting,” “Hunting, Guiding, and Working for the Tourist Trade,” and “Living on the Edge.” Interwoven with the story of the Trapps is the story of the development of the tourist trade at Mohonk and Lake Minnewaska, the remarkable presence and stewardship of the Smiley family, and the sense that, without them, the hardscrabble life of the mountain hamlet would have vanished even sooner than it did. The final section, “Decline and Renewal, 1900-Present,” with chapters entitled “Moving On,” “Fading from Memory,” “Restoring the Past,” “Remembering the Past,” and “Reentering the Wilderness,” brings the story of the lost mountain hamlet into the twenty-first century, with a certain Faulknerian sense that the *past is never past*, or as Faulkner’s fellow great Southern writer and my literary mentor Robert Penn Warren often said: “Without the facts of the past we cannot dream the dream of the future.”

The documentation of this volume is impeccable, the twenty-four pages of notes and the twelve-page bibliography useful and valuable; and the more than 100 photographs, illustrations, and maps help to bring the bright particularity of place vividly alive. I applaud also the literary qualities of the book and its *style*; for example, the way that each chapter is introduced with a brief italicized vignette that highlights the themes of the chapter that follows—a very Hemingwayesque device (as readers of Hemingway’s *In Our Time* will recognize). Moreover, the exemplary refusal to present the story of the Trapps and its people as a mere sociological subject imbues the volume with a profound compassion and respect for the dignity of its subjects that reminds this reader of Faulkner’s love for his Yoknapatawpha County autochthons.

When I moved to the Hudson Valley in 1969 and first saw the Trapps I was struck by the resemblance to Kentucky and Tennessee mountain hamlets that I had written about in my 500-page dissertation at Vanderbilt University, on mountain life and literature in Southern Appalachia. Immediately upon accepting a professorship at SUNY New Paltz, where I was hired to teach Faulkner and Southern Literature, I was immersed in Hudson Valley regional studies. From the early 1970s onward, with the late Alfred Marks, I developed courses in Hudson-Catskills lore and literature; we

created and co-directed the now defunct Carl Carmer Center for Catskill Mountain and Hudson River Studies.

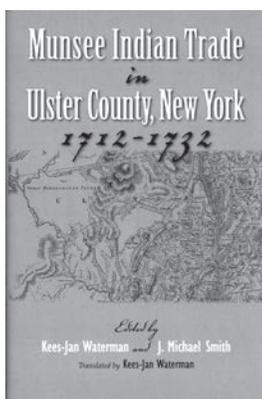
I wish this volume had existed then, to delineate and document what I felt about the Trapps. In fact, for three decades I taught a graduate seminar entitled *Literature & Lore of the Hudson Valley & Catskill Mountains* in which the scholarly mantra was my set of variations on the regional studies principles of my Vanderbilt Agrarian teachers and mentors—Allen Tate and Robert Penn Warren among others—and their sense-of-place apothegms, which firmly held that authentic regionalism and localism are limited in place but not in time, and a genuine love for and intense study of the local provides the surest path to the universal. (The opposite, I might add, of the view encapsulated in that currently faddish and unfortunate word *glocal*, with its overtones of what was considered the *faux-regional* at Vanderbilt, the worst kind of *picnic regionalism* and provincialism.) Teaching that seminar for three decades, I was always on the lookout for new books of regional lore and history that I could incorporate in the course. Had this book existed then, it would certainly have been a required textbook as an embodiment of what local history and regional studies should be. That is the highest compliment that I can offer in my scholarly and teacherly avatar. Speaking for a moment in my poet-singer-songwriter avatar, since I am at the moment engaged in preparing for publication a book of my old Hudson Valley songs and poems, I would add that if this book had been available forty years ago, it would surely have inspired me to write songs and poems with titles like “Ballad of the Unforgiving Land,” “Song of the Trapps,” and “Hardscrabble Blues.”

Another footnote from my poet’s notebook: one of the haunting motifs of *An Unforgiving Land*, for me, involves the recurrent images of water—springs and creeks and wells—and old stone foundations and cellar holes. This imagistic pattern echoes Robert Frost’s great poem, “Directive,” which urges the reader to seek out the vanished place, the ruined “belilaced cellar hole” and the forgotten spring to drink from it and “be whole again beyond confusion.” Josephson and Larsen here confirm that directive.

Over a period of three decades, many fine writers and students of place came out of my Hudson Valley seminar in regional studies, but the place-book that best embodies the vision of that course is *An Unforgiving Land* by Robi Josephson and Bob Larsen. Full disclosure: Josephson was a star student in my Hudson Valley regional studies course (as well as in my Faulkner-Hemingway seminar) and I’m glad that decades ago I urged her—even though I am sometimes called a *Faulkner specialist*—to abandon the notion of doing an MA Thesis on Faulkner and apply her talents and vision to local things, to Hudson Valley subjects. (It was the only time that I ever talked somebody out of writing on Faulkner.) I was unaware of the long process of research and writing that led to this book’s existence until the volume landed in my hands recently; thus I claim no credit for this book. I merely profess my delight that I was right (for once) in steering someone *away* from Faulkner and suggesting study of a non-Faulknerian *little postage stamp of native soil*. This book stands as an ideal example of what we call

Sense of Place; and, even more profoundly, what my old friend, the renowned British novelist and poet Lawrence Durrell, meant when he talked about the *Deus Loci*, the *Spirit of Place*, a matter more intense and local than what we mean when we speak of the sometimes all-too-general *Sense of Place*. This book has much to offer both rooted *autochthons* (i.e., those “sprung from the land itself”) and displaced *anachthons*, those seeking a vision of land-and-place. Any reader who wishes to cultivate both the Sense and the Spirit of Place should read this book—now! And reread it.

H. R. Stoneback, *Distinguished Professor of English,*
State University of New York at New Paltz



Munsee Indian Trade in Ulster County, New York, 1712-1732, edited by Kees-Jan Waterman and J. Michael Smith, translated by Kees-Jan Waterman. (Syracuse, NY University Press, 2013) 226 pp.

This fascinating book includes the translation and analysis of an account book documenting trade in Ulster County between European settlers and Munsee Indians during the period from 1712 to 1732. As the only account book discovered to date that records trade between the indigenous population and the colonial settlers, it is an invaluable resource that helps illuminate the commercial relationships that developed between the two cultures. The contents of

the account book are made more accessible by the editors' work in aggregating data from over 2,000 transactions into summary tables to facilitate its analysis and use for comparative purposes. Comparisons are made with the transactions recorded with Indians in the account book of Albany fur traders Evert and Harmanus Wendell during the overlapping period of 1695 to 1726, with which the translator had also worked.

In addition to the translated and annotated contents of the account book, this volume includes photographs illustrating pages from the account book and artifacts produced by the Munsee tribes. An appendix offers individual profiles of a number of the Indians whose names appear in the account book. Compiled from land deeds, treaty minutes, and other documents, these profiles provide a more detailed record of individual natives than has previously been available—another valuable contribution of this publication. For many readers, the book's introduction will be of primary interest. Here the editors summarize key insights gleaned from the account book, based on data presented in seventeen tables included in the text, as well as comparative information from the Albany fur traders' account book.

The identity of the Ulster County trader(s) who kept the account book is unknown. The book includes 243 accounts with American Indians. These customers were primarily Esopus and Wappinger Indians—both speakers of the Munsee language—part of

the Algonquin language group. About 100 Indians are listed by name in the account book, but nearly as many are identified only by their connection—often via a familial relationship—to a named individual. The account book also includes a second section that documents trade with European colonists in Ulster County between 1711 and 1729. The two sections of the account book were maintained in different hands, although the bookkeeper of the Indian section occasionally recorded transactions with the colonists.

Most of the entries documenting trade with the indigenous population occurred between 1717 and 1729. With few exceptions, Dutch guilders were the units of measure used in the account book, and the Dutch language was used to record all of the transactions in the Indian portion of the book—and most of those in the colonists' section as well.

Although the native population had begun migrating away from the mid-Hudson area following the Esopus Wars (waged intermittently between 1659 and 1664), the transactions in the account book suggest that they continued to journey back to Ulster County to trade, attend burials, and exercise their rights to hunt and fish on the land. Other tribal groups continued to live around their Ulster County homelands: the last known land sales they made in the region were recorded in 1767 and 1770, and native communities still existed at the start of the American Revolution.

The account book shows that Munsee women played a significant role in trade. Females were the primary holders of twenty-two percent of all the accounts, and appeared in transactions in fifty-one percent of all the accounts in the ledger. Similarly, the account book for Albany's Wendell brothers documented the active role that women played in trading furs.

The limited number of transactions recorded in the Ulster County ledger during the period from 1715 to 1723 reflects a slow start for the trader's business with the indigenous population. Trade increased annually from 1724 to 1726, and then tapered off for several years until the account book ended in 1732. An analysis of monthly transactions indicated that a single trading season did not exist. However, the months of April (a key fishing season), July, and November generally showed the most activity. In contrast, the fur traders at Albany had their busiest months from May through September, with activity peaking in June. The editors speculate that Indians who came to trade in Albany traveled from a greater distance, while those in Ulster County lived closer to the marketplace and thus came to trade more frequently.

Close to ninety percent of the transactions recorded in the Ulster County ledger fell into three categories: thirty-five percent involved textiles, twenty-nine percent were related to alcoholic beverages, and twenty-three percent were for ammunition or traps. The textiles were primarily in the form of cloth or blankets, although some clothing—particularly shirts and stockings—also was sold. Rum was the preferred beverage by far, with some cider and beer also sold, and gunpowder and lead accounted for the bulk of the ammunition sales. Knives, bread, molasses, kettles, and pipes were among the other goods sold, and repairs performed on guns and axes also were recorded.

The books of the Albany fur traders similarly showed that textiles, liquor, and ammunition were the goods most frequently purchased by the Indian clientele. The proportions were somewhat different in Albany, however, with nearly fifty-three percent of the transactions involving textiles—mostly manufactured clothing and woollens—while liquor and ammunition accounted for twenty percent and thirteen percent of the transactions, respectively. Also, money appeared as a trade item in almost four percent of the credit transactions in Albany, while foodstuffs rarely appeared. In Ulster County, foodstuffs accounted for nearly three percent of the recorded exchanges, while money was virtually absent as a trade good. In general, a narrower range of goods was traded in Ulster County than in Albany—likely reflecting the lower economic status of its residents.

The Native Americans made payment on their accounts by delivering peltry to the trader. Deerskins and elk hides were traded the most frequently, with bear hides, raccoon skins, and marten fur appearing as well. Meat and animals also were also traded. Whereas beaver was the most commonly traded fur in the Albany account book, it appeared in only ten percent of the transactions recorded in this category in the Ulster County ledger. Deerskins therefore seem to have replaced the declining beaver trade in the mid-Hudson region by the early decades of the eighteenth century.

Another area of difference is related to the frequency with which customers supplied labor to the trader, in payment on account. Only a single entry of this nature appeared in the Albany account book, compared to thirty-eight such transactions recorded by the Ulster County trader. Farm work and spinning were among the tasks performed, most often by men, at wages generally ranging from two to nine guilders per day. However, one entry recorded payment of twelve guilders per day to a woman for harvesting flax. In several instances, Indians paid off their debts by traveling to other locations. These trips were always taken by men, with one particular sachem undertaking a number of these ventures. Compared to similar entries in the Albany fur traders' ledgers, the Ulster County trips were confined to a smaller geographical area.

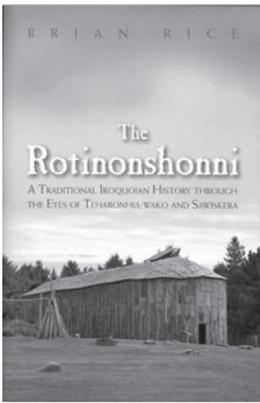
In Albany, the Wendell brothers had developed commercial ties with a group of Iroquois traders and a few Mahican intermediaries. Native intermediaries were not a factor in Ulster County, but the account book does provide evidence that a number of colonial settlers were directly involved in exchanges between the trader and his Indian customers. The colonists had either fetched supplies for Indians or paid off their debts with the bookkeeper. One family in particular was involved in a number of these transactions.

In the Ulster County ledger, one or two years would usually pass between the date of a purchase and the receipt of any payments on an account. It was not uncommon for payments to be made much later, if at all. An analysis of accounts for the more prominent Indian families—which carried the most substantial balances—showed that fifty-two percent of the accounts were eventually paid in full, eleven percent were partly paid, and thirty-seven percent remained unpaid at the time the account book ended.

A similar pattern was found in the Albany account book. (It is not uncommon to find account balances carried for many years in locations where bookkeeping barter supports the local economy by documenting asynchronous exchanges between neighbors.)

In conclusion, the volume proves a valuable addition to the literature documenting the indigenous populations in the mid-Hudson region and their intersection with the colonial culture. It provides a wealth of information about commercial activities and daily life, and it is a source of fresh insights into the lives of individual Native Americans and their families.

Sally M. Schultz, *State University of New York at New Paltz*



The Rotinonshonni:
A Traditional Iroquoian History Through
The Eyes of Teharonhia:Wako and Sawiskera,
Brian Rice (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press,
2013) 328 pp.

I read with interest Mohawk author Brian Rice's book, *The Rotinonshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History Through The Eyes of Teharonhia:Wako and Sawiskera*, in which he endeavors to recount the history of the Rotinonshonni (Mohawk translation), known more familiarly as the Haudenosaunee (Seneca translation), meaning "People of the Long House."

The oral traditions of the indigenous people of North America vary considerably—there are almost as many as there are tribes. These traditional recitations have been given from generation to generation. I myself have been witness to the recounting of the creation story of my own tribe, the Lakota, by my elders. I know what it is to hear the words in your own language—how affirming it is to discover your past and your future in those same words. On the other hand, I also know what it is like to read the inaccuracies, mistranslations, and over-simplification of these incredibly sacred stories of our existence. Many of those written translations, whether a missionary's journal, an anthropologist's thesis, a social studies textbook, or a children's story book, are prefaced to the reader by explaining that they are the recitations of myth, mere tall tales that the uncivilized inhabitants of North America used to explain their existence.

So when the author, in his own preface, emphasizes the importance of the Rotinonshonni worldview in his writing, insisting that his work "teaches the lessons that members should adhere to in order to continue moving forward"; and that if not, "the culture will stagnate, and the *Rotinonshonni* as a unique people, who have evolved through the intervention of the creator, will cease to do so" (p. x), I worried that the book may be inaccessible to the non-Native reader. The accessibility of Rice's account

is essential in changing the perception that the modern Rotinonshonni no longer exist. These stories are as essential to the Rotinonshonni today as those recounted in the Bible, Torah, Koran, or any other sacred text would be to their believers. And not unlike other religions, Rice expresses concern that as the Rotinonshonni continue to evolve as a culture, they must maintain a connection to their past, which is an integral part of shaping their future.

His own journey to understanding the importance of recording an accurate and authentic account of these stories took Rice on an adventure through several states and countless interactions with those most knowledgeable about them. In addition to his research of the existing literature and studies of the Rotinonshonni, Rice “believed that in order to fulfill the mandate of a traditional methodology, it would mean that [he] had to earn the right to write about Rotinonshonni traditional knowledge” (p. 3). So, after going through the ceremony, he set off on a month-long journey retracing the path of the Peacemaker, who along with Ayenwatha (Hiawatha) brought the *Kayeneren:kowa* (Great Law of Peace). For nearly 700 miles, through the traditional homelands of the Rotinonshonni, Rice sought out sites the Peacemaker visited. He also sought the advice and tutelage of many people, some of whom sheltered him on his journey. He attends many recitations and seeks the counsel of some of the most respected elders. These include *royaner* (Peace Chief) Jake Thomas Hadajigerenhtah and his wife Yvonne Kanhotonkwas, Alice Papineau *Tewasentah* (Clan Mother), and the elder Jacob Swamp Tekaronieneken. Some the recitals lasted nine days, beginning at 9 a.m. and finishing at 5 p.m., during which Rice either took notes or simply listened. Several problems arose as he began to put this work down on paper. Like many Native languages, certain concepts and/or expressions have no accurate translation. Negotiating conflicting accounts of the same story amongst tribal members also posed a hurdle.

It is at this point, not yet into the first chapter of the book, I began to regret that Rice and his editors had opted to use endnotes rather than an annotated format in the text. I felt that the interactions with the elders were truncated. I would like to have seen a more extensive explanation of why these elders were respected, something most Rotinonshonni, Native Studies students, and scholars would be aware of but perhaps could frustrate the non-Native/non-academic reader. That notwithstanding, the book is a truly extraordinary accounting of the Rotinonshonni’s creation and development as a people. Rice’s reclaiming of his Native knowledge is a beacon to other Native Studies students who balk at the inaccuracies perpetuating negative stereotypes within the current cultural discourse surrounding Native people today.

The breadth and depth of the knowledge within this relatively brief account of Rotinonshonni history is amplified by Rice’s ability to capture the lyrical quality of the oral tradition in his writing. While not universally appreciated and yet present in every major religion, the repetition involved in translating the recitations comes through in Rice’s writing, most especially in “The Creation Story.” To those who come from an oral tradition, it will be a comforting reminder of the cadences heard in their own cultures.

As we begin the first chapter, “The Creation Story,” we learn how the formation of the world involves the building of an island on a turtle’s back by the actions of the first sky beings. One of these beings (a female) descends to the terrestrial world, necessitating its creation, and gives birth to two earthly but supernatural sons. Teharonhia:wako, the being of warmth and life, and Sawiskera, the being of cold and destruction, embody the positive or warming *orenta* and the negative or cold force *otkon*. This mirrors what Christians call good and evil, but in Rotinonshonni tradition they are two natural and necessary forces. Teharonhia:wako and Sawiskera are raised by their Grandmother, who favors Sawiskera. The brothers begin making their own creations, Sawiskera’s being monstrous versions of Teharonhia:wako’s. Eventually, they divide Turtle Island in two—dark and light, cold and warm—and Teharonhia:wako’s *onkwe:honwe* (real human beings) start their journey.

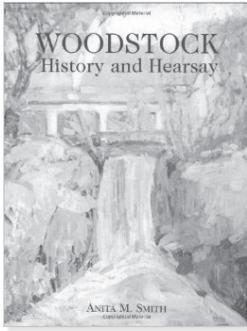
The second chapter recalls the *onkwe:honwe*’s struggles with social order. It details how the clan system was established and the territory divided. Conflicts arising with those outside the *onkwe:honwe*’s territory and the inability to follow the rules force Teharonhia:wako to send the Peacemaker, Tekana:wita (Deganawida).

In the third chapter, Tekana:wita travels amongst the various clans of the *onkwe:honwe*, telling them to unite and bury their weapons below the Great White Pine to ensure peace. He convinces them that they should enter into an agreement, a confederacy, to preserve the Great Peace. He speaks of how each of the divisions of people should live side by side as if in one longhouse—each having a role in protecting the whole.

The last two chapters chronicle the invasion of Sawiskera’s “white-skinned beings” (p. 251) and the inevitable loss of the Great Peace. Perhaps most readers will see this as a convenient way to explain the coming European settlers, but for many Native People these stories were told long before the first explorers set foot here. Rice’s account ends with Teharonhia:wako’s promise to return once again to bring the “good-minded” people.

Brian Rice set out to publish an account of his culture’s history, a daunting task but one he most certainly achieved. I am impressed by his ability to write what was shared with him, and to do so as respectfully as possible. He has accomplished a difficult feat, and I only wish the book’s supporting editorial architecture did more to explain the context. Most of all, I hoped this would be an accessible book for any reader, but most especially the non-Native history student, education major, or elementary school teacher—because until Native history told from the Native perspective is the norm in our schools, I am afraid our stories will remain folk tales.

Danyelle Means, independent museum consultant



Woodstock: History and Hearsay, Anita M. Smith.
(Woodstock, NY: WoodstockArts, 2006) 335 pp.

Anita M. Smith writes from the point of view of an insider who was one of the outstanding professional fine artists living in Woodstock in the mid-twentieth century. Many examples of her work are included in the book. They bring to mind Georgia O'Keeffe's cityscapes as well as the more recent art of Wayne Thiebaud. She chose to chronicle the activities of other professional artists of the pre- and post-World War II eras who lived and worked in the rural town of Woodstock.

Together they established what has become the oldest active colony of the arts in the United States.

The author thoroughly reviews the town's history from colonial times through the 1950s. She recounts the evolution of Woodstock after a group of sophisticated urban artists arrived to transform the town forever. She tells the story of the Native Americans' god Manitou, whose home was the beautiful Overlook Mountain, up to the arrival of early European settlers. Included are the Revolutionary War days that, like the rest of the colonies, involved Indians, Whigs, and Tories. The Industrial Revolution arrived early in the nineteenth century with the commercial production of glass, tanning, and quarrying the local bluestone. Smith also gives a complete account of the notorious down-rent war, including costumed celebrations that were later staged to celebrate the victory.

The period of Woodstock's history that she personally witnessed was marked by a comparatively small group of artists and artisans who worked and socialized together—a very different picture from today, where in a now-crowded Woodstock practically everyone declares himself to be an artist. She came to Woodstock to study art with John F. Carlson, who later became the director at the summer school of the Art Student League. At that time the League was a fine art school for adults, and prestigious because of the reputation of its teachers and the success of its students. The picture presented throughout the book is one of comradeship that established many of the enduring cultural aspects of the town, including the Woodstock library, the library festivals, Byrdcliffe, the Maverick concerts, the Woodstock Guild, and of course the town itself as a place forever attractive to artists.

The author makes it clear that she loved Woodstock from the minute of her arrival until her death a year before the famous 1969 music festival, which has led to another wave of change in the area. She colorfully depicts the community of artists of an era that my own father enjoyed and told me about. He recounted the Beaux Arts Ball in Manhattan in which the Art Students League was active. The Maverick festivals presented in this book appear to reflect that same Bohemian lifestyle. Many well-known artists of the day gravitated to the social and physical aspects of what became the

artists' colony we know today.

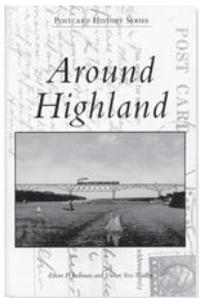
In 1902 Ralph Radcliffe Whitehead founded the Byrdcliffe Arts and Crafts colony in Woodstock that is still an active force today. He and his associates, Bolton Brown and Hervey White, were seeking a utopian lifestyle by resisting and challenging the mechanistic age they found themselves in. Their activity involved reviving all of the traditional handcrafts, such as weaving, ironwork, pottery, and furniture design. They also designed the buildings that are still in use today at Byrdcliffe. I can attest that their fashioning of stairs, interior and exterior, is the best I have ever come across.

Smith continues this lifestyle when, in her later years, she became a successful herbalist. In 1940 the *New York Herald Tribune* referred to her as "The Herb Lady of the Catskills," which makes me wonder if she was a pioneer in that era. Whether or not that is the case, many in Woodstock have followed in her footsteps. One gets the sense there was a marvelous creative environment during the time she recollects. The book gives the reader a three-dimensional view that only someone who was there as a part of it all could have given.

These early utopian seekers created many of the institutions and activities that I strongly suspect are the reason that today's visitors, new residents, and many tourists also love Woodstock. Not because of the rock festival, but because of what was established by these first artists and endures in making Woodstock that special place. This book enjoyably brings Woodstock into clear view historically.

A.L. DuBois, writer, illustrator of plant life

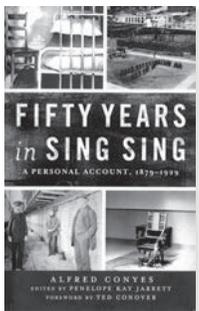
New & Noteworthy Books Received



Around Highland

Ethan P. Jackman and Vivian Yess Wadlin
(Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2014)
128 pp. \$21.99 (softcover). www.arcadiapublishing.com

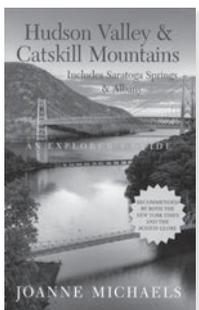
A new contribution to the Postcard History Series, *Around Highland* highlights the Ulster County hamlet, utilizing dozens of vintage postcards supplemented with insightful text to recount the community's historical importance. With chapters dedicated to topics such as "Downtown' Highland," "Agricultural and Rural Life," and "The Hudson River," the culture of Highland shines through, particularly the significance of the Poughkeepsie Highland Railroad Bridge, today's Walkway Over the Hudson.



Fifty Years in Sing Sing: A Personal Account, 1879-1929

By Alfred Conyes (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2015)
173 pp. \$19.95 (softcover). www.sunypress.edu

Prison life at the turn of the twentieth century was unquestionably harrowing—for guards as well as prisoners. This memoir recounts one guard's fifty-one-year career at the famed Ossining institution. In it, Conyes describes improvements in inmate treatment and technology that transformed Sing Sing from an often cruel environment to one more appropriate for human life. A one-of-a-kind—and vital—contribution to understanding prison life, the book is supplemented with historic photographs of Sing Sing.



Hudson Valley & Catskill Mountains: An Explorer's Guide

By Joanne Michaels (Woodstock, VT: The Countryman Press, 2013)
520 pp. \$21.95 (softcover). www.countrymanpress.com

In this updated eighth edition of her guide, Michaels provides readers with a crash course in all things Hudson River Valley. Organized by county, the book offers detailed information on where to stay, where to eat, and the seemingly endless indoor and outdoor options of what to do in the region. Complete with addresses and contact information, this guide is equipped to meet the needs of all types of visitors—whether looking for a scenic drive, a winery, or a place to go skydiving.

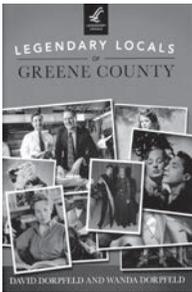


Kingston: The IBM Years

By Friends of Historic Kingston
(Delmar, NY: Friends of Historic Kingston, 2014)
150 pp. \$25.95 (softcover). www.blackdomepress.com

The relationship between IBM and the development of Kingston is undeniable. From 1955 to 1994, the Kingston IBM plant was the main factor in population growth, business expansion, and commerce in both the city and surrounding areas of Ulster County.

The IBM Years documents this relationship through more than fifty oral histories, countless photographs, and a variety of archival materials. It will enhance readers' understanding of IBM's importance to the region, and many of the people and places described will be familiar to anyone who has resided in or visited Ulster County over the last half century.

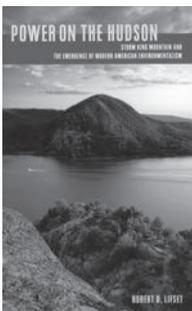


Legendary Locals of Greene County

By David Dorpfeld and Wanda Dorpfeld
(Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2014)
128 pp. \$21.99 (softcover). www.arcadiapublishing.com

Focusing on people, rather than specific events or locations, *Legendary Locals* highlights key residents who played an important role in shaping Greene County over the last 400 years. Divided into chapters based on categories such as "Military, Legal and Political Leaders" and "Inventors and Entrepreneurs," the book offers engag-

ing text and myriad photographs—enabling readers to become well-acquainted with each individual profiled.



Power on the Hudson: Storm King Mountain and the Emergence of Modern American Environmentalism

By Robert D. Lifset
(Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014)
328 pp. \$25.95 (softcover). www.upress.pit.edu

The twenty-year battle over plans to build a hydroelectric plant on Storm King Mountain changed the way governments and businesses consider the environment when planning development projects. Based on extensive research, Lifset's book documents the fight to protect Storm King from start to finish, with an epilogue that

evaluates the case's subsequent impact on the Hudson River Valley's environmental movement. With nearly 100 pages of notes and a bibliography, *Power on the Hudson* leaves no stone unturned. By integrating elements of multiple disciplines, it tells a complete story in a way that is both impressive and inspiring.

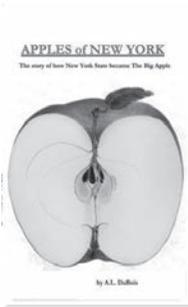
RIVER OF TRIUMPH



River of Triumph

By Ken Cascone (Newburgh, NY: Heritage Press, 2013)
445 pp. \$4.99 (kindle). www.riveroftriumph.com

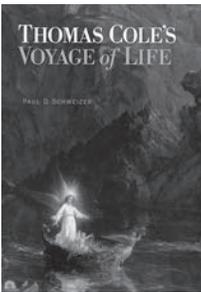
This novel interweaves modern-day mystery and history, beginning with a contractor's accidental discovery of a Revolutionary-era armory and human remains contained within that suggest foul play. Touching on the themes of vision, perseverance, and loyalty, the narrative crosses the centuries, along the way creating and unraveling multiple mysteries. In addition to offering insight into how historians ply their trade, Cascone explores more intimate, and eternal, human struggles. Readers will recognize many regional locations and appreciate this unique presentation of fact and fiction.



Apples of New York: The Story of How New York State Became The Big Apple

By A.L. DuBois (New Place Press, 2015)
192 pp. \$30.99 (hardcover). www.applesofnewyork.com

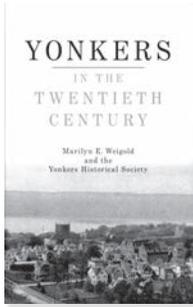
The history of apples in New York extends beyond agriculture to encompass many other areas important to the state's development. In *Apples of New York*, dozens of apple varieties take center stage. The book includes twenty-five full-page original paintings of apples grown across the state as well as a collection of recipes from, among others, the Culinary Institute of America and The Farmers' Museum. It also features a list of 190 orchards, so readers can explore the beauty (and taste) of the apple in its natural environment.



Thomas Cole's Voyage of Life

By Paul D. Schweizer
(Utica, NY: Munson Williams Proctor Arts Institute, 2014)
73 pp. \$24.99 (softcover). www.mwpai.org

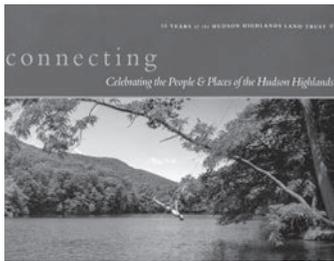
This slim but handsome catalog, written to accompany a traveling exhibit of Cole's *Voyage of Life* paintings organized by the Munson Williams Proctor Arts Institute, includes full-color images of both sets of the series Cole created as well as details surrounding them. Written by the institute's Director Emeritus, the informative book includes sketches, correspondence, and quotes from contemporary publications that provide context for the artist as well as his benefactors—making this equal parts biography and art history.



Yonkers in the Twentieth Century

By Marilyn E. Weigold and the Yonkers Historical Society
(Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2014)
364 pp. \$34.95 (hardcover). www.sunypress.edu

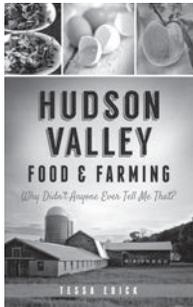
In the first half of the twentieth century, Yonkers was an industrial powerhouse, manufacturing products essential for American victories in World Wars I and II. The second half of the century brought a series of challenges and transitions, as industry declined and residents' needs shifted. In *Yonkers in the Twentieth Century*, Weigold chronicles the city's highs and lows, as well as opportunities for rebirth and modernization. Her text is complemented by thirty pages of photos.



Connecting: Celebrating the People and Places of the Hudson Highlands

by Hudson Highlands Land Trust (Garrison, NY, 2014)
101 pp. \$85.00 (hardcover). <http://www.hhlt.org/>

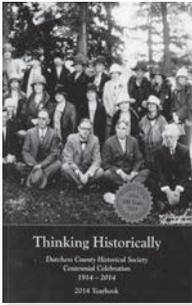
The Hudson Highlands Land Trust marks its twenty-fifth anniversary with this book pairing beautiful photographs by Christine Ashburn with essays by James M. Johnson, Jocelyn Apicello and Jason Angell, Gwendolyn Bounds, Irene O'Garden, and Lisa Mechaley and Andrew Revkin. The images and text celebrate the link between the distinctive landscape and distinguished people of the Hudson Highlands.



Hudson Valley Food and Farming: Why Didn't Anyone Ever Tell Me That?

by Tessa Edick (Charleston, SC: American Palate,
A Division of The History Press, 2014)
208 pp. \$19.99 (softcover). <http://historypress.net/>

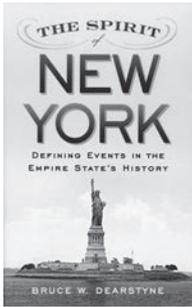
A new title in a new series from The History Press, Edick's book combines history, how-to (and why you would want to), plenty of illustrations, recipes, and even quick guides to the best the region has to offer from an agricultural standpoint, including farms, markets, and an assortment of potent potables. Readers be warned: the book seeks to change your eating habits for the better, and it offers enough supporting evidence to encourage you to do so.



Thinking Historically: Dutchess County Historical Society Centennial Celebration Yearbook

edited by Candace J. Lewis (Poughkeepsie, NY: 2014)
203 pp. \$18.99 (softcover). www.dutchesscountyhistoricalsociety.org

This publication marking the Dutchess County Historical Society's 100th anniversary offers a variety of opinions and examples of what it means to think historically and why it is an important skill to maintain. It also includes articles on a number of centenarian businesses and institutions throughout the county and reminiscences of the society's own roots and accomplishments. All of the articles are of an accessible depth and length, making this both an entertaining and educational volume—one that can be enjoyed as a feast or a series of little bites.



The Spirit of New York: Defining Moments in the Empire State's History

by Bruce W. Dearstyne (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2015)
359 pp. \$25.95 (softcover). www.sunypress.edu

Dearstyne recounts sixteen formative events, and the people involved in them, to build a history that is equal parts a biographical and psychological study of New York. Beginning with the formation of state government in 1777, the author charts the leading role New York played in the development of American arts, industry, transportation, and science. Relying on a wide array of well-cited sources, Dearstyne also sheds new light on individuals' dramatic reform efforts in labor, child welfare, race relations, and environmental stewardship.

Andrew Villani, The Hudson River Valley Institute

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