

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST



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This issue of *The Hudson River Valley Review* is dedicated to the late

Lieutenant Colonel Gilbert A. Krom, U.S. Army, Retired,

who with his sister Shirley Handel and her husband Bernard
generously co-founded the Handel-Krom Lecture in Hudson River Valley History.

This autumn series has become a signature program of the Hudson River Valley
Institute, and its popularity has spread throughout the region.

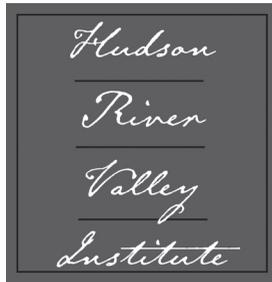
Colonel Krom was on active duty from 1952-1973, serving in both the Korean and
Vietnam wars, before joining The Handel Group in Poughkeepsie, New York.



From the Editors

The diverse articles in this issue literally span the ages—ranging from a discussion of wetlands in seventeenth-century New Netherland to Native American-themed tourism in Greene County in the twentieth. However, the essays have one thing in common: They shine light on interesting aspects of Hudson River Valley history that have been given scant attention or completely ignored. Together, they also illustrate the various ingenious ways historians can go about decoding and/or preserving the past, examining a single object, poring through voluminous archives, building upon one’s firsthand knowledge.

Who would have suspected that the Wild West Show might lead to a redefinition and reemergence of Native American culture? Or that any carriage, no matter how noble, would survive the centuries while also being immortalized in prose, paint, and film? And while we cannot doubt the innumerable unknown local heroes and individuals of significance that never make it into “big” history books, we can still be delighted to learn about a Newburgh artist, author, and businessman largely unknown today who was highly regarded in his lifetime. It is the curiosity and persistence of our authors, as well as the occasional coincidence, that combine to make this a most insightful and informative issue.



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.

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.

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On the cover:
Thomas Benjamin Pope, *Untitled*
(Rosary Heights Looking South to City of Newburgh), n.d.
Oil on canvas 16 x 26 in.

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

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Cover design of a publicity brochure for the Hunter Mountain Ethnic Festivals in 1997 showing a figure wearing a composite of a Native American headdress, German lederhosen, and Celtic kilt. (credit: Hunter Mountain Ski Resort). Carson City and Indian Village billboard photographed by the author in the 1990s. Location map by David Benbennick, courtesy Wikimedia Commons

Re-Imagining American Indians: Tourism In Greene County, 1958-2000

Laurence Marc Hauptman

Historians have long focused on writing about tourism in the Hudson River Valley and its environs. However, no historian has examined how this industry over time has influenced the way residents of this region viewed the area's first residents, Native Americans. Changes in the last two centuries, especially in the years after World War II, have been dramatic. It was especially noticeable in Greene County, the home of famous artists, tourist hotels, amusement parks, and large-scale annual festivals.



Official and unofficial promotion of tourism in the Hudson Valley is centuries old. In his excellent book *The Birth of Tourism: New York, the Hudson Valley and American Culture, 1790-1830*, Richard H. Gassan has shown that between 1810 and 1830, tourism stopped being solely an American aristocratic adventure. Now the masses flooded the route up the Hudson. This change not only increased conspicuous consumption, but shaped American literary and artistic movements, contributing to the popularity of Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and the Hudson River School of painting.¹ It was Thomas Cole and his awe-inspiring romanticized landscapes of the Greene County Catskills that drew other artists such as Asher Durand, Albertis Brouwere, Charles Moore, Sanford Gifford, B.B.G. Stone as well as tourists to the region. In

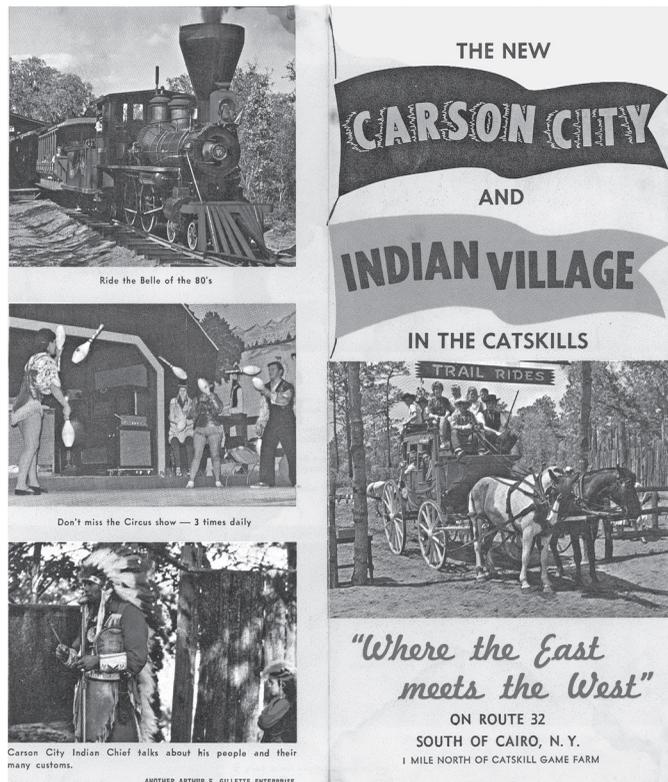
1. Richard H. Gassan, *The Birth of American Tourism: New York, The Hudson Valley, and American Culture, 1790-1830* (Amherst, Massachusetts, University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 1-6, 62-68, 77-84, 105-109. I have benefitted by reading the following works on tourism and its history: Marguerite S. Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1900-1940* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001); Ruth B Phillips and Christopher Steiner, Eds., *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1999); Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1990) John A. Jakle, *The Tourist in Twentieth Century North America* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1985); Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965). See also the classic in anthropology: Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist; A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1976; reprint edition with new introduction by the author, New York: Routledge, 1992).

four seminal works inspired by Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*, Cole depicted the conflict between Anglo-American civilization and the Indians surrounded on a much larger scale by the majestic beauty of the region. To him, this natural beauty had to be captured on canvas before it vanished forever, and the Indian—natural man living within nature—inevitably gave way to a new order of things.²

In 1824, the Pine Orchard House Hotel opened near Haines Falls. It later became the famous Catskill Mountain House, the first mountain tourist hotel in the United States. With improved rail access, boarding houses for tourists increased every year after the Civil War. By the 1920s, State Route 23, which crosses Greene County and the Catskills, was being marketed as the “Mohican Trail.” Although the Catskill Game Farm was established in 1933, the economic downturn caused by the Great Depression and gas rationing and automobile restrictions imposed by World War II impeded tourism. To make things worse, rail service was discontinued in parts of the county even before the outbreak of war.³

Once the war ended, quicker and more convenient travel to the region soon developed. By 1954, the New York State Thruway was completed, allowing faster travel to points north from the New York City metropolitan area. A new era of tourism was to begin in Greene County. In the 1950s and early 1960s, at a time when Westerns such as *Bonanza*; *Gunsmoke*; *Have Gun, Will Travel*; *The Lone Ranger*; *Rawhide*; and *The Rifleman* were drawing high ratings on television and the “Duke,” John Wayne, was at the very height of his box-office popularity, a Wild West revival was to occur in Greene County as well as in other areas of the Hudson and Delaware valleys. As youngsters dressed up like Roy Rogers, Gene Autry, or Dale Evans, a group of entrepreneurs began to see “gold in them thar hills” by catering to the dreams and fantasies of urban residents and suburbanites about the long-lost frontier experience. Modeled on the success of Frontier Town, which opened in the Adirondacks in 1952, other ventures sprang up in the next decade: Carson City in Catskill, the Wild West Ranch and Western Town in Lake George, Cimarron City in Monticello, Cowboy City in Farmingdale, and Wild West City in Netcong, New Jersey. For several decades, they

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2. Rebecca Ayres Schwartz, “Historicism and Nostalgia in Thomas Cole's Last of the Mohicans,” In: James Fenimore Cooper Society *Miscellaneous Papers*, no 25, (May 2008), 22-24. Roberta Gray Katz, “Thomas Cole: Reading the Paintings from *The Last of the Mohicans*.” In: *James Fenimore Cooper: His Country and His Art*, Steven Harthorn and Hugh MacDougall, Eds (Oneonta, New York: SUNY Oneonta, 2013), 56-63. Field Horne. *The Greene County Catskills: History* (Hensonville, New York: Black Dome Press, 1994), 72-79. A standard work on Cole is William H. Truettner, and Allan Wallach, Eds., *Thomas Cole: Landscape into History* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian National Museum of American Art, 1994). See also Schuyler, David, *Sanctified Landscape: Writers, Artists, and the Hudson River Valley, 1820-1909* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2012), 8-68. Despite the view by artists and writers that the Indians were a “vanishing race,” white fascination with the image of the Indian continued over time, also leading them to “play Indian.” See Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indians* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1998); and Alan Trachtenberg, *Shades of Hiawatha: Staging Indians, Making Americans, 1880-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004)
 3. Horne, *The Greene County Catskills*, 74-92, 182-194.



Advertising brochure from Carson City and Indian Village.
 From the collection of Sylvia Hasenkopf, historian and genealogist,
 North River Research, www.northriverresearch.com

capitalized on this phenomenon, only to see their enterprises slowly fade away with the decline of Westerns as a major genre of Hollywood and television, and with the rise and growth of multi-dimensional, super-sized amusement parks (Disney, Busch Gardens, Six Flags, etc.).

The original Wild West Shows first made their appearance in the 1880s.⁴ Native peoples who performed were often subject to unfair criticism for being cast as “show

4. L. George Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883-1933* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 272-279. See also Paul Reddin *Wild West Shows*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Ronnie Tyler, *The Wild West or, a History of the Wild West Shows...* (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1970); Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular Culture*. New York; (Hill and Wang, 2000). Besides the teachings by my mentor, the late Bayrd Still of New York University, three seminal works on the overall impact of the frontier have shaped my thinking: Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (New York: Harvard University Press, 1950); Patricia Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987); and Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992).

Indians,” portraying losers in the surrender of the continent to what was presented as the “superior” white man. Some of their own tribal members castigated them for being mere “props in some inane native minstrel show, hopping around for the benefit of white audiences, [and] paid a pauper’s wage to prostitute themselves.”⁵ Even though these financially desperate Native Americans were shown performing brave deeds and being paid for it, many of these so-called “show Indians” lost favor with certain elements within their community by substituting traditional forms of expression for a new pan-Indian culture during their performances. Native Americans from hundreds of communities, including numerous Iroquois from New York and Canada who were to participate, “had to adjust their image to meet the expectations of their white audiences.”⁶ Instead of donning their traditional *gustoweh*, they now wore Plains headdresses, the new universal symbol of Indian identity.

In their defense, historian George Moses has rightly observed that out of the late nineteenth-century Wild West show came the rodeo, “where western skills and artistry were displayed and rewarded,” as well as the spread of powwows throughout the United States. From the early 1880s through World War I, traditional dancing was being suppressed by Washington policymakers and local agents in the field. It was at this time that the Wild West Show popularized certain aspects of Native American dance and music, especially those styles performed by Northern and Southern Plains Indians, and Native Americans began to originate hybrid pan-Indian styles of dance and music.⁷ The resulting spread of powwows, which appeared to non-Indians as merely entertainment, was much more significant to Native peoples. By bringing members of widely diverse communities together, it helped create an overarching sense of “Indianness,” a supra-tribal level, what historian Clyde Ellis has noted as being “one of the most powerful expressions of identity in the contemporary Indian world.”⁸ Indeed, a separate powwow culture has evolved over the last century and a quarter. While encouraging cooperation on one hand, the powwow also features intertribal rivalry, but now instead of the battlefield, Native people “count coups” by winning dance competitions and prize money.

To encourage tourism, non-Indian entrepreneurs sought financial remuneration by creating so-called “Indian villages” or encouraging Native Americans to establish encampments for tourists. At upstate Saratoga, an American Indian encampment dated from the second half of the nineteenth century; it offered a place where Indians would entertain tourists by performing dances and sell baskets, pots, and sassafras.⁹ At the

5. Clyde Ellis, *A Dancing People: Pow-wow Culture on the Southern Plains* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2003), 80.

6. Nicks, Trudy. “Indian Villages and Entertainments; Setting the Stage for Tourist Souvenir Sales.” In: *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in the Colonial and Postcolonial World*. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner, Eds. (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1999), 304-306.

7. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians*, 272-279.

8. Ellis, *A Dancing People*, 8. For another fine analysis of the powwow, see Tara Browner, *Heartbeat of the People: Music and Dance of the Northern Pow-wow* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2002).

Columbian Exposition of 1892-1893 in Chicago, thousands of people came to gawk at Indians in their “village,” as designed by the administrators of this World’s Fair.¹⁰ Moreover, the idea of establishing a separate Indian village as a tourist attraction and commercial venture was incorporated into the New York State Fair in Syracuse in 1928 (now, however, this Iroquois Village is run by a Hodinöhsö:ni’ committee, has an educational focus and is a source of pride, and provides Native artists with a venue to sell their traditional arts and crafts).¹¹

Changing Images of the Frontier and American Indians In Greene County

After World War II, images of the frontier and its Native peoples were “sold” to tenderfoots living in New York’s cities by entrepreneurs who cashed in on nostalgia for the Old West. Encouraged by promotional efforts undertaken by the New York State Department of Commerce, numerous dude ranches and Western theme parks arose in the Hudson-Delaware basin. The largest and most elaborate of these was Frontier Town, founded by Art Benson, a former telephone repairman from Staten Island.¹² Although Benson’s successful venture was in the Adirondacks at North Hudson, Greene County in the Catskill region was affected by this frontier craze more than any other area in eastern New York. Indeed, for children growing up in the downstate metropolitan area around New York City, the county actually became the American frontier.

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9. Todd DeGarmo, “Indian Camps and Upstate Tourism,” *New York Folklore Newsletter* 14 (Summer 1993): 4-5; John Sterngass, *First Resorts; Pleasure at Saratoga Springs, Newport, and Coney Island*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2001), 173-174. See also Field Horne, Ed. *The Saratoga Reader; Writing About an American Village, 1749- 1900* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2004).
 10. For the Columbian Exposition and the depiction of Native Americans who were situated at the World’s Fair in so-called “Indian villages,” see Robert W. Rydell, *All the World’s A Fair* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 38-71. Indian tourist villages also were set up on some Indian reservations by Native people themselves. See Nicks, “Indian Villages and Entertainments; Setting the Stage for Tourist Souvenir Sales.” In: *Unpacking Culture*. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner, Eds., 301-315.
 11. Henry W. Schramm, *Empire Showcase: A History of the New York State Fair* (Utica, New York: North Country Books, 1985), pp. 93-94. For the past and present history of the Iroquois Village, see 168th New York State Fair, Aug. 21-Sept 1, 2014. www.nysfair.org accessed June 5, 2014 [online brochure of its history, with committee members and planned schedule for 2014.] I have also benefited by knowing several Hodinöhsö:ni’ committee members, especially the late Ray Elm, an Oneida, and Edison[Perry] Mountpleasant, a Tuscarora, who spent four decades being involved in the Iroquois Village events and planning. See also for example the following articles in the *Syracuse Post-Standard*: Robert L. Smith, “Indians Show Truth of Their Culture-Village at Fair Fights Centuries Worth of Myths,” August 27, 1991; Robert L. Smith, “Indian Village Leader Keeps the Faith—For 14 Years, Lloyd Elm has worked to Give Fairgoers a Taste of Native Iroquois Culture,” August 31, 1994; “Fair Reunites Iroquois and Cornell [Erl Bates],” August 30, 1997; John Grau, “History Growing at Fair-Cornell University and Iroquois Leaders Meet to Renew Pledge of Support[Erl Bates and Cornell Cooperative Extension] Made Decades Ago,” August 30, 1997; Jeanne Albanese, “Indian Village to Add Feature,” September 1, 1999; Debra J. Groom, “Six Nations Longhouse Dedicated at the Fair: It’s a 17th Century Style Longhouse With 60 Poles, 2300 Square Feet of Bark,” September 3, 2011.
 12. Arthur Benson, *The Story of a New York City Tenderfoot and His Adirondack Mountain Adventure*. (North Hudson, New York: Frontier Town Productions, Inc., 1970).

The State Department of Commerce promoted this and other efforts to exploit the popular frontier image to further develop a greater tourist economy in eastern New York. By 1972, it was advertising one dude ranch—the Tumble Weed in Westkill—in its brochures; by 1984, six newer dude ranches—Broken Wheel Ranch, Hunter Mountain Resort Ranch, Ponderosa Ranch, Roda's Top Hat Resort, Shapanack Resort, and Silver Springs Ranch—had been established in the county.¹³ More specific to this article, two Greene County tourist enterprises—Carson City and Indian Village, well-situated at the Village of Kiskatom, just down the road from the more popular Catskill Game Farm, entertained two generations of families with what it claimed to be an authentic Western experience. Although a major difference in the way Native peoples were represented, Carson City and Indian Village stood in contrast to the later Mountain Eagle Indian Festival, started in 1982 at the Hunter Mountain Ski Bowl, which presented a more accurate and culturally sensitive depiction of Native peoples and taught non-Indian tourists more about Indian dance, regalia, arts and crafts, and food in ways rarely found in elementary schoolbooks of the time. Although quite hokey and offering many so-called “Indian items” made in Japan, the presentation at Carson City and Indian Village nevertheless clearly showed a change in public presentations about Native peoples to tourists.¹⁴

Local Greene County histories written over the years had emphasized the frontier history of the region and the incursions and “massacres” by the British-allied Iroquois under Mohawk war chief and British captain Joseph Brant.¹⁵ The image of wild Indians intent on wreaking havoc continued into the nineteenth century. By the 1840s and 1850s, it inspired a different phenomenon. In that era, Greene County residents—along with those in Delaware, Albany and Schoharie counties—were involved in the so-called “Anti-rent Wars,” in which tenants protested their status as impoverished residents without any land rights. They dressed up as “Indians” (it was actually ludicrous attire) and challenged the absentee landlords who controlled much of the three-county area.¹⁶

The frontier and Indian images never faded from the minds of Greene County residents. From 1905 until his death in 1912, Charles Schreyvogel, the famous German-

13. *Ibid.*, 56-60. New York State Department of Commerce *Dude Ranches in New York State* (Albany, 1972); New York State Department of Commerce, *Love New York Outdoors* (Albany, 1984. [no pagination in each brochure found in New York State Library].

14. I visited Carson City and Indian Village twice over the years. For a remembrance blog about this theme park, see Scott Schrantz' “Around Carson City and Indian Village”—[http:// aroundcarson.com/2008/05/23carson_city_and_indian_village/](http://aroundcarson.com/2008/05/23carson_city_and_indian_village/)—accessed June 6, 2014. Two videos are on YouTube—“Carson City and Indian Village(Catskill, N.Y.)”—<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZBK7j05NsOY/>

15. See for example, Beers' *History of Greene County, New York with Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men* (New York: J.B. Beers and Co., 1884), 103-105, 217-218, 259. Claire Ross and Edward R. Kozacek challenge this image and point out that all sides fighting in the county in the Revolutionary War committed atrocities. *Greene County, New York: '76 Bicentennial Beginnings and Background*. (Catskill, New York: Catskill Enterprises and the Greene County Legislature, 1976), 24.

16. For these “wars,” see Charles W. McCurdy, *Anti-Rent Era in New York Law and Politics, 1839-1865* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of Carolina Press, 2001).



“The Silenced Warwhoop.” Painting by Charles Schreyvogel, who lived in Greene County from 1905 until his death in 1912. He was one of the greatest painters of the American West. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

American artist, lived and painted Western scenes of cowboy life, the frontier cavalry, and Plains Indian warriors at his home in Greene County’s Town of Lexington. Next to Frederick Remington and Charles Russell, Schreyvogel was the most acclaimed artist of frontier painting in the last decade of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth century. Although he made on-site visits to Montana and the Southwest, much of his experience came from accompanying cowboys and Indians employed by companies such as Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show.¹⁷

Because of the immensely successful films of John Ford and Howard Hawks and the popularity of Westerns, the frontier and the Indian were to be marketed again in Greene County. In the immediate post World War II period, a performer calling himself “Chief Crazy Bull,” dressed in Plains regalia and claiming to be the grandson of Sitting Bull, made his appearance at Windham and in other areas of the Mountaintop region of the county, entertaining residents and guests at hotels and introducing children to American Indian lore.²⁰

For several decades from 1954 onward, Swift Eagle, a San Domingo Pueblo Indian entertainer, held forth at Frontier Town and set the pattern for future Indian performers. He and his family, who resided at Frontier Town, were featured performers and a

17. For Schreyvogel’s art and career, see James D. Horan, *The Life and Art of Charles Schreyvogel: Painter-Historian of the Indian-Fighting Army of the American West*. (New York: Crown Publishers, 1969), especially 43-52 that focuses on his Greene County years.



Swift Eagle demonstrating woodcraft at Frontier Town. Image courtesy of the author

major attraction of the theme park.¹⁸ To young visitors, Swift Eagle was the epitome of the “good Indian, something like Tonto [Jay Silverheels] on t.v.” To the numerous Cub, Boy, and Girl Scout troops, his crafts skills were intriguing and educational. To adults, his performances on the flute were most memorable. Swift Eagle was no mere “show Indian.” He had given up being a “Hollywoodian Indian,” attacking stagecoaches, wagon trains, and the United States cavalry in several Westerns for a musical career. He had even performed as a guest flutist with both the New York Philharmonic and Boston Symphony Orchestra. At Frontier Town, he also educated tourists by storytelling and recounting Indian legends, performing Indian social dances, and organizing Indian events. With the decline of Frontier Town by the early 1980s, it was no accident that Swift Eagle and his family shifted their

performances to Carson City and Indian Village in Kiskatom.¹⁹

Carson City and Indian Village

The Carson City and Indian Village theme park had much of the same history as numerous mining camps of the Old West—namely a boom followed by years of bust. In 1958, influenced by Arthur Benson’s success with Frontier Town, Arthur Gillette established Carson City and Indian Village on a 100-acre parcel on State Road 32, near the highly popular Catskill Game Farm. After its initial success, he opened Magic Forest, an amusement park near Lake George. However, Gillette overextended himself financially and was forced to sell Carson City in 1979. David R. Osborn, owner of the Lake George Zoo Resort, operated Carson City until 1995, when he filed for bankruptcy on all of his holdings. By 1999, much of the theme park structures were sold off at auction and carried away. Only forty cleared acres, a boarding house, and a horse stable remained. In 2002, the site became the Catskill Event Center and for two years hosted the Greene County Fair. By 2004, Gary Kisting of Palenville, who had visited the theme park as a child, became the owner of the property. He has been trying to sell the site for the last decade. In one failed attempt, Paul Segelman, a developer with

18. Elwood Hitchcock, *Big Hollow: A Mountaintop History*, Maplecrest, Windham, New York (Hensonville, New York: Black Dome Press, 1973), 80 (Photograph).

19. For Swift Eagle, see Benson, *The Story of a New York City Tenderfoot...*, 98-99. For Jay Silverheels, see Laurence M. Hauptman, *Tribes and Tribulations: Misconceptions about American Indians and their Histories* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 87-92.

residences in Miami Beach and Cornwallville, New York, proposed to build a retirement complex of townhouses with a community center and indoor swimming pool. He also went bankrupt.²⁰

Carson City and Indian Village was a children's paradise, especially for young boys. Although gun violence was emphasized and romanticized, theme parks like this nevertheless were geared for small children to pre-teens. For children escaping the great metropolis, this was the "real West," at least what they were exposed to on that new phenomenon spreading like wildfire into American homes—the T.V. On a typical day at Carson City, the sheriff would formally deputize all the youngsters as junior lawmen, presenting them with "official" badges and eliciting their help in tracking down outlaws dressed in black. All bushwackers, varmints, and bad hombres were punished with "frontier justice" by being dunked in a barrel of water after being captured by these young deputies. Imitating Roy Rogers and the Sons of the Pioneers, the Slim Skellet Trio (which had recorded the popular song "Ghost Riders of the Sky") performed country music. Other employees re-enacted roles as lawmen and gunslingers, and did rope tricks or stunts on horseback. Despite the theme park's Western flavor, clowns, most notably the Hansen family, roamed the grounds entertaining the youngsters, while magicians pulled rabbits out of their hats and ventriloquists and puppeteers gave performances. A chuck wagon supplied "authentic" Western grub—franks, ice cream, and packaged beef jerky—while the bartender in the saloon served root beer and popcorn. Children also could enjoy pony and stagecoach rides; the lines to take them were always quite long. A gift shop that enticed children (and forced their parents to purchase souvenirs to silence them) sold a variety of so-called "authentic" Western items, many actually made in Japan. For sale were toy six-shooters, miniature bows and arrows, pint-size "Indian" headdresses and tom-toms, cowboy hats, "Indian" dolls, as well as Western boots and moccasins. Posters of famous television cowboys such as Roy Rogers and Hopalong Cassidy as well as the Lone Ranger and Tonto (Clayton Moore and Jay Silverheels) hung on the walls.²¹

20. Melissa Grace, "Resort Owner [David R. Osborne] Pleads Guilty to Falsifying Records," *Albany Times Union*, January 6, 2000; Deborah Clemens, "Old Attractions; 2nd Annual Greene County Fair Returns," *Greene County News*, July 15, 2003. Deborah Clemens, "Chamber of Commerce Making Plans for 2003 County Fair," *Greene County News*, November 24, 2003. Kevin Harlin, "Wild West Park Site on Block," *Albany Times Union*, December 14, 2004; Colin De Vries, "Wild West for Sale," *Catskill Daily Mail*, September 9, 2009.

21. See Note 16. Carson City and Indian Village brochures, Kiskatom Vertical File, Greene County Historical Society, Coxsackie, New York. For a history of the Indian souvenir, see Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998). Phillips rightly refers to art sold to tourists as souvenir art, not categorizing it entirely derisively as bric-a-bracs, mementoes, whimsies, or mere "tourist art." She also acknowledges the skilled adaptation of Native Peoples to the market that often led to the creation of beautiful hybridization, the combining of Western with traditional Indian art forms and symbolism (pp.3-19,228-237). This is especially true of Tuscarora and Mohawk beadwork art brought home to me when in 1999, I visited the Castellani Art Museum at Niagara University to view "Across Borders: Beadwork in Iroquois Life," curated by Jolene Rickard and Ruth Phillips.

Although on a much smaller scale than the 300-acre Frontier Town, Carson City and Indian Village nevertheless featured similar performers. Some were actual former cowboys recruited from Oklahoma and further west. Native American actors “played” themselves. Initially, this macho world of imagination left little room for women to take part. The exceptions were those who dressed up and danced as “Kitty and the Can-can Girls” at the saloon and others who “lived” in the Indian village. Later, women performed riding stunts on their advertised “trick horses.”²²

The design of Carson City was quite similar to other Wild West theme parks of the day. The main building was Lorraine Lodge, where visitors purchased admission. Along with this building and the saloon, there were several other structures—a bank that was held up daily, a courthouse, a schoolhouse, a jail, and a general store. An area was set aside as the venue for the obligatory Tombstone, Arizona, “Gunfight at the O.K. Corral” and the Dalton Gang’s shootout at Coffeyville, Kansas. Moreover, a dusty broad street was the site every two hours for the sheriff (imitating Gary Cooper in *High Noon* or James Arness’s Marshall Dillon in *Gunsmoke*) to outdraw gunfighters challenging his authority. Losers of the shootouts found an imaginary resting place on Boot Hill, another area set aside in the park. A driver and an assistant “riding shotgun” hauled gold bullion in a strongbox prominently displayed atop a stagecoach, which was held up in daily performances. A blacksmith was always on duty at the stable to demonstrate how to shoe a horse.²³

In the “Indian Village,” composed of several tipis located in a separate area, Native Americans performed dances, recounted legends, and demonstrated crafts at a time when T.V.’s Tonto was the only Indian recognizable to most New Yorkers. Besides Swift Eagle and his Pueblo-Chickahominy family, the actors included Comanches, Lakotas, and Mohawks. For advertising purposes, several were stereotyped as “chiefs.” One of the more popular Indian dance performances was by the Big Mountain family. “Chief” Iron Horse Big Mountain was a Comanche from Oklahoma. His wife Wild Flower was a Kahnawake Mohawk. Five of their children, including Little Deer (Little Big Mountain), joined with their parents in dance performances and were featured in brochures.²⁴

These brochures are revealing. They announced that the theme park, “where the West turns wild,” was open seven days a week from June 20 through Labor Day and weekends though Columbus Day to “give you the most for your time and money.” In typical hyperbole, they claimed that Carson City and Indian Village was “the home of many movies” and “one of the largest reproductions of an old western town in the country today.” It added:²⁵

Don’t miss our stagecoach hold ups. You’ll see our skilled actors, and stuntmen reenact authentic gunfights, jailbreaks, & oh yes boys and girls, Jesse James and his gang are always riding along our train trail to rob you of your gold and maybe even of your “bubble gum”! Take a browse through our huge souvenir and gift shop and our western stores. Feel hungry? Try our chuck wagon or treat yourself to old fashioned ice cream.

The brochures slowly changed over the years. While the can-can girls remained in the advertising, another woman was now added, this time for her skilled horsemanship and the tricks her horse performed. In addition, an illustration of Little Deer and a listing for a country music program were added.²⁶

Despite its largely imagined portrayal of the American West, to tourists from the metropolitan area totally unfamiliar with “real Indians,” this was their first opportunity to come face-to-face with people frequently stereotyped. Unlike Hollywood films of the era, they were no longer cast as opponents of the westward movement. Importantly for the tourists, now Native people were no longer relegated to the past. Unlike Hollywood, where non-Indian actors played the major roles of Indian chiefs (for example, Jeff Chandler and Michael Ansara as Cochise and Chuck Connors as Geronimo), Native Americans—then known as Indians—usually played themselves at Carson City, as Swift Eagle had done earlier at Frontier Town. Tourists were taken aback by the melodious singing of Swift Eagle’s children, his daughter Metoaka and son Powhatan.²⁷

In the last two decades before Carson City and Indian Village closed its doors, Native performers were slowly becoming more than Wild West “show Indians.” They interacted even more with their audiences, entertaining as well as educating youngsters and their families. Now some of the Native people were wearing their own tribal regalia, even though most of the dances were still being held adjacent to tipis, not adobes, longhouses, or wigwams. Indeed, not all of the souvenirs sold by the 1980s were non-Indian mass-produced items. Something was changing. No longer presented as relics of the past, Native peoples were slowly becoming humanized to an audience composed of urbanites and suburbanites.

Because of the success of Carson City and Indian Village (as well as the well-established Catskill Game Farm), by the early 1970s a rival for tourist dollars, one with a largely different presentation of the frontier, attempted to steal its thunder. Ponderosa Ranch Fun Park in nearby Catskill advertised itself as a place where “the action is,” adding: “Our pony track is unique. The lil’ cowpokes get to see goats, calves, geese, rabbits, and other animals.” Unlike the conservationist direction of the Catskill Game Farm down the road, the park was a formal hunting area “where you could hunt bear and deer on horseback.” With the growth of sympathy for Native Americans in the Civil Rights Era and the rise of Red Power activism, it was no longer politically correct

22. See Note 20

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. Carson City and Indian Village brochures, Kiskatom Vertical File, Greene County Historical Society, Coxsackie, New York.

26. *Ibid.*

27. I met Swift Eagle on at least two occasions in the early 1970s. I also learned about him and his family from his daughter, Metoaka Eagle. Metoaka Eagle, p.c. to Laurence Hauptman, June 23, 2014, New Paltz, New York.

to treat the Indians as hostiles. A new “bad guy” had to be incorporated. Hence, in one of the Ponderosa Ranch and Fun Park’s brochures, the enemy was now the Vietcong. The brochure suggested that tourists participate in the ranch’s “Rambo Shootout,” where they could knock out the “Commie Red” and win prizes.²⁸

With the rise of the Star Wars generation in the late 1970s, Wild West theme parks slowly became passé to most New Yorkers. Moreover, larger, more comprehensive amusement parks such as Storytown added “Old West” sections, while the new mega-parks like Great Adventure in New Jersey were closer for downstate tourists than Greene County. In part because of rising political consciousness, Native American communities, shied away from being labeled “show Indians” in performances administered by non-Indians and at places where too many of the items sold were made by non-Indians and/or by machines. Importantly, by this time Native American performers had more opportunities and were increasingly recognized as artists. Dance troupes such as the North American Indian Dance Company, based in Toronto, brilliantly showed the great diversity and vitality of Native cultures to world audiences. Artists, including Hodinöhsö:ni’ sculptors Stan Hill and Pete Jones and painter Carson Waterman, were being recognized here and abroad. Now Native Americans displayed their own artistic traditions, wore their own regalia instead of Plains headdresses, and educated audiences with their own social dances. As part of a Native American political awakening from the 1960s onward, a movement for cultural authenticity was now at hand. Another major result from 1970 to 1990 was the rapid development of tribal museums founded in an attempt to present a more accurate and culturally sensitive portrayal of Native American cultures and histories. Where only two such institutions existed before 1960, forty-four tribally operated museums were established over the next forty years, with the majority founded between 1970 and 2000.²⁹

The Mountain Eagle Indian Festival at Hunter Ski Bowl, 1982-2000

Numerous American Indian festivals and powwows were initiated in the East from 1945 onward. The most prominent of these included the Shinnecock Indian Powwow at Southampton, Long Island, that started immediately after the end of World War II; the Thunderbird American Indian Dancers Powwow held in the early 1970s at Ramapo, New Jersey and later moved to the Queens Farm at Floral Park; the Ramapough Powwow, started in the 1980s and first held at Rockland Community College; the Chrisjohn

28. Ponderosa and Ranch brochure, Kiskatom Vertical File, Greene County Historical Society, Coxsackie, New York.

29. George H.J. Abrams, *Tribal Museums in America: A Report* (Nashville, Tennessee: American Association of State and Local History, 2002), 6. For this trend and its impact, see Mary Lawlor, *Public Native America: Tribal, Self-Representation in Museums, Powwows, and Casinos* (New Brunswick: New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2006); Laura Peers, *Playing Ourselves: Interpreting Native Histories at Historic Reconstructions*. Nashville; American Association of State and Local History, 2007).

Iroquois Festival at Rhinebeck from the 1970s onward; and the major festival held from 1982 to 2000 at the Hunter Mountain Ski Bowl in Haines Falls.³⁰

In 1939, two brothers born on a Greene County farm, residents of the Town of Hunter, founded the I. and O. Slutzky [Construction] Company. Izzy and Orville Slutzky succeeded in business after the war, and by the late 1950s they began organizing local investors (along with James Hammerstein, son of famous Broadway lyricist Oscar Hammerstein) in a project to develop a ski area at Hunter. Partly because of the brothers' business acumen and their early investment in snowmaking equipment, they succeeded in constructing and managing the Hunter Ski Bowl at a time when skiing was just beginning to boom as a recreational sport in the East. However, with increased competition by the late 1970s from newer ski facilities in New York State and New England, the brothers began to look at other moneymaking ventures, especially during the summer months. They came up with a series of festivals catering to Americans' fascination with their ethnic roots. By the end of the decade, they started German, Irish, and Italian festivals on the mountaintop.³¹

In 1982, they initiated the Mountain Eagle Indian Festival. Technically, it was not a powwow since it was not in Indian Country and not sponsored by one Native community or an intertribal organization. Although the Slutzkys were the promoters of the event, the festival presented a more comprehensive image of Native Americans than in the past and reached a larger audience, more than 10,000 visitors by the late 1980s. Native American contributions were clearly highlighted, especially in all aspects



Advertising brochure for Hunter Mountain festivals. Image courtesy Hunter Mountain Ski Resort

30. I attended at least six of these festivals between 1982 and 2000.

31. "Slutzky's Found Gold in Them Thar' Hills: Turn Mountain into Ski Resort Bonanza," *Catskill Daily Mail*, January 13, 1978; "Orville Slutzky: The Man Behind Hunter Mountain," *Greene County News*, November 22, 1984. Found in Vertical File: "Hunter Mountain Ski Resort," Greene County Historical Society, Vedder Library, Coxsackie. Jim Plank, "Orville Slutzky: Hunter Mountain Co-Founder Dies at 96," *Catskill Daily Mail*, April 20, 2013; Rick Karlin, "Death of a Ski Titan," *Albany Times Union*, April 24, 2013.



**Fancy dancer at the Mountain Eagle Indian Festival, Hunter Mountain.
Image courtesy of the author**



**Child dancer at the Mountain Eagle Indian Festival, Hunter Mountain.
Image courtesy of the author**

of the arts and in American military service. It was meant to be a glorious capstone to the summer, occurring on the long Labor Day weekend, following the other Slutsky-managed ethnic weekend events, especially the immensely popular Octoberfest German Festival held in August.

The first Mountain Eagle Indian Festival took place on September 4, 5, and 6 in 1982. For \$3.50, adults were admitted for a full day, from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.; children ages two to six to were admitted for \$1; those under age two were allowed in free of charge. The brochure advertising the first festival announced it was an “Authentic Native American” event. Undoubtedly written by the Slutzkys’ non-Indian publicist, the brochure mimicked the advertisements for Wild West theme parks. It contained a mistake in a tribal name as well as revealing evidence of cultural and religious insensitivity. It announced that the festival’s “features include Pipe Ceremony, Apache Crown Dancers, Cherokee Prayer, Iroquoise [sic] Dancing Competition, Legends, Moccasin Trail Southwest Program Demonstrations, Hoop Dance, Native Foods, Movies and More.”³² Despite these *faux pas*, the festival proved to be a huge success. The 1983 brochure reflected on the initial festival:³³

The first Mountain Eagle Indian Festival this past Labor Day was acclaimed a top success by visitors and Native American participants alike. So good was the feeling that already an expanded and more elaborate program is being slated for 1983. Educational in nature, features include native [sic] American dancing, competition dancing, legend telling, drum groups, crafts, foods, more tribes [in 1982, nearly twenty were represented] are expected to be involved. Indian sports will be a new addition along with more craftsmen, artists. Definitely a fun family attraction.

The first and subsequent festivals began with the “Grand Entry.” At exactly 11 a.m. on the Saturday of Labor Day weekend, a plethora of Native peoples in full regalia

danced into the circle. In a moving tribute, the master of ceremonies then invited all American Indians and non-Indians who had served in the United States Armed Forces to enter the circle and join in an “honor dance” out of respect for their sacrifice to the country. Although the announcer would always mention the travails that Native peoples had suffered at the hands of the white man and the United States gov-



Maisie and Joanne Shenandoah. Image courtesy of Joanne Shenandoah and Doug George-Kanentiio

ernment, he was not simply evoking guilt, but was consciously attempting to educate the audience that Native peoples had themselves served together with non-Indians and had made many sacrifices for the well-being of the nation.³⁴

As was true of powwows, the Hunter festival had a commercial motive behind it. The best fancy dancers of all ages and from American Indian nations from the Southwest to New England competed for prize money, which increased every year. Native American food vendors sold Navajo tacos and fry bread as well as Iroquois corn soup. Indian artists and craftsmen had their tables around the performance circle with a variety of items to sell—sweetgrass baskets, wood carvings, pots, jewelry, paintings, musical instruments, books, and tapes. Crafts and jewelry were American Indian-made, not Japanese imports as found at many powwows and festivals occurring in the East at that time.³⁵ At Hunter, the most accomplished artisans had display tables closest to the performance area. Initially, the featured artists appeared to be mostly Iroquois, notably the Chrisjohn and Shenandoah families of Oneidas.

The programs at the festival would become more and more elaborate over the years. The “Grand Entry” was followed by a series of performances. These included a demonstration by Bill Crouse, an agile and accomplished Seneca from the Allegany reservation who did the hoop dance with as many as thirty-two hoops; Native family dance troupes with adults and children as young as five performing a variety of Hodinöhsö:ni’ dances; Plains Indian men’s fancy dancing with the two-bustle design

32. Mountain Eagle Indian, Hunter Mountain Festival Brochure, 1982. In: Hunter Mountain Ski Resort Vertical File, Greene County Historical Society, Vedder Library, Coxsackie, New York.

33. Mountain Eagle Indian, Hunter Mountain Festival Brochure, 1983. In: Hunter Mountain Ski Resort Vertical File, Greene County Historical Society, Vedder Library, Coxsackie, New York.

34. Laurence M. Hauptman Field Notes of Mountain Eagle Indian Festival, 1982-2000.

35. For the commercial aspects of the powwow in the Northeast **before** the Mountain Eagle Indian Festival at Hunter, see Jack Campisi, “Powwow: A study of Ethnic Boundary Maintenance,” *Man in the Northeast*, 9 (1975): 34-46. He maintains that many items sold were non-Indian made at these earlier powwows in the Northeast.

on their regalia; and the women's fancy shawl dance, with each dancer performing elaborate moves and spins while decked out in a long, decorated shawl.³⁶

At each stage of the performance, the master of ceremonies would attempt to educate the audience about the artists performing. He would point out that the drum symbolized the human heartbeat, and the performers by dancing, were actually showing respect for "Mother Earth." (Singing by the drummers varied, with most of the Northern participants using a high falsetto.) Social dancing would follow, with the audience—both parents and small children—joining in the circle. This would be followed by American Indian storytellers recounting legends of their peoples.³⁷

After the initial program ended (it was repeated that afternoon), the audience looked for vendors to sample Native cuisine. Fry bread with powdered sugar attracted the children while adults "played it safe" by choosing a frank or going Native at minimum risk by downing some corn soup. After lunch, attendees wandered around, making stops at the tables surrounding the performance circle. There they could witness demonstrations by Oneida carvers, Mohawk basket makers, and Saponi flute makers. Vendors selling jewelry were in the majority, and numerous women in attendance were attracted to tables laden with Southwestern-style jewelry. Other tourists strolled past tables topped with sweetgrass baskets made by Mohawk women. A separate tent adjacent to the tables contained the paintings of Anishinaabe and Seneca painters, as well as the work of sculptors such as Stan Hill, a Seneca from the Six Nations Reserve in Canada, and Pete Jones, an Onondaga living on the Cattaraugus Reservation.³⁸

Woodcarver Richard Chrisjohn was among the leading artists who regularly attended the festival until his death in 1991. A Canadian Oneida who migrated to New York around 1950, Chrisjohn and his family settled on a parcel of land in Dutchess



Richard "Dick" Chrisjohn. Image courtesy of Joanne Shenandoah and Doug George-Kanentiio

County near the town of Milan. Over the years, he and his family of artists had organized the local Iroquois Festival at the Dutchess County Fairgrounds. Coming originally from a family steeped in traditional ways of the Oneida on the Thames Reserve near Southwold, Ontario, Chrisjohn served as the Oneida representative on the Iroquois Grand Council meetings at Onondaga and worked with tribal officials, anthropolo-

36. See Note 34.

37. *Ibid.* For the powwow's meaning to Native Peoples, see Ellis, *A Dancing People....*; and Browner, *Heartbeat of the People....*

38. See Note 34.

gists, and linguists in attempting to preserve and teach his native language. While employed in construction, Chrisjohn had lost several fingers on one of his hands. Despite this infirmity—and relying on a set of tools right out of the nineteenth century—he nevertheless became famous for his wooden carvings, including False Faces, condolence canes, and elaborate benches.³⁹ It should be noted that in deference to religious edicts coming from the Iroquois Grand Council, none of these religious objects were sold or displayed at Hunter Mountain.⁴⁰

From the first Mountain Eagle Indian Festival onward, Chrisjohn's entire family was an important part of the whole operation at Hunter Mountain. His sons Terry, Steven, and Vernon and daughters Tina, Rita, and Judy worked the tables selling their own art or their father's work in fabric, silver, wood, and other mediums. Steven, who married a Miccosukee Indian, also displayed and sold Native art from Florida. The Chrisjohns were joined by Maisie Shenandoah, the sister of Chrisjohn's wife Florence. The matron of the family and an Oneida clan mother, she shared an adjoining table with her daughters—Diane, Danielle, Joanne, Vicki, and Wanda—where they sold Indian jewelry.⁴¹ It should be noted that Maisie Sheandoah's daughter, Joanne, later a two-time Grammy winner, began her singing career at Hunter Mountain and other festivals and pow-wows performing and selling tapes of her recordings. Importantly, it was Maisie Shenandoah who helped recruit other artists for the initial festival.⁴²

One of those artists was the accomplished silversmith Roy Black, who ran Black Bear's Trading Post in Esopus, Ulster County. Of Mohawk-Seneca descent, Black won a medal for his artistry at the Hunter festival. He was a proud Navy veteran of World War II, where he saw action at Guadalcanal; he was seriously injured, spending thirteen months in a hospital in New Zealand. After the war, he became



Roy "Black Bear" Black.
Image courtesy of Gloria Black

39. Laurence M. Hauptman, Interview of Richard Chrisjohn, September 4, 1984, Mountain Eagle Indian Festival, Hunter Mountain Ski Bowl, New York. Until his death in 1991, I would frequently speak to Chrisjohn at his family's annual festival held at the Dutchess County Fairgrounds in Rhinebeck every fall. In the 1970s, he would also work with Dr. Jack Campisi on an Oneida language project at SUNY New Paltz, where I taught. Daniel Gonzalez, "Indian Nation's Elder Dies of Bone Cancer," *Syracuse Post-Standard*, May 30, 1991.

40. Grand Council of the Haudenosaunee Edict on displaying and sales of False Face Masks. In the author's possession.

41. Jim Howe, "Indian Heritage Comes to Life at Trading Post," *Syracuse Herald-Journal*, October 14, 1987; "Maisie Shenandoah, Oneida Nation Clan Mother Has Died," *Syracuse Post-Standard*, December 3, 2009.

42. Gloria Black (the wife of the late Roy Black), who was actively involved in the festival—both in sales of silver jewelry and performances, to Laurence M. Hauptman, e-mail, June, 2014.

a state corrections officer, rising to the rank of deputy superintendent at the Fishkill Correctional Facility. After retiring early, he established his trading post and devoted his life to silversmithing, exhibiting and selling his work at powwows and festivals, where he was accompanied by his wife Gloria and his daughter Royana, a gifted actress who later appeared on Broadway and television. A raconteur with a deep, Johnny Cash-like voice, Roy Black became a recognizable fixture in the Hudson Valley, educating tourists visiting his trading post, offering school programs, or acting as the master of ceremonies at the Ramapough powwow. At the Mountain Eagle Indian festival, the loquacious “Black Bear” always drew a crowd, ‘kibbitzing’ with tourists of all ages.⁴³

Arnold Richardson is another respected artist who was at the Mountain Eagle Indian Festival from its inception. Well-known on both the powwow circuit and in major stage venues throughout the Middle Atlantic and Southern states, he had attended the Institute of American Indian Arts in New Mexico. His artistry as a carver and musician has earned him numerous accolades, including the North Carolina State Heritage Award in 2014. At the festival in Hunter, he was accompanied by his son Arnold, Jr., a fancy dancer. The elder Richardson always drew a large contingent of tourists to his table, where he sold his carved cane flutes. After playing one of the flutes exhibited on the table, he then explained the process of carving the instrument. His brilliant skills as an artist were only surpassed by his ability to sell these flutes. Like a snake charmer, his pitch brought many tourists (including me) to his table to purchase one.⁴⁴

In 1992, the Mashantucket Pequots opened their Foxwoods Casino in Ledyard, Connecticut—approximately the same distance from New York City as Hunter Mountain. That same year, the Pequots started the Schemitzun-feast of the Green Corn and Dance, the largest and most elaborate powwow ever established east of the Mississippi. The Mountain Eagle Indian Festival was now facing competition from a casino-generated powwow that offered greater prize money and provided artists with more opportunity to sell their crafts to a more affluent audience. While the Mountain Eagle Indian Festival had a \$10 admission charge for adults, the Schemitzun fee was half that. In addition, Schemitzun was scheduled for the weekend before the festival at Hunter Mountain, and unlike its Catskills counterpart, it was tribally sponsored on a reservation.⁴⁵

43. I first met Roy Black (Blackbear) in 1972. He was my best friend (and golf partner). I also sat with him at his table at the Mountain Eagle Indian Festival while he sold his jewelry and ‘kibbitzed’ with tourists. In addition, I interviewed him on numerous occasions. Laurence M. Hauptman, Interviews of Roy Black, October 30-November 1, 1983, May 2-5, 1984, New Paltz, New York. His obituary is in the [Kingston] *Daily Freeman*, September 1, 2007.

44. Arnold Richardson YouTube interview, October 27, 2010—www.youtube.com/watch?v=C29B56yp4Bc David Menconi, “The Other Four N.C. Heritage Award Winners,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 17, 2014.

45. Jennifer McDermott, “Mashantuckets Host 20th Annual Powwow,” *New London Day*, August 25, 2012.

Hence by the early to mid-1990s, the Mountain Eagle Indian Festival started struggling to survive. The organizers attempted to change directions and offer new perspectives about Native American cultures. By 1995, the *Hunter Magazine Festival Program*, published as a compilation of all ethnic events held on the mountaintop, announced: "Three exciting days of incredible authentic Native American crafts, tribal dancing competitions and a rich cultural-educational experience await you..." It added: "This summer's celebrations will be honoring the Native American woman and the role they've played throughout history." Robert White Eagle, a Western Cherokee, served as master of ceremonies, and dance troupes that annually performed, such as the Allegany Indian Dancers, were again on the program. But this time, as advertised, more women were featured. Maisie Shenandoah presented talks on Iroquois women. Jackie Bird, an Apache/Blackfoot/Mandan, and Yolanda Martinez, an Apache, performed songs. Bird also demonstrated the hoop dance while Martinez lectured on making drums. Nadine Van Mechelen, a Yorok/Karok/Talowa artist, demonstrated her talent as an American Indian dollmaker, while Tina Chrisjohn Weyant gave a talk on Iroquois crafts. An extra women's dance competition also was added to the program.⁴⁶

Besides featuring women as artists, performers, and community historians, brochures by the late 1990s emphasized the number of Native nations represented, the increase in prize money now available, and the expansion of artworks for display and sale, as well as the opening of the ski lift to the mountaintop during the festival. By 1997, thirty-five nations were represented at Hunter and prize money for the tribal dance competition reached \$20,000. Navajo blankets and Plains quillwork were now mentioned in the advertisements. Newspaper stories pointed out that the festival had acquired a live bison, established an authentic working village, and had displays by Hopi and Navajo silversmiths and artwork by Cherokee, Cheyenne, and Seneca artists. In 2000, the Native American Music Association took over co-administering the festival in an attempt to breathe new life into it. Although the 2000 Mountain Eagle Indian Festival, now reduced to two days, continued to attract top-flight performers—singer Joanne Shenandoah; Pueblo/Dakota flutist Robert Tree Cody; dance companies including the Danza Azteca of Mexico, the Gathering of Nations Travelling Dancers, a children's dance troupe from the Lakota Nation, and the Allegany Indian Dancers—it would be the last held on the mountaintop.⁴⁷

Despite its ending, the festival had helped educate New Yorkers, providing recognition for the living traditions of First Nations. From the opening of Carson City and Indian Village in 1958 to the closing of the Mountain Eagle Indian Festival in

46. *Hunter Mountain Magazine Festival Program, 1995* (Haines Falls, New York: Hunter Mountain Ski Bowl, 1995), 45-50.

47. Brochure "Explore the World at Hunter Mountain." In: Hunter Mountain Ski Resort Vertical File, Greene County Historical Society, Vedder Library, Coxsackie, New York; Powwow Planned at Hunter," *Schenectady Daily Gazette*, August 31, 1999 Patricia O'Haire, "Event" *New York Daily News*, September 4, 1999. Jim Adams, "Iroquois Culture Rides High at Hunter Mountain Festival," *Indian Country Today*, September 2, 2000.

2000, the image of the “Indians” had dramatically changed since 1945, and not just in Greene County. No longer was it acceptable in the East (with the exception of Dan Snyder and his Washington Redskins football team) to present Native peoples in the negative ways they had so often been portrayed in the past. The event at Hunter also furthered a sense of pride among Native Americans, providing a major venue for them to show off their dynamic cultures.

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Family photo at Algonac Estate in Newburgh 1890.
Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum, Delano Family Papers

Extracting the Truth from the Trade

The Delano Family at Home and in China

Shannon Butler

It is a well-known fact that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had a lifelong passion for the sea. His fascination with ships and sailing went hand-in-hand with his interests in his family's history and legacy. To see that the two are connected one need only walk into his home in Hyde Park, where family portraits hang close to paintings of family-owned ships, not far from displays of treasures these vessels brought back from foreign countries. FDR's love of sailing as well as his charisma came from the maternal Delano side of his family. He once said, "What vitality I have is not inherited from Roosevelts. Mine, such as it is, comes from the Delanos."¹ As President, he embodied the fearlessness of his early Delano ancestors, who immigrated to Plymouth Colony in 1621. They ventured out on the open seas in search of new opportunity, and developed wealth through merchant sailing in times of war and peace.

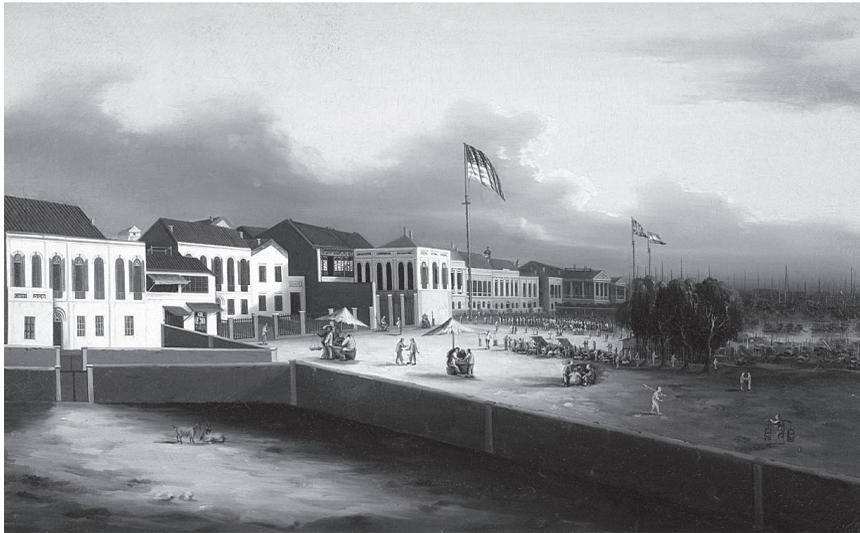
Although there has yet to be a detailed or fully accurate account of the Delano family history at sea, this paper will take a closer look at where the bulk of the wealth

1. Persico, Joseph E. *Roosevelt's Centurions: FDR and the Commanders He Led to Victory in World War II* (New York: Random House, 2013), 71.

came from—the China trade.² Using the vast collections within the FDR Presidential Library and Museum we can recreate the story of one of the Hudson River Valley’s most prominent families and also gain a better understanding of the lesser-known history of America’s involvement in the China trade of the nineteenth century. These documents show us how FDR’s maternal grandfather built up his family’s wealth via what we today consider a very controversial business. In 1970, author Michael Teague interviewed Alice Roosevelt Longworth, FDR’s famously outspoken cousin and daughter of Theodore Roosevelt. She had no connection to the Delano side of the family and rarely said anything kind about FDR. In fact, she was renowned for her wit and harshness toward her family’s Hyde Park branch. During the interview, Teague explained to her that he also was researching the Delano family and the clipper ships they had operated in and around China. Alice gleefully replied, “Do let me know if you discover whether they had dealings with the opium trade because, you see, that would make Franklin a criminal.”³ Whether or not dealing in the opium trade made one a criminal depended on whom you asked at the time. However, it is interesting to see that by 1970 the idea of a drug dealer in the family was both interesting and controversial to Alice and the world.

The member of the family who Teague was researching and is responsible for bringing the family into China and their greatest fortune was Warren Delano, Jr. Born in 1809, he showed great interest in sailing from an early age, as his father had before him. Warren started at age fifteen as an apprentice in the Boston importing group Hathaway and Company. By 1828, he was looking after his father’s interests in whaling and shipping with his younger brother, Frederick. He wrote home to inform his father, also named Warren but known to all in the family as “the Captain,” about his whaling accounts from time to time. He and Frederick jointly worked in the Boston Merchant Bank and shipping firm, acquiring the experience they needed for their futures in other mercantile endeavors.⁴ Warren then worked for Good Hue and Company in New York City before setting sail for China in 1833, where he started as a junior partner in the trading firm Russell, Sturgis and Company. Trade with China was already well-developed

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2. A book published in 1946 by a cousin of FDR’s, *Franklin Roosevelt and the Delano Influence* by Daniel Webster Delano is full of holes and inaccuracies. Part of it was written in an attempt to clear up any ideas of the Delano family being involved in the opium trade as smugglers. Geoffrey Ward’s *Before the Trumpet* mentions some of the Delano involvement in China. Much more has been written on the China trade in recent years; it concerns not only the conditions of the trade but American interests in it throughout the nineteenth century. See Jacques Downs work *The Golden Ghetto the American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784-1844* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press, 1997).
 3. Longworth, Alice Roosevelt, and Michael Teague. *Mrs. L.: Conversations with Alice Roosevelt Longworth* (New York: Doubleday, 1981), vii. Alice was known for taunting the Hyde Park Roosevelts. She and other members of the Roosevelts’ Oyster Bay branch went after Franklin and Eleanor during the course of his political career, particularly after the death of the family’s leader, Theodore Roosevelt.
 4. Warren Delano II accounts, Series B of Delano Family Papers, New Bedford Whaling Museum Research Library, New Bedford, Massachusetts



View of Foreign Factories Canton by Lam Qua about 1835
(the Peabody Essex Museum)

by the time Warren arrived, and Canton would have been a fascinating place for a young man in his early twenties.

In its humble beginnings, American trade with China had its ups and downs. The Chinese had the tea the new nation had developed a craving for, but the young American economy had practically nothing to offer the Chinese in return. At first, Americans brought ships loaded with ginseng and sandalwood, but this proved far from lucrative. Fur trading came next for Americans hoping to get what they wanted from the East. That died off by 1820. That same decade, Americans entered into the Turkish opium market.⁵ By 1833 the American tea and opium business was at least twice what it had been in previous years.⁶ Warren wrote home frequently with positive remarks concerning his future. Making a fortune in the China trade, however, was not a sure thing, as he soon discovered. “I hope for the best,” he wrote his cousin, Joseph Delano, in 1834, “and even if I should not happen to make anything this voyage it will not ruin me—I shall be only 25 in July.”⁷

The world of Russell, Sturgis and Co. in Canton was a limited one. Foreigners who did not speak Mandarin were confined to a small community made up of buildings called factories. These long and narrow structures, built along narrow streets that separated each block, stood about 300 feet back from the Canton River. The land

5. Yen-P'ing Hao, “Chinese teas to America – A synopsis,” in *America's China Trade in Historical Perspective 1986*, ed. Ernest R. May and John K. Fairbank (London: Harvard University Press, 2008) 22.

6. Downs, Jacques M. *The Golden Ghetto*, 355.

7. Warren Delano II accounts, Series B of Delano Family Papers, New Bedford Whaling Museum Research Library, New Bedford, Massachusetts (Series B folder 1)

surrounding the factories was no bigger than about twelve acres. Each country had its own traders and factory. Warren would have lived in the American factory along with other members of his firm, and though the conditions were close, they were comfortable. Each factory had several servants and cooks to tend to the residents' needs.⁸ Days were spent working, for the most part tasting teas, weighing cargo, and planning for the next shipment.⁹ Nights were devoted to drinking, dining, playing card games or music, and strolling through the cramped streets. Americans tended to have mixed feelings about the Chinese when they came to Canton. When Warren sailed into the Canton River, he likely noticed the poverty that swelled the river's banks. "Beggar Boats" would come right up to foreign vessels, hoping to receive some sort of charity, and the homeless slept in the streets not far from the factories.¹⁰ Some Americans wrote negatively about Chinese society, describing it as dishonest and technologically backward. They saw the Chinese justice system as harsh and in some cases worse than many other countries. While some Americans admired the ideas of Confucius, many doubted if the Chinese people were capable of grasping his wisdom.¹¹ A few of these men published their thoughts for curious readers back in the States.

One of the early travelers to China before Warren arrived was another Delano, Amaso. A distant cousin to Warren, he was one of the few Americans to publish anything positive about his trip to China and one of the very few foreigners to defend the Chinese way of life, proclaiming that "China is first for greatness, riches, and grandeur of any country ever known." He was in a very small camp of people who felt that way.¹² The Delanos—Amaso, Warren, or his little brother, Edward, who followed him to China in 1841—were not missionaries. They were not interested in the Chinese way of doing things unless it affected their business. They did not wish to change the society or the situations of the people they encountered. They simply wanted to make their fortunes and go home.

There were plenty of missionaries of different religious backgrounds to add to the cultural scenery of the foreigner's world in China. For example, another Hudson River Valley family, the Van Rensselaers, made their way to China by the mid-nineteenth century. Catherine Van Rensselaer Bonney of Cherry Hill, in Albany, and her husband Samuel built up a school for Chinese girls on behalf of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).¹³ Like the Delanos, they shipped Chinese

8. Downs. 36

9. The Diaries of Edward Delano. Roosevelt Family Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

10. Downs. 60

11. Miller, Stuart C. "The American Trader's Image of China, 1785-1840." *Pacific Historical Review* 36, no. 4 (November 1, 1967): 375-95. 383.

12. Delano, Amasa. *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres: Comprising Three Voyages Round the World Together with a Voyage of Survey and Discovery in the Pacific Ocean and Oriental Islands* (Printed by E. G. House, for the author, 1817), 539-540. This is the same Amasa Delano in Herman Melville's novel *Benito Cereno*.

treasures and furniture back to their great estates. But where the Van Rensselaers were concerned with souls, the Delanos were more concerned with fortunes. A good part of these fortunes were made by the exploitation of the addiction to opium, China's major vice. Opium had made a major impact on every aspect of Chinese society. The Chinese government saw it as depleting the country's wealth, demoralizing its people, and undermining its authority.¹⁴

Opium and tea were the main focus for Americans; they basically traded one addiction for another. By the 1820s, they were using more bullion and specie to pay for the quantities they were exporting. During this time, American traders were competing with other countries to sell tea to places like London and Holland, so not all the tea they purchased made its way back to the States.¹⁵ Along with tea, Chinese silks were very desirable, and the Delano family papers in the FDR Library indicate that they partook in this trade as well. But while silks made their way back to the States, later in the nineteenth century the Japanese silk trade overpowered the Chinese.

Warren Jr. was made a partner of Russell, Sturgis, and Co. in December 1834, less than five months after he arrived. The firm was somewhat new and small by its competitors' standards, but business seemed to flourish. "My present position is one quite satisfactory to me and if business flows into our hands as we hope, I shall make a reasonable fortune in the course of a few years,"¹⁶ he wrote to his cousin, Joseph, in 1836 while in the Philippines. Yet there were moments when he doubted the quality of his goods and what he was trading: "The export from this to the U. States the past season has been immense and at best I strongly fear a bad result awaits us in the U. States. This added to the miserable result of our cargo on the coast will I much fear disgust my shippers with the trade."¹⁷

With all of the action going on in China, Warren found time on hot evenings after dinner to write to his beloved family back home. One can see that the vitality and family values of love and respect that FDR later claimed to possess had come from Warren and developed at an early age. Warren's care for his family, particularly the women in it, shines through in a letter home from China in 1837. He was concerned for the education of his sisters and his father's apparent lack of interest in seeing to the girls' futures. He even offered to pay for a tutor, writing, "My propositions are not in favor of boarding schools but I should rather recommend a private teacher accomplished in music, dancing, drawing, French, Italian etc. etc. who would for a salary of 300 or 500 dollars more or less per annum, besides board etc. be willing to undertake the

13. Historic Cherry Hill contains many documents and collections from the Van Rensselaer family's time spent in China from the 1850s through the 1870s.

14. Downs, 131.

15. Hao, 28.

16. Warren Delano II accounts, Series B of Delano Family Papers, New Bedford Whaling Museum Research Library, New Bedford, Massachusetts (series b folder 6)

17. Ibid.

instruction of my four sisters.”¹⁸ A man in his twenties, unmarried and a world away from home working on his fortune, still could show the love and concern he had, and would continue to have, for the women in his life. It appears that his concern rested on the overall benefit of his sisters’ well-being, but it is also possible he was worried about his family’s reputation in society.

Warren was a professional businessman by November 1838, when he wrote home to his brother, Franklin, and informed him of some of the ways he could build his own fortune. “I recommend you getting up a voyage to China and I am in hopes soon to hear that you have done something of the sort in preference to attempting to do business alone as common merchants in New York.”¹⁹ In letters back home, he went on at length offering advice to Franklin about how to secure a loan in order to get a ship built or bought, or finding partners to take on half the duties. He also wrote about getting a good captain to sail the ship he chose and finding a proper crew. With his experiences, Warren was able to mention which routes to take and to stop in Batavia to pick up a cargo of rice on the way to China; that way, Franklin would have something to trade upon his arrival.

The small office from which Warren wrote these letters did modestly well in the trade but could not compete with the British or larger American firms such as Russell and Co. and Perkins and Co. Many of the smaller firms were still dealing in the Turkish opium that made up the bulk of American shipments of the drug, as the British had control of supplies coming from India. By the 1830s, larger firms like Russell and Co. worked “toward increasing its consignment business in the Indian drug.”²⁰ This must have been one of the temptations for Warren when he was asked by Robert Bennet Forbes, a partner of Russell and Co., to join the firm in January 1839.²¹ Warren agreed, but by the end of the trading season later that month, he could see that something was not right: “the opium trade is done up for the present,” he wrote to Franklin, “and appearances indicate a determination on the part of the gov’t to crush it entirely.”²²

It was during this time that the efforts made by the Chinese to stop the flow of opium into the country received a major push with the arrival of a new commissioner to Canton, Lin Tse-hsu. Opium was not legal in Imperial China. The Yongzheng emperor had tried banning the drug right from the beginning of its entrance into the trade in 1729, but it did not work.²³ In addition to its deleterious impact on the economy, there

18. Ibid.

19. Warren to Franklin Nov. 1838. Delano Family Papers, Papers of Franklin Hughes Delano, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

20. Stelle, Charles C. “American Trade in Opium to China, 1821-39.” *Pacific Historical Review* 10, no. 1 (March 1, 1941): 57-74. doi:10.2307/3633184, 71

21. Downs, 178.

22. Warren to Franklin, January 1839. Delano Family Papers, Papers of Franklin Hughes Delano, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

23. Van Dyke, Paul. *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005), 121.

were millions of addicts throughout the country by the turn of the nineteenth century. Members of every class of society smoked opium for pleasure, and it took a toll on the health and lifestyles of large parts of the population. On March 18, 1839, Lin went to work by demanding the surrender of all chests of opium and closing off the factory area.²⁴ He decided to make life for foreigners as uncomfortable as possible by removing all servants from the factories. “All the foreign residents of Canton have become prisoners in our factories,” Warren wrote to his brothers on April 11, stating that foreign merchants were “deprived of our servants, cooks etc. cut off from all communication with Whampoa, Lintin, Macao and there alike with the loss of our lives if we do not comply.”²⁵ Warren found himself now serving as “head cook” at the house of Russell and Co., and working alongside his colleagues to keep the place tidy.²⁶

Warren understood the physical and financial damage that opium caused, yet he admitted in a letter, “I do not pretend to justify the prosecution of the opium trade in a moral and philanthropic point of view but as a merchant I insist that it has been a fair, honorable and legitimate trade.” He also tried to downplay the trade, saying it is “liable to no further or weightier objecting than in the importation of wines, brandies and spirits into the U. States, England, etc.”²⁷ However, in later years Warren would never go out of his way to talk in public about his opium dealings. Historians have come to realize what Americans, English, Dutch, and other traders quickly learned at that time—that one could smuggle or market almost any kind of contraband in China as long as the right people were paid off.²⁸ This is partially because of the positive relations American agents like Warren were able to strike up with powerful Chinese merchants like Wu Ping-Chien, or as the foreigners called him, Howqua.²⁹ If Chinese merchants didn’t mind the opium business, why should foreigners?

Lin tried to show that he did mind, and that he couldn’t be bought. To prove he meant what he said, he captured two of the leading Hong merchants, Howqua and Mowgua, both friends of Warren. Lin made it perfectly clear he would kill these men should the foreigners refuse to surrender their opium.³⁰ The company surrendered its supplies on June 3; the Chinese government wound up burning over two million pounds of confiscated opium.³¹ Both the British and Americans had handed over opium chests

24. Downs, 135.

25. Warren to Franklin, April 11, 1839. Delano Family Papers, Papers of Franklin Hughes Delano, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

26. Henderson, Daniel. *Yankee Ships in China Seas: Adventures of Pioneer Americans in the Troubled Far East* (New York: Hastings House, 1946), 158.

27. Warren to Franklin, April 11, 1839. Delano Family Papers, Papers of Franklin Hughes Delano, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

28. Van Dyke, 129.

29. Dolin, Eric Jay. *When America First Met China* (New York: Liveright, 2012), 173.

30. Ibid.

31. From the Museum of the Opium War in China, <https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/exhibit/the-burning-of-opium-at-humen/AR2zugte?position=47%2Co>

worth some twelve million Spanish dollars.³² The British made their decision to close down their factories and leave Canton in protest, with the hopes of stopping all trade. Warren wrote about the changes being made and the fact there were only a handful of Englishmen still in Canton by mid-1839. He did not trust the English in general, writing “I have no doubt that many lawless acts will be committed by English smugglers.”³³ However, Robert Forbes refused to allow his company to join in the British complaints. He ignored Captain Charles Elliott, the British superintendent of England’s interests in China, and his requests to turn against the Chinese. It was a wise choice for the company to make. Where British trade with China was based more on “military and political pressure,” American trade did not involve government influence.³⁴ What business the British gave up when they left Canton, the Americans happily took up.

In order to get silks and teas, Russell and Co. had relied for the most part on opium. Now cotton became a big source for trading as well. The first of the Opium Wars began officially in 1839; it would rage on for just under four years. The reasoning for such a war was not that the British denied the Chinese government’s right to control the flow of imported drugs into the country; it was that it did not approve of Lin’s seizure of British-owned goods without restitution.³⁵ With the British continuing their war with China, there were plenty of new commissions for firms like Russell and Co. to handle British goods from India. They would sail under American colors in American ships, running up the costs on cargo in America’s favor. Opium took a back seat to cotton, with Russell and Co.’s main opium ship, the *Lintin*, bringing cotton up the river to Canton. It was during this time that the company mostly fell out of the opium trade, as it had become too dangerous. The heavy, coarse, and slightly cheaper cloth was desirable in northern China, and American mills produced it in high amounts. Warren’s firm was one of many that decided to get involved in the cotton trade; by the turn of the century, coarse cloth comprised ninety percent of China’s American imports.³⁶

By March 1840, Warren had become a partner in Russell and Co., putting him in a better position to offer his brother, Edward, a job. Franklin had found decent business in New York, so Warren decided to try convincing his younger, and more impressionable brother, “If anything should have happened in which you are thrown out of business you had better embark at once for China where I will find employment for you.” It becomes clear through a series of letters that Warren wrote Edward in 1840 that he not only was worried about getting his brother a job but was homesick and longed for company. He wrote Edward again two months later, “You will take the first

32. Ibid, 159

33. Warren to Franklin, June 1839. Delano Family Papers, Papers of Franklin Hughes Delano, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

34. Kang Chao, “The Chinese-American Cotton-textile Trade, 1830-1930 in *America’s China Trade in Historical Perspective 1986*, ed. Ernest R. May and John K. Fairbank (London: Harvard University Press, 2008), 104.

35. Tsang, Steve. *A Modern History of Hong Kong* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2007), 3–13, 29.

36. Chao, Pg. 111.

good conveyance for China where I will find employment for you and take every pains to make a brother I love all that affection could wish him to be.”³⁷

It took Edward twenty weeks over harsh seas, a few bouts of seasickness, and encounters with some odd individuals, but by December 1840 he had arrived in China. Before he landed, he saw the extent of the trade his brother had been involved in: “Men, women and even children chew betel nuts a universal masticatory throughout the East Java islands, they wanted to purchase opium and were willing to pay any price almost—I could not supply them however and even if any have been in my possession it would have been a risky adventure to have sold it.”³⁸ However, he believed strongly that he was right to come and join his brother in trade, even if he did not always approve of the business itself. When he arrived and reunited himself with his brother, he quickly became aware of the harsh world he had entered. On January 7, 1841, he learned about the battle of the Bogue and decided to venture with other members of the company to see remnants of recent battles between the British and Chinese. Being young and curious, Edward managed to retrieve some objects from the scene: “I picked up a China powder horn and cut from the jacket of an English soldier one of the buttons.”³⁹ Gruesome as this may have been, it was no doubt exciting to him.

After the British successfully managed to take Canton in March 1841, Edward and Warren continued to hear conflicting reports about the negotiations between Captain Elliot and the Chinese. Warren, for the most part, felt sorry for Elliot, who he believed was the one Englishman in China trying to compromise and work things out without bloodshed. Those Americans stationed at the Russell and Co. factory were far from safe. Edward stated in his diary that when the English landed, they hoisted their flag on the company’s hall and “killed some 40 or 50 men in silencing the little forts in the neighborhood.”⁴⁰ His brother was in the factory when shots from the British came very close. On March 19, Edward was afraid that he had almost lost his brother: “had a letter from Warren dated at Canton, while proceeding to Canton he was fired upon and taken prisoner—before the new imperial commissioner Yung. Examined closely, treated civilly and returned home in a chair.”⁴¹ Warren’s diplomacy and friendships with some of the Chinese hong merchants kept him out of trouble in dangerous circumstances. This was the first time Edward had been in a war-torn country, and his diaries mention the constant roar of artillery and musket fire. There continued to be constant battles, skirmishes, and negotiations, and all the while Edward and Warren went about their days, focused on tea tastings, weighing chops, visiting with friends,

37. Warren to Edward, May 2, 1840. Delano Family Papers, Papers of Franklin Hughes Delano, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

38. Edward to Frederick, December 1840. Delano Family Papers, Papers of Franklin Hughes Delano, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

39. Edward Delano Diaries, Roosevelt Family Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

and gossiping in the nights.

Edward kept several detailed diaries of his adventures and business in and around China. These diaries, which are located at the FDR Library, are some of the more useful documents for understanding the lifestyles and opinions of Americans in China during these strenuous times. Part of Edward was still the boy from Massachusetts who believed in simple things, leading him to remark, "I do not think it is good custom, this attention to business on the Sabbath."⁴² Another side of him enjoyed the pleasures of his business, including going for morning rides, drinking hot whiskey, smoking Havana cigars, and admiring the "fairer sex." Edward clearly looked up to Warren and cared for him deeply. He wrote about him in his diary as if he were perfect and could do no wrong, and that he was respected by all who knew him. On January 20, 1842, the senior hong merchant Howqua invited the brothers to his grand home for a luxurious dinner; Edward noted that the evening's splendor was "an unexampled mark of respect to Warren."⁴³ However, Edward also could see that Warren was tired and missed home. The Opium War that raged around them was taking a personal toll. There was a constant flow of reports announcing a possible peace, but each day battles were fought and Chinese blood spilt by the British. Edward was not fond of the British; he disliked both their cruelty and what he saw as jealousy for American success. However, America's success was never as remarkable in this trade as England's. Throughout the nineteenth century, more Americans got involved in the trade to make quick fortunes rather than establish long-term operations. Even the Delano brothers had no intentions of staying longer than was necessary. Compared to some of their American and British companions, they were hardly the biggest contenders in the business.

After the major defeat of the Chinese by British troops at Ningpo in March 1842, a treaty was signed on August 29. The war had cost Great Britain 675,000 pounds, but it gained sovereignty over Hong Kong and several other ports.⁴⁴ While Warren wanted to get back to America, he worried about leaving the company in the wrong hands. The most senior American trader in Canton, he had been left in charge of operations and did not want to leave his company without knowing it would survive China's post-war chaos, which remained unsettling and dangerous. Warren kept planning dates to embark and scheduling ships, only to change his mind. All the while, Edward had mixed feelings about his big brother's departure. However, not long after Warren's ship *Zephyr* set sail in October 1842, Edward started taking steps to continue on where his brother had left off. He sat down with one of the other members of the firm, Edward King, who informed him that the company would get back into the opium trade by the first of the year. King advised Edward to order "a ship of 3 to 350 tons from the US" for their reentry into the trade. Edward agreed.⁴⁵ Almost as if they had heard the

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Guan, Shijie. "Chartism and the First Opium War." *History Workshop*, no. 24 (October 1, 1987): 17–31.

conversation, on December 7 a mob broke into the factories, sending Edward and his fellow company members running for their lives. The war was over, but there were still tensions with British, Chinese, and anyone else involved in the opium trade.

By 1843 it was clear that Russell and Co. had made its way back into the opium trade, with Edward keeping close attention of all the incidents boiling up around it, including the occasional skirmish in the streets. Meanwhile, he received letters from Warren concerning his traveling adventures and brief stay back home. Since letters arrived so long after they were written, if at all, by the time Edward received news in January 1844 of Warren's engagement to Catherine Lyman, the marriage had already taken place four months earlier, and his brother and new bride, along with their sister Dorah, had set sail for China. Edward watched carefully as his shipments came in and was ever cautious of the continued hostilities, although nothing directly affected him. The clipper *Antelope* brought goods for Russell and Co. on February 6, including "803 chests of Maleva (opium) -77 of it to R + Co."⁴⁶ He was pleasantly surprised when the mysterious man who tugged on his feet while he was sleeping on March 24 happened to be Warren.

In 1844, the family, at least part of it, was enjoying their time in China. They lived in Macao in a large and luxurious home Warren had built and named Arrowdale. Life was comfortable by and large and business went well. In May, Edward was officially announced as a partner of Russell and Co. and quickly made plans to set sail for India to secure some decent opium shipments as part of his new responsibilities. When he arrived at Singapore in June 1844, he discovered that opium prices were too high, "opium being of \$740 in Calcutta, Patna opium ranged from 1610 rupees per chest and Benares about 30 rupees less."⁴⁷ Edward looked for advice from other traders who had been involved in Indian opium over the past few years. He received at least one lengthy letter from a colleague in 1844 informing him of current prices for the different kinds of opium and the amounts that had been exported from India into China. Of course, this was during the Opium War, when there had been a lull in the number of chests entering China. But the letter shows that the amount doubled right after the end of the war, increasing from about 5,000 chests to 11,000 by 1843. The letter also informed Edward of the best season for trading Indian opium, between January and June.⁴⁸

Edward made plans to continue his search for a deal, and he made an effort to see the sights as well. What is interesting about Edward is his changing opinions concerning the opium business. There are moments when he made it clear how much he was appalled by the circumstances, particularly the British, their hold over China, and the

45. Edward Delano Diaries, Roosevelt Family Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

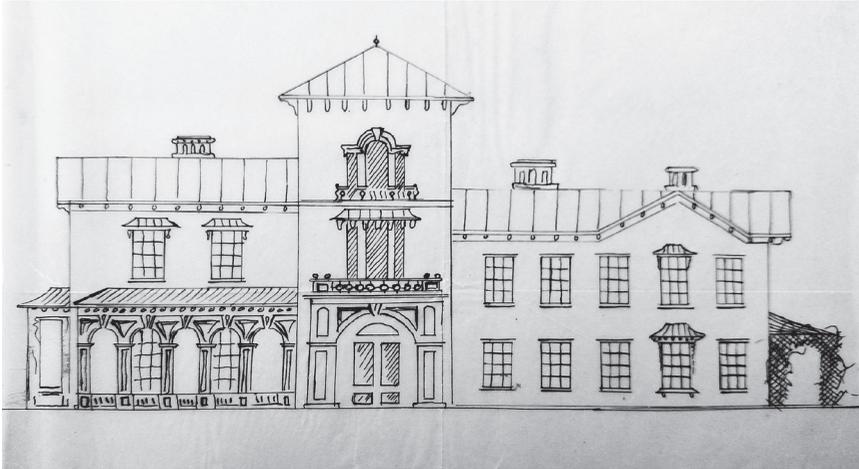
48. Letter to Edward from Ashborne, Calcutta, August 1, 1844. Delano Family Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

wars fought to continue the drug trade. On the other hand, when it came to his own business, he spoke about opium as if it were just another commodity. Even when he witnessed the brutal effects the drug had on the human body and spirit, he still continued to go about his work: “We went into the Bazar visiting several licensed opium shops, found smokers in all of them. One man was prostrate under its effects, pale, cadaverous and deathlike in appearance. He was quite insensible to touch for when I took his pipe from his hands, he offered no resistance, thou his eyes tried to follow me.”⁴⁹

While Edward was in India, back in China Warren had the pleasure of becoming a father. His wife Katie, as the family called her, gave birth to a girl on October 13, 1844. They named her Susan, after Warren and Edward’s beloved sister who had died not long after Edward had first arrived in China. In India, Edward continued his efforts to secure good opium at a fair price throughout 1845. “Busy all day,” he wrote in his diary, as he had so many times before. Only previous entries included talk of tasting teas; now his time was spent “in procuring sufficient good opium.”⁵⁰ Most days he visited opium storage houses, inspecting the quality in order to fill up his order for shipment. By August 1846, there were problems with the family back in China. Little Susan had died and a second daughter, named Louise, was born prematurely and sickly. Letters Edward received from his brother clearly show that Warren was growing tired of the trade and of China. In addition, Warren feared for his wife’s physical and mental health. The strains of losing a child and being confined in a foreign country were starting to show.

The family decided to return to New York. There they could be with Franklin, who had been running the American side of the family’s business, selling the silks and teas his brothers had shipped home. Edward was happy to leave China as well. He did not like the current management of Russell and Co. or the unease he felt from fellow members of the firm. He decided to set sail for home. Warren had always been a serious businessman, but before that he was a family man. His main focus now was to ensure a happy and healthy environment for those around him while also maintaining high standings in society. Those involved in the opium trade never suffered from the effects of being shunned from society, because many of those connected to the trade made up the very standards of this society and few, except of course for some Chinese authorities, ever publically denounced the trade as morally wrong.

Of course, the first thing for the family to do was find a suitable home. It made sense to keep the family and its business together in New York City. Franklin lived at Lafayette Square, in the famous “Colonnade Row” with his wife Laura Astor Delano, granddaughter of John Jacob Astor.⁵¹ The family remained comfortable in the city while Warren focused on other financial pursuits, including investments in Pennsylvania coal mines and railroad ventures. However, like many wealthy New York City dwellers, he had always wanted a country home. Beginning in 1847, Warren rented the Armstrong mansion, an estate on the Hudson River just north of Newburgh, located on what was known as the Danskammer, Dutch for “devil’s dance chamber.”⁵² They remained there



Sketch and photo of the Algonac house in the 1850s. Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum, Delano Family Papers



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49. Edward Delano Diaries, Roosevelt Family Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.
 50. Ibid.
 51. *The New York Times*. 1916-11-05. p. 9.
 52. A story about Algonac, written by Frederick A. Delano (Warren's Son) 1931, Delano Papers, The Newburgh Historical Society



Warren Delano in 1862 in Hong Kong. Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum, Delano Family Papers

until 1851, all the while searching for a place to call their own.

Warren wrote his brother, Franklin, frequently asking him to look into properties along the Hudson. Franklin and his wife had been given part of the Astor estate in Barrytown, known as Rokeby farm. They named their new home Steen Valetje, Dutch

for “stone valley.” Warren asked Franklin to look into different potential residences: “The Soler place is for sale, 180 acres with good house and farm buildings, if you have the time to drive up and look.” Warren hoped Franklin would be able to assist him in finding just the right house and piece of land through his previous knowledge of living on a country estate.⁵³ In 1851, Warren again wrote his brother, this time considering the Higginson farm, which was just south of the home his family rented. “By and by I shall try to send you a sketch of the Higginson grounds and house and before the end of the month shall probably know what chance of buying the Elliott portion which is desirable.”⁵⁴ Not long after this letter, Warren purchased the Higginson farm and went to work improving the small estate with the help of Newburgh native Andrew Jackson Downing, recognized as America’s first great landscape architect, and his partner Calvert Vaux, the English architect and landscape architect who would go on to design Central Park in New York City.

Warren was disappointed he was unable to purchase other parcels of land next to the farm, and he was afraid he would be confined to the original fifty-two acres he now had men working on. However, he was pleased there would be a great crop of peaches, pears, and quinces that season, and that his architects were hard at work building stables and a gatehouse. He originally called the estate *Petite-Palace* but soon changed the name to *Algonac*, which the family would cherish for almost a century.⁵⁵ For years, the family kept a log of events within the home. Known as the *Algonac diaries*, they contain detailed entries about daily life on the estate. They wrote about joyous occasions like weddings and births, and even the horrific death of a beloved daughter by fire. *Algonac* quickly filled up with treasures from China, such as a bronze Buddhist temple bell Warren bought from two coolies. This bell currently sits on the staircase of the Roosevelt home at Hyde Park. Two tall porcelain jars stood in the main hall; they are now on display in the Newburgh Historical Society. Portraits of Warren’s old friend Howqua, the hong merchant, and his grandson hung in the home’s library.⁵⁶ Several of Warren and Katie’s children were born at *Algonac*, including Warren III, Sara, Philippe, and Kassie.

Through most of the 1850s, Warren stretched his financial interests, including land investments in New York City, copper-producing lands in Tennessee, iron mines in Maryland, and railroads. As a result of the Panic of 1857, his clipper ships, which took goods all over the world, were starting to fail, along with many of his other business endeavors. By 1858, he was starting to lose hope in his business; even Edward was

53. Warren to Franklin H., October 13, 1850. Franklin H. Delano Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

54. Warren to Franklin H., June 8, 1851. Franklin H. Delano Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

55. Warren to Franklin H., June 26, 1851. Franklin H. Delano Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

56. Kleeman, Rita Halle. *Gracious Lady: The Life of Sara Delano Roosevelt*. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1935), 22.

worried his brother had stretched himself too thin. With the stock market failing, Warren suddenly found himself in such desperate straits he decided to sell Algonac.⁵⁷ He left for China in the fall of 1859, knowing that getting back into the China trade one last time was the only way to keep his family afloat.

While Warren was sailing back, it became apparent that Algonac would not sell, so he wrote home to Franklin from London to try and find a tenant to rent it.⁵⁸ Warren was able to earn some credit from his friends in London to put toward his new ventures in the China trade. As he traveled, he also wrote about the selling of his New York City home at 39 Lafayette Square. When he arrived in Hong Kong in March 1860, he was eager to pick up with business again, but things were slow. He was happy to hear of the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency; he did not believe there would be any violence because of his election and had “the opinion that good will come of it.”⁵⁹ Of course, he was wrong. When the Civil War broke out at home, Warren was unaware of it other than the fact that business suffered on all fronts. “A bad business, everything bad” he wrote to Franklin again. “Rattan, silk, teas, all are bad.”⁶⁰ With the onset of the Civil War, the cotton trade in China was hit especially hard as most of the stock came from Southern states.

It was going to take Warren much longer to make his fortune than he originally thought, and, as twenty years before, he missed his family. He wrote to Catherine, asking her and the children to join him in Hong Kong. Catherine’s task now was to get the family safely to China through hard seas and possible pirates. The family set sail on June 25, 1862, aboard the clipper ship *Surprise*. Its passengers consisted entirely of Delano family members and staff. They included Catherine and her children—Louise, Dora, Annie, Warren, Sallie (Sara), Philippe, and Cassie. Also in the party were Catherine’s cousin, Nancy F. Church, and two nurses, Davis and Ellen. The trip took them along the Atlantic coast, around the southern tip of Africa, and past Madagascar. When they recrossed the Equator sailing through the China Sea, it was so hot that Catherine wrote in her journal, “Sometimes we feel inclined to take off our clothes and sit in our bones.”⁶¹

Catherine’s journal helps us to understand the life of her young family at sea; in it, she explains in detail the 126-day journey. She mentions the many cases of seasickness; in fact, within days of leaving New York, almost all members of the party had been sick.

57. Ibid pg. 35.

58. Warren to Franklin H., December 10, 1859. Franklin H. Delano Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

59. Warren to Franklin H., January 1861. Franklin H. Delano Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

60. Warren to Franklin H., April 1861. Franklin H. Delano Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

61. Journal kept by Catherine during the trip from New York to China on the *Surprise*, October 12, 1862. Roosevelt Family Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

62. Ibid.

Harsh weather became common. Sometimes there was too much wind, sometimes not enough. She talks about the young captain “quite anxious” over the threat of privateers, but overall the journey was a safe one. The family never really suffered from much more than occasional sickness and, of course, boredom. On October 31, they finally arrived at their new home in Hong Kong, Rose Hill. Catherine ends her journal with this thought: “Very Strange,—I feel very oddly to be again a Fanqui,” which was what the Chinese called Americans, meaning “foreign devil.”⁶²

During the next few years, many changes came for the Delano family. Two more children were born, Frederick in 1863 and Laura in 1864. The family remained mostly comfortable at Rose Hill, where the children played and went riding on ponies and carriages brought over from Newburgh. They were tutored regularly and had numerous servants to meet their needs. Things seemed fine until Philippe took ill; by 1864, it was decided China was not safe for the children, so Warren, Sarah, and Philippe were sent home. They could not live at Algonac—it had finally been rented—so they stayed with their grandfather, Captain Warren, in Fairhaven, Massachusetts.

Money continued to come in through the trade that had proven so lucrative in the past. There is a curious book in the family papers in the FDR Library. It resembles a simple account book, and indeed it originally was one. But when one opens it, the pages are filled with the colored prints, scribbles, and scraps of eleven-year-old Warren III. This is one of the few pieces of evidence that opium was among the goods his father shipped. However, much of the evidence is covered up by little Warren’s artwork. For the boy, there was not much to do for fun, and the man he loved was always immersed in meetings and business ventures he couldn’t possibly understand. All the boy wanted to do was sit by his father’s side in his study and draw pictures of the ships he remembered seeing in port and color in scenes found in old issues of *The Illustrated London News*. Little Warren may have asked his father’s permission for a book to use or he may have just waited until his father was in the middle of a meeting and grabbed this account book off a pile. There were plenty of empty pages except for a few areas in the front and middle of the book, where there are lists of ships’ names, destinations, and cargo. Mostly, rice is the item mentioned, but in some areas, now mainly covered with young Warren’s painted scenes, opium is listed as the cargo.⁶³

The family returned from China when news arrived that Captain Warren was seriously ill and not expected to live long. Having made back his money, and then some, Warren left China and Russell and Co. for good. (Some of his daughters would marry partners in the firm; they continued living in China with their new husbands at Rose Hill.) Warren arrived just in time, a month before his father died in 1866. Over the next twenty-five years, the Delano clan would be scattered to all parts of the world, either to boarding schools, to Paris where they rented an apartment until the renters had left Algonac, or to Fairhaven, where the family home nearly doubled in size thanks to

63. Account book 1862 of Warren Jr./Warren III’s scrapbook. Roosevelt Family Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.



Warren Delano III's scrapbook in China 1860s. Warren Delano III was only four or five years old when he pasted these prints into his father's account books and colored them in while in China in the 1860s. Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum, Delano Family Papers



Detail of Warren Delano III's scrapbook. Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum, Delano Family Papers

Warren's renewed fortunes. Edward spent the rest of his life with or around Warren and his family, who called him Uncle Ned. He never married and died suddenly of a heart attack in 1881.⁶⁴ Catherine died just two years before her husband in 1896, remaining the dutiful wife, mother, and grandmother she had always strived to be. Warren died a very wealthy man with a loving family and respectable reputation on January 17, 1898.

Warren's daughter, Sarah, inherited the Delano charisma and strength, which she passed onto her son Franklin Delano Roosevelt. It was not until after Sarah's death



Warren in the 1890s. This photo was done by a Photography studio on Grand Street in Newburgh. The portrait next to him is of his daughter, Laura, who burned to death at Algonac in 1884. Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum, Delano Family Papers

in 1941 that talk of opium in the family's past was mentioned in public. Journalist Westbrook Pegler never liked FDR's political agenda and decided to accuse the President of enjoying wealth made by a business that was "as degrading as prostitution."⁶⁵ A distant and admiring cousin of FDR's, Daniel Delano, decided to defend the family

64. Ward, Geoffrey C. "A Fair, Honorable, and Legitimate Trade". *Grant, Jr., Frederic Delano*. American Heritage, August/September 1986; Variation: American Heritage, August/September 1986. New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1986.

65. Ibid.



Warren Delano in Newburgh in 1862, wearing robes that he had purchased in Hong Kong. Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library & Museum, Delano Family Papers

name. He claimed that Warren only entered the opium trade during the Civil War at the request of President Lincoln and the War Department. Daniel made it appear as if Warren was bringing the drug back to the States for medical purposes for the Union Army. He said that Lincoln knew Warren personally and appointed him to be a special agent in China, and that it was only people who disliked FDR who gave Warren the name of “the old opium smuggler.”⁶⁶ However, this ignores evidence that Warren was in fact an opium smuggler long before there was a need back home for large supplies of medicine. If he did indeed supply drugs to the Union army, we cannot ignore that the drug was still being moved into China in the 1860s to feed the people’s rampant addiction, just as it had in the 1840s. Additionally, there is no proof that Warren ever was personally acquainted with President Lincoln, or that Lincoln appointed him to any position.

That being said, the family never really spoke of these dealings in any official manner. They did not defend or apologize for what they saw as merchants doing what merchants do.⁶⁷ They brought supplies of tea and silks into the places that demanded them. Other wealthy American families did not say much on the matter, either. Instead, those who were involved in the trade and did well by it did their best to contribute to their communities. In 1885, the Delanos used some of their money to build a hospital for destitute children on East 111th Street in New York City.⁶⁸ In 1916, Annie Delano Hitch, Warren's daughter, donated land to the City of Newburgh for recreational use; it's still known as Delano-Hitch Park. Warren's colleague, Robert Forbes, used his money to start up a charitable organization for retired sailors in Boston. Edward King also did well and became one of the largest landowners in Newport, Rhode Island. His house, built in the 1840s, was later donated by his family to become a senior center.⁶⁹

It is still not entirely clear how Warren felt about his years involved in the opium trade. However, in his old age he received letters from Forbes, who informed him that he was reaching out to other members of the firm to gather stories for a history of the company, which he hoped to publish. Forbes' request received a mixed reception from his former partners. For his part, Warren did not wish to add much, and he certainly did not wish to elaborate on the drug portion of the company's past.⁷⁰ It was all behind him at that point in his life. He had what he wanted and his descendants would benefit from it for years to come.

Shannon Butler is a Park Guide of Interpretation at the Roosevelt-Vanderbilt National Historic Site and a graduate of SUNY New Paltz and SUNY Albany.

66. Delano, Daniel Webster. *Franklin Roosevelt and the Delano Influence*. (Pittsburgh: J.S. Nudi Publications, 1946), 163.

67. Downs, Jacques M. "Fair Game: Exploitive Role-Myths and the American Opium Trade." *Pacific Historical Review* 41, no. 2 (May 1, 1972): 133-49. 146.

68. Pottker, Jan. *Sara and Eleanor: The Story of Sara Delano Roosevelt and Her Daughter-in-Law, Eleanor Roosevelt* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2014), 66.

69. Yarnall, James. *Newport through its Architecture*. (New Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2005), 51.

70. Downs, 372-374.



This still photograph from *The Story of a Patriot* shows the Gansevoort carriage in front of a tavern on Colonial Williamsburg's Duke of Gloucester Street. In 2002, it was estimated that the movie had been seen by more than 30 million people. It has been showing continuously since then at the Colonial Williamsburg Visitor Center, meaning millions more have viewed the carriage.

Credit: Gansevoort carriage in use during production activity on Duke of Gloucester Street for *Williamsburg, The Story of a Patriot*, image #1956-GB-713-48.
The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

The Carriage “Outlives the Noble Load it Bore”

General Peter Gansevoort’s Phaeton Survives the Centuries

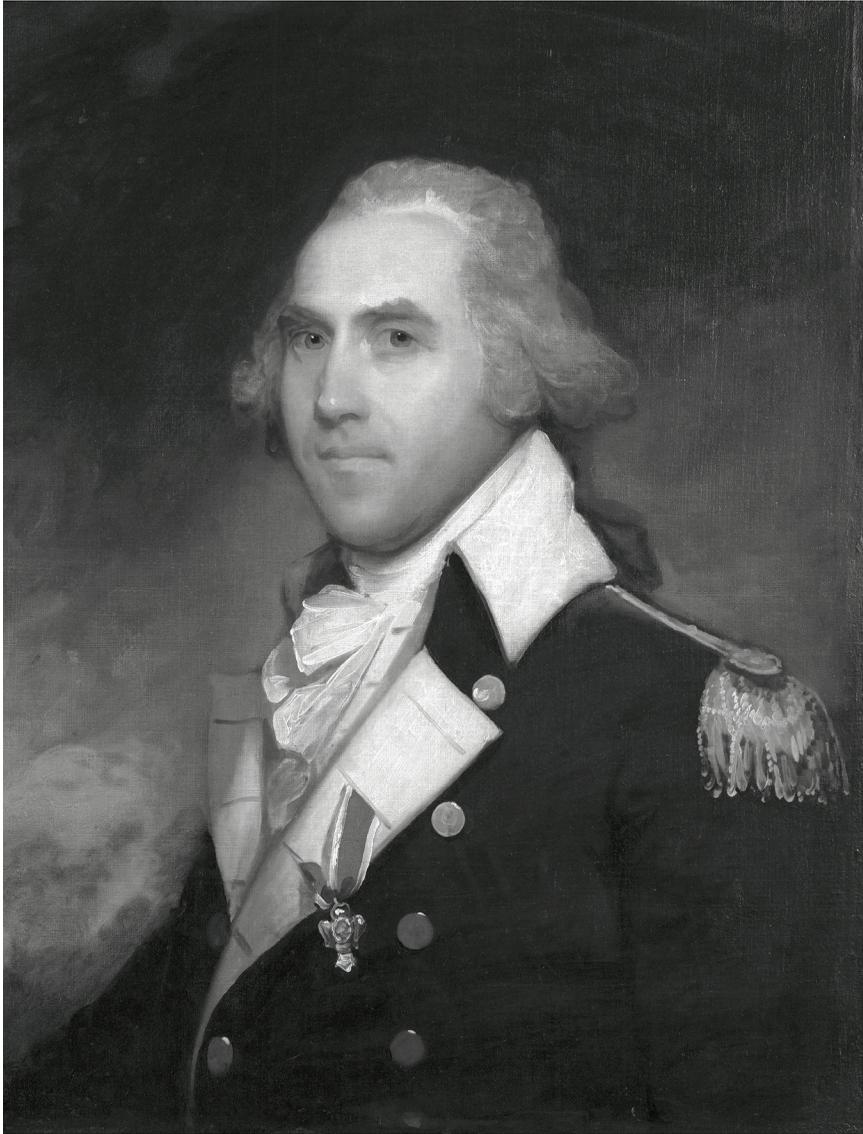
Warren Broderick

Herman Melville’s seventh novel *Pierre: or the Ambiguities*, published in 1852 by Harper Brothers of New York City, was his first without a maritime setting. Following by one year the release of the American edition of *Moby Dick*, the book’s fictitious setting at “Saddle Meadows” resembles both the Berkshires and the Hudson River Valley in upstate New York. *Pierre* contains many autobiographical elements (“family portraits,” as Melville biographer Hershel Parker refers to them), as was the case with the author’s previous works.

A carriage is featured in Book II of *Pierre*. This is not an ordinary carriage, but an animate object with a history far more fascinating than a typical person of its era. Now nearly 250 years old, the “phaeton” (as it has always been known) survives in a remarkably original condition in a public museum. Now we undertake a micro-history of its remarkable provenance and the personages with whom it has been associated, including an American President, a famous novelist, and a movie and television celebrity.

The protagonist of *Pierre* is nineteen-year-old Pierre Glendenning, Jr., the scion (like Melville) of two patrician families. The character of old General Glendenning, Pierre’s grandfather, was clearly modeled after Melville’s own grandfather, General Peter Gansevoort (1749-1812), who resided in Albany and maintained a summer home, which survives, in the hamlet of Gansevoort, located in the Town of Northumberland, Saratoga County.

In Book II, subtitled “Love, Delight and Alarm,” the young “lord of the manor” has just become engaged to a beautiful young blonde, Lucy Tartan. In an effort to further impress Lucy, Pierre takes her for a long ride around the grounds of Saddle Meadows in a “sexagenarian” vehicle, a grand old carriage. Pierre is “seated where his own ancestor had sat,” and he is “reining steeds, whose great-great-grandfathers grand old Pierre had reined before.” This impressive carriage, known as the “Phaeton,” was the pride of old Pierre and is now revered by his descendants. “Phaeton” is a period term for a sporty, open carriage, typically with four extravagantly large wheels, drawn by a single horse or a pair. Fast and dangerous, it was very lightly sprung, with a minimal body. Usually it had no sidepieces in front of the seats.



Peter Gansevoort (1749-1812) was present at the ill-fated invasion of Quebec. He oversaw the reconstruction and fortification of Fort Stanwix at Rome in 1777 and protected the fort from British attacks at the time of the Battle of Oriskany. Like his friend, Philip Schuyler, Gansevoort did not receive proper credit for his military accomplishments until the war had been concluded.

Credit: General Peter Gansevoort, Ca. 1794. By Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828).
Oil on canvas. Image 30 1.8 x 25 in. Museum Purchase 54.88.
Munson-Williams-Proctor Arts Institute / Art Resource, NY

This is to certify that Peter Gansevoort Esq^r of the ~~City~~
of Albany in the County of Albany and District
of New York Esq^r hath paid the duty of eight Dollars
upon a four wheel carriage, called a Phaeton owned by him
having a top, to be
drawn by two horses, for the conveyance of two
Persons; for the Year to end on the 30th of September 1798

Albany Sept 29 1798

P. Bogard
Collector of the Revenue,
N^o 1st Division of New York.

In 1798, Peter Gansevoort paid a federal luxury tax of eight dollars on a “Phaeton... for the conveyance of two Persons.” Gansevoort-Lansing Collection, Box 22, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library (Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations)

The actual carriage was apparently acquired by General Peter Gansevoort immediately following the American Revolution, for he documents owning it in 1782. Late nineteenth-century newspaper accounts quoting Gansevoort descendants claim it was imported from France. Today the vehicle is prominently on display at the Long Island Museum of American Art, History, and Carriages in Stony Brook. In the opinion of the museum’s Curator of Collections, Joshua Ruff, it more likely was manufactured in America—in a large city such as New York, Boston, or Philadelphia. Shipping a carriage from France to America during the Revolutionary War would have been most problematic.

An excellent example of preindustrial craftsmanship, the carriage measures ninety inches high, 73.5 inches wide, and 133.25 inches in length. The Long Island Museum describes it as follows:

The curved back terminated in a scroll motif, and the vehicle has a folding leather hood mounted on wooden bows and sockets. Leather budgets, or boots, are located at both the front and rear. The single perch is chamfered and painted dark yellow with broad black striping. The body is painted dark green and features family emblems at the footboard, back and sides. The interior is trimmed in white wool and white brocade broadlace. The floor is covered with a painted carpet and a woven floor carpet that has a floral motif enclosed in squares. The body is mounted on whip springs and the pump handles are finished with scrolled, carved rosettes. The folding steps slide under the body on an iron track. The axles are also dark yellow with the same broad black striping as the perch.



The Gansevoort family carriage, or phaeton, on display at the Long Island Museum of American Art, History, and Carriages in Stony Brook. It houses the largest collection of horse-drawn wheeled vehicles in the United States.
Credit: Phaeton, 1775-1785, accession #258. The Long Island Museum of American Art, History & Carriages. Gift of the Johnstown Historical Society, 1955

Following Peter Gansevoort's death in 1812, the mansion at Gansevoort was inhabited by various family members. Herman Melville's widowed mother, Maria, made it her full-time residence, living with her unmarried daughters Augusta and Frances Priscilla ("Fanny"). Nothing is written about the phaeton during these years, but we assume it remained on the premises. Maria (Gansevoort) Melville died in 1872; shortly afterward, Fanny began receiving requests to loan family heirlooms (including the carriage) for various Centennial celebrations and displays. The carriage is next heard from in 1879, when Fanny sent her brother Herman a photograph of the phaeton, still kept in the family carriage house.

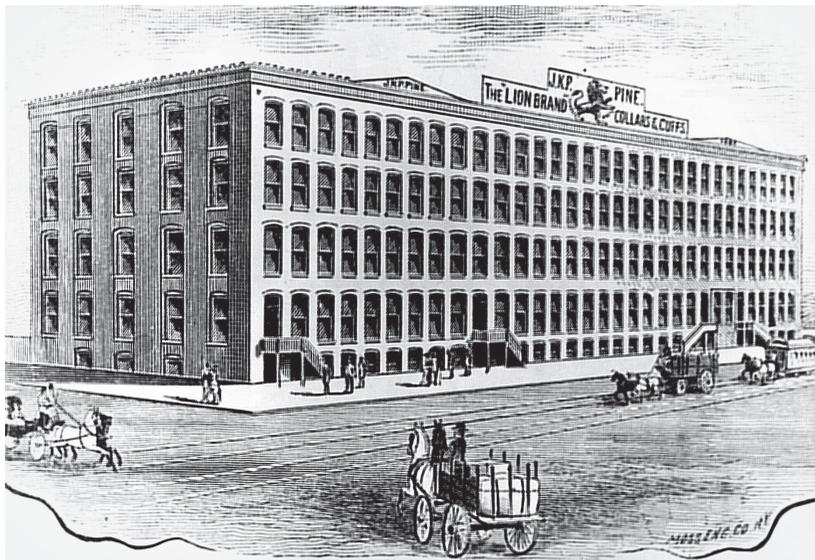
The Saratoga County Historian's office owns copies of two photographs of the carriage labeled "General Gansevoort's Phaeton, still to be seen in the carriage house at Gansevoort, N.Y. 1879. The high seat for the coachman has fallen." One photograph may be the identical image Herman received from his sister. In one of the images, people appear to be wearing colonial costumes, suggesting it was taken during the Centennial celebration of 1876-1877.

Frances Priscilla Melville died on July 9, 1885, during an extended visit to the home of her sister, Helen Griggs, in Brookline, Massachusetts. The family now faced

the tedious task of dispersing the thousands of family items stored at her Gansevoort home and eventually disposing of the mansion itself. The lengthy probate process lasted three years, with much of the work administrating the estate handled by Abraham Lansing (1835-1899), an Albany attorney, and his wife Catherine (Gansevoort) Lansing (1838-1918), a granddaughter of General Peter Gansevoort.

A detailed listing and valuation of the contents needed to be undertaken. This inventory was conducted in 1885 by Anthony Augustus Peebles (1822-1905) of Lansingburgh, a second cousin and friend of Herman Melville's, assisted by his neighbor, Edward Van Schoonhoven, who photographed every room in the mansion. Inside the carriage house, the two men documented "1 phaeton, double, old, no value" and "some rubbish and sleigh" valued at two dollars.

The following year, the phaeton was mentioned in local newspaper accounts. On May 30 the *Northern Budget* in Troy noted that "the old carriage, said to be the pride of the old general years ago, was sent... for some needed repairs, and it will undoubtedly occupy a prominent position in the parade in Albany during the great bi-centennial celebration" of the city's establishment. A more detailed article entitled "A High Rig" appeared in the *Troy Daily Times* and *Lansingburgh Courier*. It stated that the "ancient vehicle which did duty for Gen. Gansevoort of revolutionary fame" was "undergoing repairs at Pine's factory, Lansingburgh." It went on to note that "After being exhibited at



The Troy Carriage Works at the Pine Shirt Factory. This massive, block-long building, still standing on Second Avenue in the Lansingburgh section of Troy, was constructed by James K.P. Pine as the United Shirt and Collar Company in 1884. Pine (1841-1919) married Clara Maria Adams, a Van Schaick family descendent and a cousin of the Gansevoorts and Melvilles. The structure housed the Troy Carriage Works from 1884-1891; the carriage was there in 1885. Lansingburgh Historical Society



“In Olden Time” (1894): Members of the Gansevoort, Lansing, and Van Schaick families enjoyed “dressing up” in the well-preserved clothing of their ancestors and sometimes posed with the Gansevoort phaeton. New York State Archives (series 11891)

the Albany bi-centennial the carriage will be returned to the only heir of the family,” in Saratoga County. “Pine’s factory” refers to a brick building, once one of the world’s largest shirt and collar factories, which housed the Troy Carriage Works between 1884 and 1891.

The phaeton’s new owner was Catherine (Gansevoort) Lansing. Edward Van Schoonhoven wrote her on July 7, 1886, that “the old coach looks splendidly, and will prove a very attractive feature” at the Albany Bicentennial celebration. The following day, Mary Louise Peebles informed Catherine Lansing (her cousin-in-law) that “ever so many people went to see the old carriage, and were perfectly enthusiastic over it. I had not the least idea it would come out such a beauty.” She also commented that she would have liked to ride down an Albany street in the old carriage. The vehicle evidently was still on display in Albany in late September when Catharine Gansevoort Lansing noted “it’s a beauty” in her diary. It may have been displayed at the World’s Columbian Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 among many other carriages in the spacious “Carriage Section.” The exact nature of the phaeton’s refurbishing in 1886 is not known, but it appears to have been minimal and very tastefully accomplished.

The Gansevoort carriage is next seen when an illustrated article entitled “An Old-Time Phaeton” appeared in the *Troy Daily Times* on January 6, 1894, accompanied by the 1876-1877 image showing ladies in colonial costume. This article states that during the Albany Bicentennial celebration the phaeton “was exhibited in that city, and it attracted much attention.” Because of its age, the carriage may not actually have borne passengers in the parades. The article continued that the phaeton “is now in the

custody of Augustus A[nthony] Peebles of Lansingburgh,” (the husband of Mary Louise Peebles). He may have stored it in Lansingburgh or on his family estate on Peebles Island in nearby Waterford. The article continued in part:

It was a wonderfully well-preserved vehicle, and argues strongly for the substantial workmanship of the nation’s early mechanics. Although provided seating-room for only two persons, the running-gear is as heavy as that usually attached to coaches of the present time.... The same coat of paint on which perhaps the General’s eyes were wont to linger admirably remains today, the only part a painter having since played in the preservation of the phaeton being to apply a coat of varnish. The body is painted in olive green, and the running-gear is of orange. The body is attached to the gear by what are called ‘thorough braces’... and the phaeton presents an attractive appearance, its rich colors of body and gear, its brass-tipped metal-work on the top and the dash and the cushions, which are of superior quality.

By the late 1880s the Gansevoort family carriage had become the property of noted American genre painter Edward Lamson Henry (1841-1919). A South Carolina native and long-time New York City resident, Henry was already a good friend of Abraham and Catherine Lansing when he established a summer home at Cragsmoor, near Ellenville, in 1887. An unidentified newspaper clipping dating from the late 1880s entitled “A



**This photograph of carriages at E.L. Henry’s home appears as Figure 75 in Elizabeth McCausland’s 1945 monograph *The Life and Work of E.L. Henry*.
New York State Museum**



E.L. Henry's *Waiting for the Ferryman*, signed and dated 1899. The Albany Institute of History & Art acquired this large oil on canvas from the estate of Catherine (Gansevoort) Lansing in 1919. Albany Institute of History & Art

Relic But Not a Ruin” states that the carriage had been “placed in the care of the artist, E.L. Henry, of Cragmoor.” The exact date when Henry became its owner has not been documented. This article, pasted in a family album in the collection at the New York Public Library, calls the carriage a “caleche” and states it had been purchased by Gansevoort 108 years earlier. Henry was fascinated with wheeled vehicles. He collected and frequently featured them in his famous works of historical subjects related to New York State. The Gansevoort carriage appears in Henry’s oil painting *Passing the Outposts*. Executed in 1903, it depicts a scene at Kingsbridge Road in the Bronx during the British occupation of New York City during the American Revolution. A watercolor version of this scene, executed in 1899, was exhibited in 1900-1901.

Henry painted a number of versions of a scene showing the carriage and its occupants waiting for the arrival of a river ferry. *Waiting for the Ferryman*, shown here, is owned by the Albany Institute of History & Art. A smaller watercolor version, sometimes referred to as the *High Flying Phaeton*, was acquired by the Long Island Museum. The New York State Museum owns Henry’s preliminary water-colored pencil sketch of this latter work; it’s entitled *Waiting for the Ferry*. Previously, in 1896, the artist is recorded as having executed two additional versions of this scene, *Waiting for the Ferryman*:



Entitled *The Phaeton*, this undated oil painting by E.L. Henry was in the collection of the Albany Institute of History & Art as late as 1942. Its current location is unknown. It shows the Gansevoort carriage in front of a Georgian mansion, presumably in Philadelphia. Albany Institute of History & Art

Time, About 1844 and *Waiting for the Ferry*. Henry also executed two watercolors of a different view showing the carriage actually boarding the ferry: one entitled *A Brooklyn Ferryboat* (sometimes called *An Old Ferry Boat*) and the other *Crossing the Ferry*. In addition, photographs of the carriage taken by E.L. Henry are found in his papers at the New York State Museum.

In 1906 Henry designed a statue of General Peter Gansevoort, which was donated by Catherine Lansing to the City of Rome in honor of her grandfather, who commanded at Fort Stanwix (later renamed Fort Schuyler and located in present-day Rome), overseeing its successful defense against British forces in 1777. She also donated some of Henry's works, most notably his renowned painting *The First Railroad Train in New York State*, to the Albany Institute of History & Art.

E.L. Henry died in Ellenville on May 11, 1919. His carriages are not mentioned in the very short inventory of his possessions, but his widow clearly owned them until 1922. That September, a memorial celebration commemorating the 150th anniversary of the founding of New York's Tryon County was held in Johnstown. In its September 8, 1922 edition, *The Gloversville Leader Republican* reported that as part of the festivities, a skit performed at the Black Horse Tavern featured "antique carriages loaned by Mrs. E.L. Henry and Mr. Jacob Spraker. The Governor's carriage was once owned by Colonel Gansevoort and was used by him and his guest, General George Washington,

in the City of Albany.” The same paper also confirmed that George Washington had ridden in the carriage.

Ten years later, Johnstown hosted a Washington Bicentennial Parade. A feature article in the *Morning Herald* on June 10, 1932, described the “historic vehicles” that took part:

Without doubt the most interesting of these vehicles is the carriage that was owned by Colonel Peter Gansevoort, the hero of Fort Schuyler, afterwards Brigadier General Gansevoort. The carriage was used at the time of the memorable visit that George Washington made to Col. Gansevoort at Albany, and was occupied by both Washington and Gansevoort in connection with the demonstration on that occasion. To know and realize that a vehicle in which George Washington rode, in flesh and blood, should create a sentiment and give a charm pleasing and fitting to this occasion. Other notables who rode in this carriage on important public occasions included the great French patriot and Nobleman, the Marquis de Lafayette and George Clinton, the first Governor of the State of New York....

Washington visited Albany by sloop on June 27, 1782. Upon his arrival at the dock, he was greeted by a group of local notables, including Peter Gansevoort. They proceeded to City Hall, then located near the current intersection of Hudson Avenue and Broadway. Following laudatory speeches, Washington was driven to Philip Schuyler’s mansion (now a State Historic Site) by Peter Gansevoort in his carriage. The next day, Gansevoort led George Washington’s party on a horseback ride to visit the Saratoga battlefield. Roads at the time were far too primitive to employ the carriage on this eighty-mile round trip.

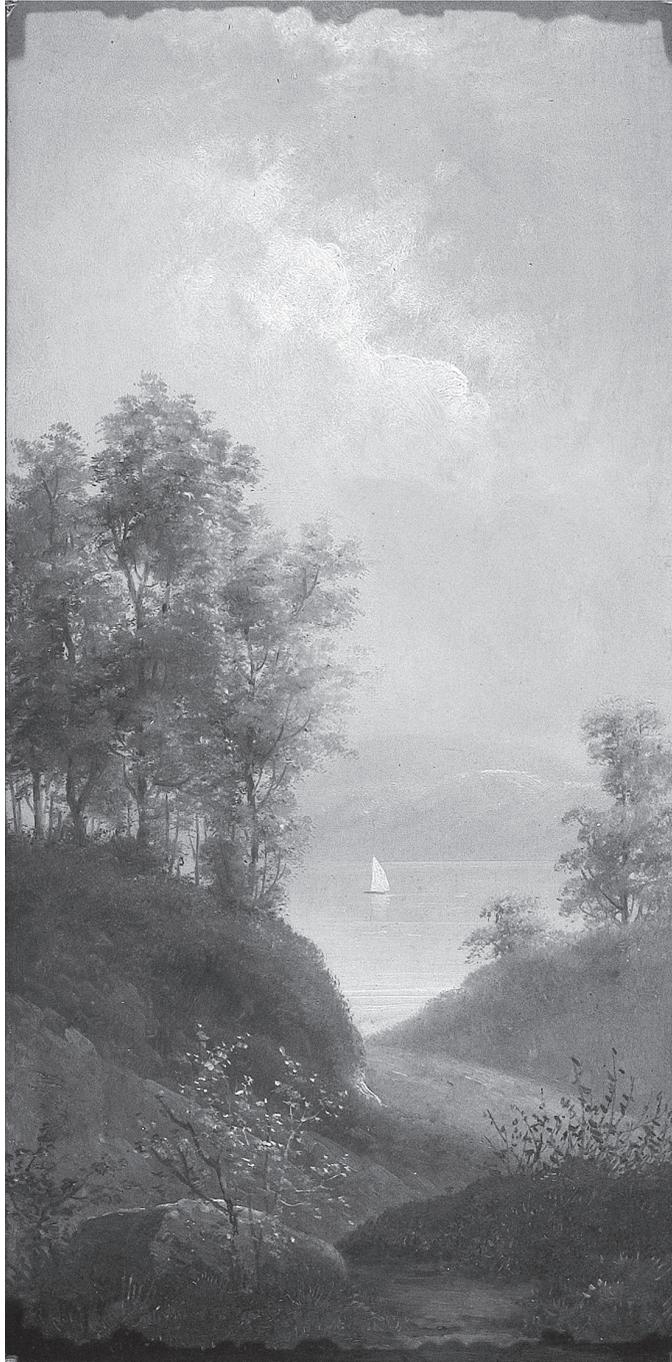
Between 1932 and 1955, the phaeton (along with two other historic carriages and the Gansevoort family sleigh) was first stored in the blockhouse at Johnson Hall State Historic Site in Johnstown and later in a barn across the street from Johnstown High School. In 1955 they were acquired by the Suffolk Museum, now the Long Island Museum. The museum’s files include three photographs of the phaeton while it was housed in the Johnstown barn. The carriage received minor conservation at its new home in Stony Brook. In 1956, it traveled again, this time for a few weeks to Williamsburg, Virginia.

While in Williamsburg, the carriage figured prominently in the Paramount Pictures movie *The Story of a Patriot* (image on page 44). Initially intended to be no more than an orientation film for Colonial Williamsburg, the production quality and universal appeal of the film’s subject led to its national release. The film launched the movie career of Brooklyn native John Ryan, whose stage name was Jack Lord, (later star of the television show *Hawaii Five-O*) and was directed by the Oscar award-winning George Seaton, best known for writing and directing *Miracle on 34th Street*. The music was composed and conducted by Bernard Herrmann, renowned for his collaboration with Alfred Hitchcock. The movie also was notable for being filmed in VistaVision and shown in six-channel stereo sound, now known as “surround sound.” Shown daily at the Colonial Williamsburg Visitor Center since its debut on March 31, 1957, the film

has the distinction of being the longest-running motion picture in history. The original film deteriorated over time; between 1994 and 2003 it underwent a restoration costing more than one million dollars.

Peter Gansevoort's historic vehicle has been featured in various media accounts in recent years and is considered the best preserved example of the very few remaining carriages of its era in the United States. General Peter Gansevoort surely knew his phaeton was the first of its kind in Albany, but could have never imagined its future fame.

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Thomas Benjamin Pope, *Untitled (View of the Hudson)*, n.d.

Thomas Benjamin Pope: Landscapes of Newburgh and Beyond

Chloe DeRocker

In fall 2015, the Samuel Dorsky Museum of Art at SUNY New Paltz presented “Jervis McEntee: Painter-Poet of the Hudson River School,” the first museum retrospective of this important nineteenth-century American landscape painter. Alongside, the museum presented a smaller exhibition on Thomas Benjamin Pope (1833-1891), a relatively little-known landscape painter from Newburgh. Curated by Chloe DeRocker, the exhibition featured paintings from the collection of Richard and Marguerite Lease of Newburgh.

The Hudson River School of landscape painters created meaningful works that manifested the beauty and uniquely American aspects of the North American landscape, especially that of the Hudson River Valley. While some Hudson River School artists such as Frederic Church and Albert Bierstadt did quite well professionally—traveling internationally, painting exotic places, and exhibiting in Europe—other artists associated with the school stayed closer to home and preferred to paint what they knew best. Among these latter artists was Thomas Benjamin Pope, who lived in Newburgh. To this day, Pope remains a notable figure in that city’s history and culture.

It took Pope quite some time to realize his love for painting. He was born in New York City in 1833. After dropping out of school at age fourteen, he spent his adolescent years working at a stationer’s store. Eventually, Pope tried his hand as a businessman, opening several grocery stores in New York City. In 1855 he married Emma A. Shaw and then moved upstate to Newburgh, on the Hudson River. Around this time, Pope began painting in both watercolor and oil, experimenting with different genres such as portraiture, still life, and landscape.

Pope also became a prominent citizen of Newburgh. He was appointed a fireman in 1859 and opened a wholesale liquor company on Front Street. He also was an active member of Washington’s Continental Guards, Newburgh’s military company prior to the Civil War. In 1861 he enlisted in Company A of the 56th Regiment New York Volunteer Infantry as a second lieutenant, eventually earning the rank of first lieutenant. In 1862 he was shot through the arm during a raid by Confederate cavalry in Maryland. Shortly afterward, he was honorably discharged from the army. On his return to Newburgh in



Thomas Benjamin Pope, *Untitled (City of Newburgh Looking South to Cornwall)*, n.d. Oil on canvas 15 x 25 in.

1862, Pope became active in the art community. He started creating landscape paintings and in 1865 joined the photography business of his brother William H. Pope, who had his own studio. He was an energetic member of the Unitarian church and often performed skits and sang in public concerts.

Pope's most active period of painting was in the 1870s. He created numerous landscape paintings in his Newburgh studio, which was open to the public. Some of his works earned critical praise in local newspapers, such as the *Newburgh Daily Journal* and the *Newburgh Weekly Telegraph*. In January 1874 the son of Hudson River School artist Asher B. Durand saw Pope's painting *Autumn in the Highlands* and commented, "no artist need feel ashamed of it." At this time, Pope began to develop his personal style, which focused on the portrayal of sky and water. He seems to have been most interested in how the position of the sun and clouds create different lighting effects during various times of day. In an untitled painting (above) that may depict the city of Newburgh looking south toward Cornwall, Pope delicately rendered the setting sun across the clouds. Another untitled painting, thought to show Rosary Heights looking south to the city of Newburgh, demonstrates how Pope skillfully represented weather effects in the sky. The painting (depicted top right) includes a moody sky with dark thunderclouds on one side and a clear day on the other.

Although his paintings received local critical and public acclaim, Pope never earned a steady income as an artist. In 1876, in hopes of increasing his revenue, Pope posted an advertisement to sell his paintings at a fifty-percent discount. He also took on art students, giving lessons at his studio or traveling to pupils' houses for one-on-one instruction. During this time, Pope began writing an epistolary column for the *Newburgh Daily News* under the pseudonym "Old Boy," a nickname he had picked up



Thomas Benjamin Pope, Untitled (Rosary Heights Looking South to City of Newburgh), n.d. Oil on canvas 16 x 26 in.

as a young man during the Civil War. In them, he wrote about prominent members of Newburgh society, his memories of the war, and his occasional trips to Europe. The Old Boy column allowed Pope to express himself freely; presumably his readers enjoyed his humor, honesty, and relatable nature.

In 1891 Pope was killed by an oncoming train while returning to Newburgh from a student's house in Fishkill Landing (present-day Beacon). His death came as a shock to the residents of Newburgh and the surrounding area. Obituaries of Pope expressed the love his community had for him and acknowledged his artistic and writing talents.



Thomas Benjamin Pope, Untitled (City of Newburgh from the Heights Looking South to Cornwall), n.d. Oil on canvas 26 x 39 ½ in.



Thomas Benjamin Pope, *Untitled (Orange Lake, Town of Newburgh, NY)*, n.d.
Watercolor on paper 15 x 24 ½ in.



Thomas Benjamin Pope, *Untitled (Orange Lake, Town of Newburgh, NY with Boathouse)*, n.d. Watercolor on paper 15 x 24 ½ in.

While Pope never became nationally known for his paintings, he was well respected and admired for his work in the city he called home.



This project came about in the fall of 2014, under the suggestion of Professor Kerry Dean Carso, Associate Professor of Art History at the State University of New York at New Paltz and Sara Pasti, the Neil C. Trager Director of the Samuel Dorsky Museum of Art, who presented an opportunity to research the work of this little-known artist from the nineteenth century and to eventually curate an exhibition of his works from the collection of Richard and Marguerite Lease. The Leases were specifically drawn to Pope's paintings because he had been a resident of Newburgh and painted the area they so admire. Their collection also includes primary and secondary materials related to Pope's life. These materials had been photocopied from the archives at the Newburgh Free Library. Included were clippings from the *Newburgh Daily Journal*, *The*

Daily Telegraph, the *Newburgh Weekly Telegraph*, and Pope's anonymous "Old Boy" letters from the *Newburgh Daily News*.

Before tackling these, I researched the scant existing written sources on Pope's life and viewed his paintings in person, which are housed in the collection of the Leases. From there, I was able to develop and curate the exhibit.

I want to express my gratitude to Richard and Marguerite Lease, Sara J. Pasti, and Kerry Dean Carso for providing this wonderful opportunity to complete this project.

Chloe DeRocker, SUNY New Paltz, '16

The Wetlands of New Netherland

Chelsea Teale

Creative interpretation of historical documents is essential for researchers studying past landscapes because instrumental records of climate, technical surveys of vegetation, official censuses of land use, and other standardized measurements are not always available. Fortunately, in regions such as the northeastern United States and Canada, informal records like diaries, travelogues, court records, wills, deeds, and other documents can provide information on the appearance and use of past landscapes over the last four centuries. Evidence of meteorological, biogeographical, and land-use phenomena, for example, can include a farmer commenting on weather during the harvest, a surveyor recording trees used as boundary markers, and lawsuits noting the value of a field for a certain crop. This information is particularly useful when combined with proxy data from “natural archives” such as sediments and tree cores.¹ However, before delving into these materials with the intention of reconstructing historical environments, researchers must familiarize themselves with contemporary colloquial terminology used to describe landscape elements.

Wetlands are among the most intensively studied landscape features, but in the United States they have only been seriously researched since the mid-twentieth century when their value as providers of ecosystem services was first recognized. In a broad sense, wetlands are defined as areas that support hydrophytes (plants that grow in wet environments) at least periodically during the growing season, have hydric soils (like muck or peat), or have non-soils that are saturated or covered with shallow water during the growing season (such as a rocky coastline).² Wetland classification has become increasingly refined as researchers seek to distinguish them on the basis of vegetation, geomorphology, and hydrology.³ In the case of historical research where such detailed

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1. For example, see Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983). See also Egan, D. *The Historical Ecology Handbook: A Restorationist's Guide to Reference Ecosystems* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2001).
 2. This system, used by most agencies, was developed by Cowardin, Lewis M. *Classification of Wetlands and Deepwater Habitats of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Fish and Wildlife Service, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1979).
 3. These criteria are used by Brinson, M. M. *A Hydrogeomorphic Classification for Wetlands. Wetlands Research Program Technical Report WRP-DE-4* [Washington, D. C.: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1993].

information is not available, however, researchers must partly rely on the meaning of terms that varied from region to region based on settlement history, language, and agricultural traditions.

Although wetlands are now on the national conservation agenda for their roles in water filtration, nutrient assimilation, nursery habitat, flood control, habitat for threatened and endangered biota, and refugia during drought, many types were long viewed as unhealthy, frightening, sinful, and marginal lands.⁴ The importance of understanding past “wetlandscapes” in North America stems not only from the provision of these services but also from the relatively recent acknowledgement that wetlands were central to early agricultural systems and that not all were viewed with disdain or distrust. This realization has led to a growing appreciation of historical use and management of wetlands, which in turn can be added to ecological studies to further understand how these features have appeared on, and functioned within, North American landscapes.

Environmental historians tend to emphasize the twentieth-century shift from negative to positive perceptions and overlook the importance of wetlands in providing hay and pasture in the otherwise heavily forested Northeast. In this region, open, grassy areas were typically limited to areas with high water tables, poor soils, or where Native Americans had cleared land for their own settlements and agriculture.⁵ French Acadians may have been the most wetland-focused colonial group and settled almost exclusively near intertidal wetlands on the Bay of Fundy.⁶ The French-settled St. Lawrence River was also heavily oriented toward intertidal emergent wetlands owing to the proxim-

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4. Boesch, D. F., and R. E. Turner. “Dependence of Fishery Species on Salt Marshes: The Role of Food and Refuge.” *Estuaries* 7 (1984): 460-68.; Clark, J. S. “Late-Holocene Vegetation and Coastal Processes at a Long Island Tidal Marsh.” *Journal of Ecology* 74 (1986): 561-78; Farnsworth, E., and D. E. Ogorcak. “Biogeography and Decline of Rare Plants in New England: Historical Evidence and Contemporary Monitoring.” *Ecological Applications* 16 (2006): 327-1337; Flather, C. H., M. S. Knowles, and I. A. Kendall. “Threatened and Endangered Species Geography.” *BioScience* 48 (1998): 365-76; Naiman, R. J., and H. Decamps. “The Ecology of Interfaces—Riparian Zones.” *Annual Review of Ecology and Systematics* 28 (1997): 621-58; Article 24 *Freshwater Wetlands Title 23 of Article 71 of the Environmental Conservation Law* (Albany, NY: New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, Division of Fish, Wildlife and Marine Resources, 1975); Smardon, Richard C. *The Future of Wetlands: Assessing Visual-cultural Values* (Totowa, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun, 1983); Wilson, M. A., and S. R. Carpenter. “Economic Valuation of Freshwater Ecosystem Services in the United States: 1971-1997.” *Ecological Applications* 9 (1999): 772-83; Tiner, R. W. *In Search of Swampland: A Wetland Sourcebook and Field Guide*. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Vileisis, Ann. *Discovering the Unknown Landscape: A History of America’s Wetlands* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1999).
 5. Teale, C. *Informing Environmental History with Historical Ecology: Agricultural Wetlands in New Netherland, 1630-1830* (PhD diss., Pennsylvania State University, 2013).
 6. Butzer, K. W. “French Wetland Agriculture in Atlantic Canada and Its European Roots: Different Avenues to Historical Diffusion.” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 92 (2002): 451-70; Cunningham, R. J., and J. B. Prince. *Tamped Clay and Saltmarsh Hay: Artifacts of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, N.B.: Brunswick Press, 1976); Hornsby, S. J., and M. Hermann. *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America* (Hanover N.H.: University Press of New England, 2005); Macneil, A. R. “Early American Communities on the Fundy: A Case Study of Annapolis and Amherst Townships, 1767-1827.” *Agricultural History* 63 (1989): 101-19.

ity of the inhospitable Canadian Shield.⁷ Dikes and drains were heavily used in the French colonies to convert salt marshes to dry fields. Coastal New England is known to have used salt marshes for grazing and haying.⁸ The importance of wetlands in Dutch-settled New Netherland also cannot be understated in terms of centrality to agriculture and settlement patterns, yet no overviews of the colony include them as important landscape elements.⁹ This essay presents Hudson River Valley researchers with the terms used in reference to wetlands in New Netherland, as gleaned primarily from resources held by the New York State Archives and Library.

Historical Records

The New York State Archives and Library house the largest collection of manuscripts related to Dutch colonial history in America, including documentation of the official business of the colonial governments of New Netherland and New York. The New York Colonial Manuscripts Collection, in particular, is comprised primarily of executive and legislative records, judicial proceedings, legal papers, registers, and correspondence. Translation of the bulk of these original Dutch colonial manuscripts was completed in the early 1820s by Adriaen van der Kemp, but his interpretations were often incorrect, unreliable, and incomplete. Additional attempts were made to translate these works

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7. A. B. Benson, ed. *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*. (The America of 1750.) The English Version of 1770 (by J.R. Forster). Revised from the Original Swedish and Edited by Adolph B. Benson.. with a Translation of New Material from Kalm's Diary Notes. [With Plates.] (New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937); Cunningham, R. J., and J. B. Prince. *Tamped Clay and Saltmarsh Hay: Artifacts of New Brunswick* (Fredericton, N.B.: Brunswick Press, 1976); Hatvany, M. G. *Marshlands: Four Centuries of Environmental Change on the Shores of the St. Lawrence* (Sainte-Foy, Québec: Presses De L'Université Laval, 2003); Nesbit, D. M. *Tide Marshes of the United States*. Department of Agriculture Miscellaneous Special Report 7 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1885).
 8. Anderson, V. D. *Creatures of Empire: How Domestic Animals Transformed Early America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Baron, W. R., and A. E. Bridges. "Making Hay in Northern New England: Maine as a Case Study, 1800-1850." *Agricultural History* 57 (1983): 165-80; Bidwell, P. W., and J. I. Falconer. *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1925); Donahue, B. *The Great Meadow: Farmers and the Land in Colonial Concord* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); Hatvany, *Marshlands*, citing Wood; Smith, D. C., V. Conrad, H. Koulour, E. Hawes, and H. W. Borns, Jr. "Salt Marshes as a Factor in the Agriculture of Northeastern North America." *Agricultural History* 63 (1989): 270-84; Valencius, C. B. *The Health of the Country: How American Settlers Understood Themselves and Their Land* (New York: Basic Books, 2002); Cohen, D. S. *The Dutch-American Farm* (New York: New York University Press, 1992); Garrison, J. R. "Farm dynamics and regional exchange: the Connecticut Valley beef trade, 1670-1850." *Agricultural History*, 61 (1987): 1-17; Munsell, J., ed. Collections on the History of Albany. Vol. III (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1870); Steinberg, T. *Nature Incorporated: Industrialization and the Waters of New England* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Vileisis, *Discovering the Unknown Landscape*; Whitney, G. G. *From Coastal Wilderness to Fruited Plain: A History of Environmental Change in Temperate North America 1500 to the Present* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
 9. Cohen, *The Dutch-American Farm*; Jacobs, J., *New Netherland: A Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America* (Leiden, The Dutch Republic: Brill, 2005); Teale, *Informing Environmental History*; Venema, J., *Beverwijck: a Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003).

in the mid-nineteenth century by the Secretary-Archivist of New York State, Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan, who also published the four-volume *Documentary History of the State of New York*. In the 1880s New York State Librarian Berthold Fernow translated additional material, including seven volumes of *The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653-1674*. Archivist and librarian Arnold Johan Ferdinand van Laer was also in the process of translating colonial manuscripts when the 1911 New York State Capitol fire destroyed forty volumes; his remaining translations were finally published 1973 with the assistance of the Holland Society.

Publication of these translations drew attention to the amount of material still inaccessible to researchers, and as a result the New Netherland Project was formed in 1974. Under the guidance of director Charles Gehring and with financial and outreach support from the New Netherland Institute, the New Netherland Project has since functioned as the primary organization for transcribing, translating, and publishing official seventeenth-century Dutch colonial documents. The New Netherland Project has translated approximately sixty-five percent of the more than 12,000 pages of Dutch colonial documents from the New York Colonial Manuscripts Collection, now published in eighteen volumes first entitled *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch* and later renamed the *New Netherland Documents Series*. The New Netherland Project also publishes translations of municipal and institutional records and has provided translations to include in the *New York Historical Manuscripts: English* that focuses on the period of British administration (renamed the *New York Historical Manuscripts Series*).

Additional materials used in this research include the New York State Library collection *Transcriptions of Records in Europe Relative to the Colonial History of the State*, which was collected in the 1840s in Europe by John Romeyn Brodhead and published in eleven volumes as *Documents Related to the Colonial History of New York*. The New York State Archives collection *Applications for Land Grants 1642-1803* provided information through surveys, patents, maps, and petitions for land. Material also was taken from other records by the aforementioned translators, the work of Joel Munsell and Jonathan Pearson on Albany, and additional publications included on the New Netherland Project's bibliography of approximately 140 primary sources. Only some church records and those related to Caribbean holdings were not consulted. Most materials date to after 1630 because West India Company records housed in the Dutch Republic were destroyed in the nineteenth century and no deeds or patents exist before 1638.

Because it is uncommon for environmental terms to be listed in the indices or finding aids of historical records, this research necessitated the full-text reading of over 120 volumes of primary records. The process was facilitated by the opening of The New Netherland Research Center at the New York State Library in 2012, which provides access to the New Netherland Project's translations and other works in a single room. The results of this analysis were compared to the United States fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS) wetland classification system in order to estimate characteristics of wetland types referenced in Dutch colonial records. The USFWS system is used by the

National Wetland Inventory and emphasizes vegetation cover, making it appropriate for the purposes of imagining the appearance of a landscape.¹⁰ Furthermore, vegetation was the primary acknowledged wetland attribute prior to the mid-twentieth century, when geomorphic and hydrologic characteristics were included in classification systems.

Colonial Dutch Wetland Terminology

The Dutch did not have a singular umbrella term for wetland until the 1970s, though there have been terms for each particular type including *wad* and *slik* (also spelled *slikke*; unvegetated tidal flats), *schor* (also spelled *schorre* or *schorr*; salt marshes) and *polder* (salt marsh reclaimed with dikes).¹¹ Of these terms, only *schorr* appears in the New Netherland records reviewed here, in reference to a Long Island marsh.¹² In the eighteenth century, *moeras* and *veen* indicated low, wet ground, but these terms also are rarely encountered in colonial records. The sole example from this research is a 1643 complaint lodged against a woman for driving livestock into a Manhattan wetland; in that case, the area was described as “the plantation of Old Jan by the swamp (*moras*).”¹³ *Swamp* was also used in Dutch at that time but like *moeras* the use or retention of this term is rare in New Netherland documents.

Moeras and *veen* are equivalent to the English *marsh*, *mash*, *maash*, *march*, and *marish*, wetlands that were widely called *meadows* in English and *prairies* in French.¹⁴ *The Dictionary of American Regional English* (DARE) defines *marsh* and *marish* as “low-lying, watery land,” and the *Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles* (DAE) defines a *meadow* as “a level, grassy lowland, especially one which is moist or subject to

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10. Cowardin, *Classification of Wetlands*; conversely, geomorphic setting, water source, and hydrodynamics are addressed in the hydrogeomorphic classification system of Brinson, M. M. *A Hydrogeomorphic Classification for Wetlands*. *Wetlands Research Program Technical Report WRP-DE-4* [Washington, D. C.: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1993].
 11. Wolff, W. J. “Netherlands-Wetlands.” *Hydrobiologia*, 265 (1993): 1-14.
 12. Murphy, H., trans., ed. *Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679-1680*, by Jaspas Dankers and Peter Sluyter of Wiewerd in Friesland (Brooklyn, NY: Long Island Historical Society, 1867), 130-31; italics included in published translation.
 13. Original term in parentheses. Entries from November 19 and 26, 1643 in O’Callaghan, E. B., ed. *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N. Y. Part I. Dutch Manuscripts 1630-1664* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1865); Entry from November 1643 in van Laer, A. J. F., trans., and K. Scott and K. Stryker-Rodda, eds. *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1642-1647. Vol. II. New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1974).
 14. Sewel, W. *A Large Dictionary English and Dutch in Two Parts* (Amsterdam, the Dutch Republic: Jacob Ten Beek, 1735); Sewel, W. and E. Buys. *A Compleat Dictionary Dutch and English* (Amsterdam, the Dutch Republic: Kornelis de Veer, 1766)
 15. Craigie, W. A. and J. R. Hulburt. *Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1938); Cassidy, F. G. *Dictionary of American Regional English* (Boston, MA: Belknap Press, 1985).
 16. Donahue, *The Great Meadow*
 17. Craigie and Hulburt, *Dictionary of American English*; Cassidy, *Dictionary of American Regional English*
 18. US Board on Geographic Names. *Geographic Names Information System*. <http://geonames.usgs.gov/>

inundation.”¹⁵ Historical references to Northeastern salt marshes as *meadow* and *prairie* are abundant, and grasslands along seasonally flooded streams were also called *meadow*.¹⁶

Only two Dutch terms were consistently used to reference wetlands within the colonial-era documents consulted for this research: *vly* and *creupelbos*. These words are represented by a number of variants, including *valey*, *valei*, *vly*, *vley*, *vlaai*, *vlaie*, *vlei*, *fly*, *ffly*, *flye* and *creupelbosch*, *kreupelbos*, *kreupelbosch*, *creupel*, *kreupel*, and *cripple*. *Vly* is shortened from *valey*, an example of ellipsis or telescoping where some internal sounds are omitted. Variants of *vly* like *vlei*, *vley*, *vlaie*, and *fly*, and of *creupel* like *kreupel*, *creuple*, and *cripple* are phonetic renderings. Respectively, these two categories seem to have encompassed all emergent wetland types and forested/scrub-shrub wetland types that are currently identified by the USFWS.

Emergent Wetlands

Vly is defined by the DAE as “A swamp or marsh” and by the DARE as “A Swamp or marshy pond” exclusively found in New York.¹⁷ Plotting the location of toponyms containing *vly* or *fly* confirms that these terms are most common in the Dutch-settled Northeast, though they were undoubtedly more common before other language groups arrived (See Figure 1; note that the map does not reflect the true extent of these terms, such as road names [Vley Road in Schenectady County, Vly Road in Albany County, Vlei Road in Dutchess County, and so on]). Nearly a quarter of places named *fly* in the United States are found in New York, and with the exception of one location in New

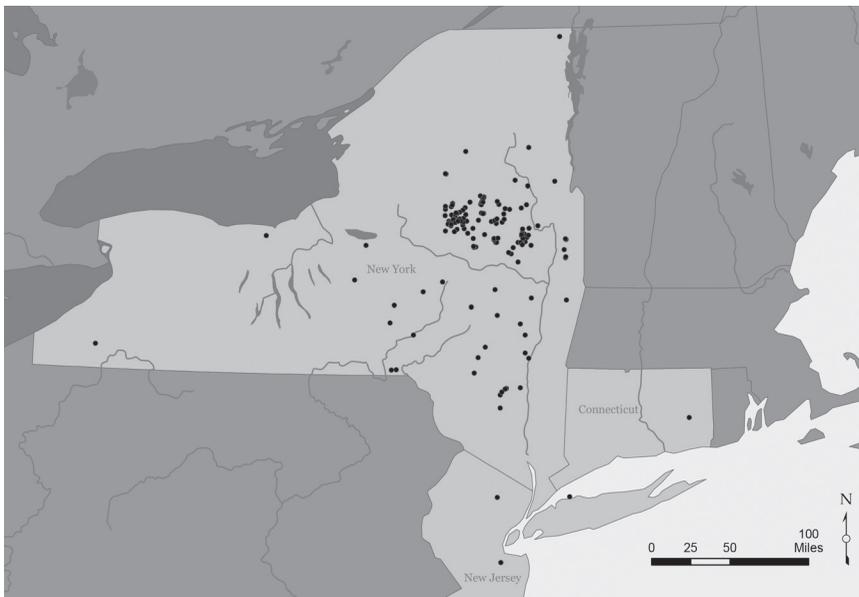


Figure 1. Location of toponyms containing *vly* or *fly* (cartography by N. Fox and A. Fleming)¹⁸

Jersey all of those named *vly* are also found in New York. Approximately half of the records for *vly* refer to wetlands and the other half to lakes and streams.

Van Laer defined *vly* as “a flat or salt meadow” but sometimes translated it as *marsh* and in at least one volume chose to leave *vly* and its variants untranslated. Another translator, J. Murphy, described *vly* as “a contraction of the word *valleye*—a valley” and Gehring also explained this to be the case.¹⁹ In his 1655 *Description of New Netherland*, settler Adriaen van der Donck provides the most explicit description of “Wetlands and marshes (*broeck-landen en Valleyen*)” as

salt, fresh, or brackish—some so big that one cannot see across them. They can be used for pasture (*Weyden*) or haymaking (*Hoyen*) only, because they tend to flood at spring tide if situated near the coast. They resemble the mud flats and river meadows of the Dutch Republic and could be drained with the aid of levees and plowed. Marshlands are also found inland, far from the rivers, and they are always fresh and good for haymaking, provided they are not too clumpy or too wet. These defects can be overcome with little trouble if one makes the effort by breaking up the clods when frozen in winter and drawing off the water in spring at a suitable opportunity.²⁰

Another description of these wetland types comes from the 1679 journal of Dutch travelers Jaspas Danckaerts and Peter Sluyter, who clearly equated *valey* with *schorr*. Near Jamaica Bay, Long Island, they saw

a large piece of low flat land which is overflown at every tide, like the *schorr* (marsh) with us, miry and muddy at the bottom, and which produces a species of hard salt grass or reed grass. Such a place they call valey and mow it for hay, which cattle would rather eat than fresh hay or grass. It is so hard that they cannot mow it with a common scythe, like ours, but must have the English scythe for the purpose... This meadow (*schorr*), like all the others, is well provided with good creeks which are navigable and very serviceable for fisheries.²¹

Some original English documents also clearly synonymized *vly* with *marsh*, *mash*, or *meadow*:

- 1645: “head of a fflye or marsh”²²
- 1664: “ffly Lands or Meadowes”²³
- 1665: “Parcell of Meadow Ground (called ye ffly Lands)”²⁴
- 1669 or 1670: “said Valley or Meadow Ground”²⁵
- 1671: “Meadow or Valley did belong to their land”²⁶
- 1672: “a piece of Salt Marsh or Valley.”²⁷
- 1673: “land & Meadow or Vly”²⁸
- 1676: “a certaine valley of land” or “Maddow”²⁹
- 1686: “vleys or marshes lying thereabouts”³⁰
- 1686: “ffly or meadow ground, upon the great Binwater”³¹ (see Figure 2)
- 1686: “two pieces of ffly or meadow ground”³² (see Figure 3)
- 1686: “ye Vly or mash...att Kinderhook” and “Sd Vley or mash”³³
- 1687: “the half or moiety off that vley or mash”³⁴
- 1687: “the Creek or kill yt comes out of the Vley or mash”³⁵

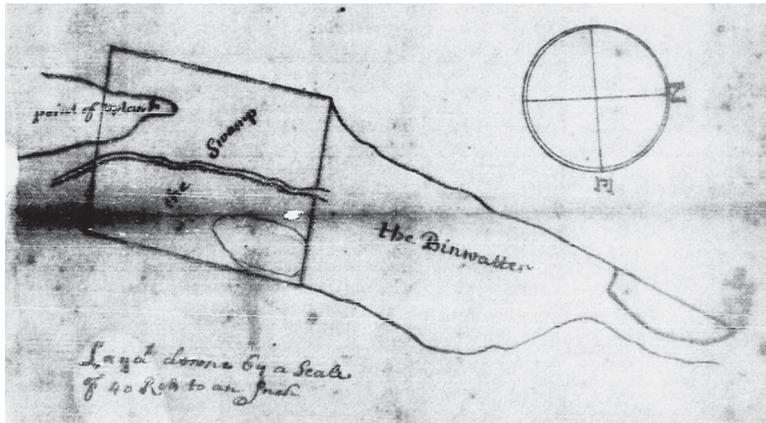


Figure 2. “Description of a survey of a ffly or meadow ground, upon the great Binwater, lying to the northeast of Kingstown, in the county of Ulster, containing about 38 acres, laid out for Henry Clayson and Yochum Englebert van Nauman, by Phillip Welles, surveyor.” 1686³⁶

19. Murphy, H. C., trans. *Voyages from Holland to America, A. D. 1632 to 1644*, by David Petersen de Vries. (New York, NY: 1853), 114; Charles Gehring, email communication, 2009.
20. Goedhuys, D. W., trans., C. T. Gehring and W. A. Starna, eds. *A Description of New Netherland. Written by Adriaen van der Donck in 1655* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 18-19; italics added after comparison with original Dutch text.
21. Murphy, H., *Journal of a Voyage*, 130-131; italics included in published translation.
22. Entry dated December 19, 1645 in O’Callaghan, E. B., trans. *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland; 1638-1674* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1868), 54.
23. Entry dated March 6, 1664 in Paltsits, V. H., ed. *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York: Administration of Francis Lovelace, 1668-1673, Volume II, Collateral and Illustrative Documents XX-XCVIII* (Albany, NY: J. B. Lyon Company, 1910), 481.
24. Entry dated March 3, 1664/5 in Paltsits, *Minutes of the Executive Council*, 513.
25. Stokes, I. N. P. *The Iconography of Manhattan Island 1498-1909, Compiled from Original Sources and Illustrated by Photo-Intaglio Reproductions of Important Maps, Plans, Views, and Documents in Public and Private Collections. 6 Volumes* (Union, NJ: Lawbook Exchange, 1998), 120.
26. Entry dated October 30, 1671 in Fernow, B., ed. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York. Vol. XIII. Documents Relating to the History and Settlements of the Towns along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, Printers, 1881), 460.
27. Entry dated May 20, 1672 in Paltsits, *Minutes of the Executive Council*, 667.
28. Entry dated July 12, 1673 in Paltsits, *Minutes of the Executive Council*, 628.
29. Entry dated October 7, 1676 in *Applications for Land Grants, Vol. I*.
30. Entry dated April 1, 1686 in *Applications for Land Grants, Vol. II*.
31. Entry dated April 9, 1686 in *Applications for Land Grants, Vol. II*.
32. Entry dated December 9, 1686 in *Applications for Land Grants, Vol. II*.
33. Entry from October 25, 1686 in Pearson, J., trans. and A. J. F. van Laer, ed. *Early Records of the City and County of Albany, and Colony of Rensselaerswijck (1656-1675). Vol. II. Deeds 3 and 4, 1678-1704* (Albany, NY: The University of the State of New York, 1916), -20.
34. Entry from February 14, 1686/7 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 330.
35. Entry from February 4, 1686/7 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 336.
36. *Applications for Land Grants, Vol. II*.

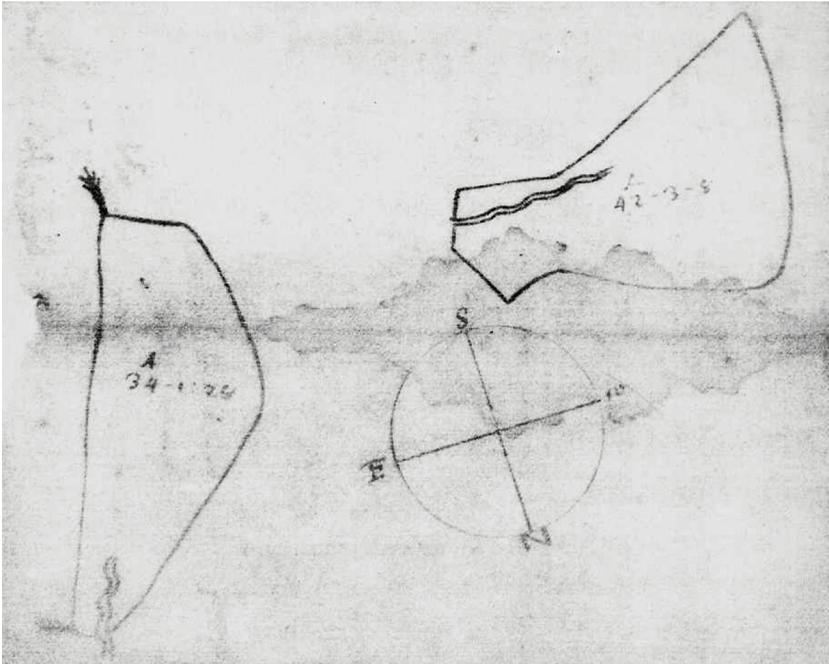


Figure 3. “Description of a survey of two pieces of ffly or meadow ground, containing in all 89 acres, lying to the north of Kingstowne, in ye county of Ulster, laid out at the request of Wm. Demyre, by Leonard Beckwith.” 1686³⁷

Many translators have also chosen to translate *vly* and its variants to *marsh* or *meadow* (in the examples that follow, original terms are provided in parentheses and italicized):

- 1650: “the meadow (*valey*) behind Broer Cornelis’ farm”³⁸
- 1671: “marsh (*vley*) was also included in it”³⁹
- 1681: “Lands and meadows” (*landeryen* and *vlyen*)⁴⁰
- 1682: “a parcel of meadow land (*vlye Lants*)”⁴¹
- 1682: “a certain meadow (*vlye Lants*)”⁴²
- 1682: “the woodland and meadow (*vly*) lying northwards”⁴³
- 1682: “to the marsh (*vly*) by the point”⁴⁴
- 1683: “arable land and marsh (*vley*) specified in said Powel’s patent”⁴⁵
- 1685: “the marsh (*vley*) on the west shore” and “between the land the marsh (*vley*)”⁴⁶

However, a series of English-language documents from the early 1670s suggests that there was inconsistency in the terms used. Specifically, a wetland at Fordham, Westchester County, was called “the ffreshest Boggy meadow,” “Swamp or Bagg of Meadow,” and “swamp or Marish ground not esteemed meadowe.”⁴⁷ *Bag* was synonymous with *bog* in English and *bagg* with *peatlands* in Dutch, suggesting that this particular *bagge* refers to the standing freshwater areas that exist behind some intertidal wetlands.⁴⁸

According to the USFWS, depending on location a *vly* could today be termed a marine intertidal, estuarine intertidal, or palustrine emergent wetland.⁴⁹ All are charac-

terized by rooted, erect, herbaceous hydrophytes (typically perennials) and—depending on geographic region—known today as *marshes*, *meadows*, *fens*, *prairie potholes*, and *sloughs*. Graminoid-dominated wetlands on the ocean or estuarine shore are zoned according to tidal action and are similar in northern Europe and northeastern North America. The intertidal zone of saltmarsh cordgrass (*Spartina alterniflora*) is at least partially submerged twice daily. The better-drained middle-marsh zone is characterized by saltmeadow cordgrass (or saltmarsh hay, *Spartina patens*) and saltgrass (*Distichlis spicata*), as well as forbs like sea lavender (or marsh rosemary, *Limonium*), sea plantain (*Plantago maritima*), asters (*Aster*), seaside goldenrod (*Solidago sempervirens*), saltbush (or orach, *Atriplex patula*), seablite (*Suaeda maritima*), and glasswort (or marsh samphire, *Salicornia*). The highest marsh, dominated by blackgrass (*Juncus gerardii*), is overflowed only during spring tides. Beyond this zone are species tolerant of brackish water such as saltmarsh bulrush (*Scirpus robustus*), cattail (*Typha*), and common reed (*Phragmites australis*). In some brackish tidal marshes, chenopods (*Chenopodium*), big cordgrass (*Spartina cynosuroides*), and clubrush (*Schoenoplectus*) are also present.⁵⁰

37. *Applications for Land Grants, Vol. II.*

38. van Laer, A. J. F. *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswijck 1648-1652* (Albany, NY: The University of the State of New York, 1922).

39. Entry “To Richard van Rensselaer,” possibly 1671, in van Laer, A. J. F., trans., ed. *Correspondence of Jeremias van Rensselaer, 1651-1674* (Albany, NY: The University of the State of New York, 1932), 440.

40. Entry dated March 26, 1681 in van Laer, A. J. F., trans., ed. *Minutes of the Court of Albany, Rensselaerswijck and Schenectady 1680-1685. Vol. III* (Albany, NY: The University of the State of New York, 1932), 96.

41. Entry from March 3, 168? in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 108.

42. Entry from August 24, 1682 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 167.

43. Entry from March 4, 1681/2 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 152.

44. Entry from February 2, 1681/2 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 255.

45. Entry from November 15, 1683 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 201.

46. Entry from April 15, 1685 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 348.

47. Entry dated July 7, 1670 and August 16, 1672 in Christoph, R., and F. A. Christoph, eds. *Books of General Entries of the Colony of New York, 1674-1688. Orders, Warrants, Letters, Commissions, Passes and Licenses Issued by Governors Sir Edmund Andros and Thomas Dongan, and Deputy Governor Anthony Brockholls. New York Historical Manuscripts: English* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing, 1982), 504; Entry dated September 18, 1667 in Paltsits, V. H., ed. *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York: Administration of Francis Lovelace, 1668-1673, Volume I Minutes, Collateral and Illustrative Documents I-XIX* (Albany, NY: J. B. Lyon Company, 1910), 196.

48. Wright, J. *The English dialect dictionary, being the complete vocabulary of all dialect words still in use, or known to have been in use during the last two hundred years* (New York, NY: G. PG. Putnam's Sons, 1903); Wolff, “Netherlands-Wetlands.”

49. Cowardin, *Classification of Wetlands*.

50. Bertness, M. D., J. Ewanchuck, and B. R. Silliman. “Anthropogenic Modification of New England Salt Marsh Landscapes.” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 99 (2002): 1395-1398; Clark, A. H. *Acadia: The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press 1968); Cowardin, *Classification of Wetlands*; Ganong, W. F. “The vegetation of the Bay of Fundy salt and diked marshes: An ecological study.” *Botanical Gazette*, 36 (1903): 161-186; Redfield, A. C. “Development of a New England salt marsh.” *Ecological Monographs*, 42 (1972): 201-237.

Palustrine emergent wetlands support graminoids like cattails, common reed, bulrushes (*Scirpus*), sedges (*Carex*), mannagrass (*Glyceria*), slough grass (*Beckmannia syzigachne*), and whitetop (*Scolochloa festucacea*). Broad-leaved emergents include smartweeds (*Polygonum*), dock (or sorrel, *Rumex*), waterwillow (*Decodon verticillatus*), and non-native purple loosestrife (*Lythrum salicaria*). Tussock sedge (*Carex stricta*) is the most common sedge in these types of wetlands across the Northeast.⁵¹

Wooded Wetlands

A second major category is wooded wetlands, today typically called *swamps*. *Swamp* was used in some original Dutch documents and its meaning was arguably different than *meadow*:

1671: “to which belongs a certain swamp or meadow (*Swamp ofte valeije*)”⁵²
1673: “the adjoining meadow and swamp (*Valey en Swamp*)”⁵³

The most common terms for wooded wetlands, however, were *creupelbos* and its variants. DAE defined *Cripple* as “A swamp or low-lying tract of land overgrown with trees or shrubs,” while DARE identified *Cripple* as “Low swampy ground usually covered with trees or underbrush” common to eastern New York, eastern Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.⁵⁴ The number of modern toponyms indicating this type of wetland is much smaller than for *vly* and *fly*, but include Big Cripple Swamp in Delaware, Cripplebush Creek in New York, and Cripple Brush Creek in Vermont.⁵⁵ Van der Dock drew a clear distinction between wooded wetlands and *vly*s, explaining in 1655 that

There would be many more freshwater marshes (*versche valleyen*) but for the land’s natural condition favoring the growth of trees and the wide dispersal of seed by birds and wind, so that the dampest and wettest areas also become wooded. These are known as thickets (*kreupel-bosschen*) and are so densely overgrown with trees and brushwood of every kind, mostly of small size in between the bigger specimens, that it is a marvel to behold.⁵⁶

Most translators of Dutch colonial documents have therefore translated *creupelbos* and its variants as *swamp* or *thicket*:

1680: “along the great kill within the thicket (*d’Creupelboss*)”⁵⁷
1683: “the riverside to a thicket (*Kreupel Boss*)”⁵⁸
1683: “into the woods to a thicket (*Creupel Boss*)”⁵⁹
1685: “oak tree in the cripple bush (*Creupel Boss*)”⁶⁰
n.d.: “next the great swamp (*Kreupel Boss*)”⁶¹

Many original English documents also equated the term with *swamp*:

1687: “East side of ye Swamp or Creupelboss”⁶²
n.d.: “by the swampe or Creuple lyeing by the River”⁶³
n.d.: “standing betweene two small swamps or Creupter”⁶⁴

Conversely, other English documents translated *vly* and its variants as *swamp*, *morass*, or *swale*, or equated the two:

- 165?: “a small tract of land or common swamp (*valley* contracted *Vly*)”⁶⁵
- 1677: “morass or valley”⁶⁶
- 1678: “a piece of land with a swale (*vley*)”⁶⁷
- 1684: “into which extends a certain swamp (*vlye*)”⁶⁸
- 1686: “small valley or swamp of land”⁶⁹
- 1686: “valley or swamp”⁷⁰

Figure 4 also shows a wetland described in English as both a *swamp* and *valley*.

Nevertheless, most translations differentiate between the two types of wetlands. Van der Linde, for example, defined *creupelbos* and its variants as “thick or dense growth by brushwood, shrubs, bushes, and/or small trees, in short a thicket”.⁷² The term was commonly translated literally as *cripple bush*, which van Laer described as “a

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51. Tiner, *In Search of Swampland*.
 52. Paltsits, *Minutes of the Executive Council*, 619.
 53. Paltsits, *Minutes of the Executive Council*, 622.
 54. Craigie and Hulburt, *Dictionary of American English*; Cassidy, *Dictionary of American Regional English*
 55. *US Board on Geographic Names*
 56. Goedhuys, *A Description of New Netherland*, 18-19; italics added after comparison with original Dutch text.
 57. Entry from December 13, 1680 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 98.
 58. Entry from July 29, 1683 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 189.
 59. Entry from July 18, 1683 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 191.
 60. Entry from April 15, 1685 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 347.
 61. Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 120.
 62. Entry dated February 4, 1686/7 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 341.
 63. Entry from “A patent for Peter Cock” in Fernow, B., ed. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York. Vol. XII. Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, Printers, 1877), 550. Two identical references are made on pages 337 and 341.
 64. Entry for “A Patent for Peter Thomason” in Fernow, *Documents*, 552; The same reference was made on page 551.
 65. Munsell, J., ed. *The Annals of Albany*, Vol. IV (Albany, NY: J. Munsell, 1853), 89.
 66. Entry from April 14, 1677 in O’Callaghan, E. B., ed. *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N. Y. Part II. English Manuscripts 1664-1776* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1866).
 67. Entry “To Richard van Rensselaer” from June 1678 in van Laer, A. J. F., trans., ed. *Correspondence of Maria van Rensselaer 1669-1689* (Albany, NY: The University of the State of New York, 1935), 28.
 68. Entry dated December 19, 1684 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 150; original term found in footnote.
 69. Entry dated April 27, 1686 in *Applications for Land Grants, Vol. II*.
 70. Entry dated May 4, 1686 in *Applications for Land Grants, Vol. II*.
 71. Entry dated May 4, 1686 in *Applications for Land Grants, Vol. II*.
 72. van der Linde, A. *Old First Dutch Reformed Church of Brooklyn, New York. First Book of Records, 1660-1752. New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*. (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1983), 236.

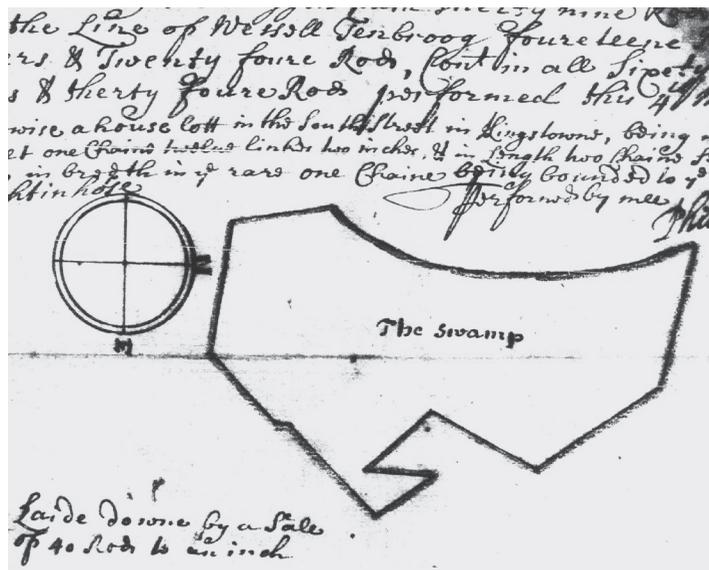


Figure 4. “Description of a survey of 54 acres of swamp, lying within the limits of Kingstown, in the county of Ulster; likewise about 7 acres of land, lying in ye valley, to the eastward of the southeast gate, in Kingstown, laid out for John Tyson, by Phillip Welles, surveyor.” 1686⁷¹

track covered with scrub; a jungle or thicket.” He also defined *creupelbosch* as a *thicket* on low, marshy ground.⁷³ Gehring routinely translates this term, and its variants, as *thicket* and in one original document the word is equated to “marshy place.”⁷⁴ However, some *creupelbos* were not perennially wet; in 1660 a settler traveled through some “dry thickets” in the Delaware region.⁷⁵

Today the USFWS would classify these wetlands as marine intertidal, estuarine intertidal, or palustrine scrub-shrub or forested wetlands. Vegetation need not be living in either case; standing woody vegetation must simply cover at least thirty percent of the wetland. To be considered scrub-shrub, woody vegetation must be less than six meters in height; examples include *shrub swamps*, *shrub carrs*, *bogs*, and *pocosins*. To be considered forested, woody vegetation must be at least six meters in height. These wetlands are colloquially known as *swamps*, *hammocks*, *heads*, and *bottoms*. A scrub-shrub

73. Entry from February 4, 1686/7 in Pearson and van Laer, *Early Records*, 337; Entry from September 15, 1646 in van Laer, Scott, and Stryker-Rodda, *Register of the Provincial Secretary*; Entry from May 17, 1639 in van Laer, A. J. F. trans., K. Scott and K. Stryker-Rodda, eds. *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1638-1642. Volume I. New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1974).

74. Gehring, C. T., trans., ed. *Delaware Papers (Dutch Period): A Collection of Documents Pertaining to the Regulation of Affairs on the South River of New Netherland, 1648-1664. New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch*. (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1981), 186; Gehring, email communication, 2013.

75. Entry from October 1, 1660 in Gehring, *Delaware Papers*, 211.

wetland may become forested over time as its vegetation ages and increases in height.

Along the Northeast coast in areas with salt or brackish water, marine and estuarine emergent wetlands can be bordered landward by broad-leaved deciduous scrub-shrub wetlands characterized by marsh elder (*Iva frutescens*) and sea-myrtle (*Baccharis kalimifolia*). This may be the type of wetland previously referred to as *bagge*. However, the majority of scrub-shrub or forested wetlands exist beyond the reach of tides. Broad-leaved deciduous species include alders, willows, buttonbush (*Cephalanthus occidentalis*), red osier dogwood (*Cornus stolonifera*), and bog birch (*Betula pumila*). Broad-leaved evergreen species like Labrador tea (*Ledum groenlandicum*), bog rosemary (*Andromeda glaucophylla*), bog laurel (*Kalmia polifolia*), and leatherleaf (*Chamaedaphne calyculata*) grow primarily in acidic peat bogs at higher elevations and latitudes. Young or stunted tamarack (*Larix laricina*) also tends to grow on acidic substrates.

Within the Northeast, dominant broad-leaved deciduous trees are red maple (*Acer rubrum*), American elm (*Ulmus americana*), ash (*Fraxinus pennsylvanica* and *F. nigra*), black gum (*Nyssa sylvatica*), and swamp white oak (*Quercus bicolor*). Soils in these forested wetlands are generally mineral or highly decomposed organic. Atlantic white cedar (*Chamaecyparis thuyoides*) is the sole representative of needle-leaved evergreens and grows on organic soil.

Inconsistency and Ambiguity

A majority of translations synonymize *vlackten*, *vlackte*, and *vlakte* with *flat* (a grassy area within a floodplain but not wet). On occasion, however, *vly* and its variants are used and the resulting statement can be misleading:

- 1640: “a large flat (*Valaye*) of about two or three hundred morgens of clay soil”⁷⁶
1640: “a flat (*Valaye*) there..where hay can be raised for two hundred head of cattle”⁷⁷
1683: “the flat (*valey*) which the lessee has now in use”⁷⁸

Danckaerts and Sluyter clarified the difference using the Mohawk River bottoms as their exemplar:

Their cultivated lands are not what they call in that country *valleyen*, but large flats (*vlackten*), between the hills, on the margin, or along the side of the rivers, brooks or creeks, very flat and level, without a single tree or bush upon them, of a black sandy soil which is four and sometimes five or six feet deep, but sometimes less, which can hardly be exhausted. They cultivate it year after year, without manure, for many years. It yields large crops of wheat...⁷⁹

76. Entry by David Pietersz. De Vries in Jameson, J. F., ed. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 206.

77. Entry by David Pietersz. De Vries in Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, 209.

78. Entry from July 12, 1683 in Pearson, J., trans. and A. J. F. Van Laer, ed. *Early Records of the City and County of Albany, and Colony of Rensselaerswijck (1656-1675)*. Vol. III. *Notarial Papers 1 and 2, 1660-1696* (Albany, NY: The University of the State of New York, 1918), 559.

79. Murphy, H., *Journal of a Voyage*, 315; unparenthesized italics included in published translation, parenthesized italics found in the original Dutch journal at the Brooklyn Historical Society.

Considering previous anecdotes by van Laer, van der Donck, and Danckaerts and Sluyter, the words *flat* or *vlacke* may indeed be accurate descriptions of the landscape if seen from afar; however, readers can mistake these terms for upland areas if they are not mindful of topographic location. Further complicating the issue are wetlands with different characteristics in different areas, processes of natural wetland succession, and anthropogenic modifications. A large wetland on lower Manhattan, for example, was described as a *moras* and *cripplebush* in 1643, four years later as a *creupelbos*, and in 1730 as being “covered with Breaks and bushes and small trees.”⁸⁰ This seemingly scrub-shrub wetland was also described in 1679 as a *valy* and in later English-language documents as *swamp*, *meadow*, and *marsh*.⁸¹ Similarly, in 1675 a tract near Kingston was referred to as *Creupelbush* and ten years later as both *bush-land*, *Cline Fly*, and described as wooded.⁸² In 1686 a *ffly* or *meadow ground* in the same area was labeled *swamp* on an associated map (Figure 4).⁸³ According to the National Wetland Inventory, similarly situated wetlands in this area are today classified as forested or scrub-shrub.

Some areas may have been intentionally converted to more productive emergent wetland by mowing, grazing, drainage, and burning, management techniques known from New Jersey to Nova Scotia.⁸⁴ For example, after several years of observing changes in meadows along the Sudbury River of eastern Massachusetts, Henry David Thoreau concluded that “human activity increases a natural tendency toward grass and herbs on these lowland sites; without this activity, the open grasslands would be qualitatively different and quantitatively less abundant.”⁸⁵ Equally possible was the reversion to wooded wetland if these management techniques were abandoned. In 1655, for example, van der Donck wrote that many freshwater wetlands became *kreupel-bosschen* as a result of natural growth, and in the 1780s a Columbia County farmer commented on a meadow that was “partly cleared, but grown up again with brush.”⁸⁶

80. *Breaks*, also spelled *brakes*, are ferns. Entry from April 3, 1647 in Gehring, C. T., ed., trans. *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch. Land Papers* (Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1980); Gehring, email communication, 2013; Entries dated December 1730 and December 21, 1730 in O’Callaghan, E. B., ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York; Procured in Holland, England and France, by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., Agent. Volume V* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, Printers, 1854), 915, 917.

81. Murphy, H., *Journal of a Voyage*; Entry dated October 19, 1698 in O’Callaghan, E. B., ed. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York; Procured in Holland, England and France, by John Romeyn Brodhead, Esq., Agent. Volume IV* (Albany, NY: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1854); Entry dated October 26, 1700 in O’Callaghan, *Documents Volume V*; Entries dated March 1, 1694 and December 24, 1702 in O’Callaghan, *Calendar, Part II*, 304; Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 99.

82. Entry dated June 25, 1672, *Applications for Land Grants, Vol. I*; Entry dated March 15, 1674/5 in Versteeg, D., trans., and R. Christoph, K. Scott, and K. Stryker-Rodda, eds. *Kingston Papers Volume II Kingston Court Records, 1668-1675 and Secretary’s Papers, 1664-1675* (New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1976).

83. Entry dated April 9, 1686 in *Applications for Land Grants, Vol. II*.

84. Teale, *Informing Environmental History*.

85. Foster, D. R. *Thoreau’s Country: Journey through a Transformed Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 51.

Researchers should also be aware that meadow was increasingly used to refer to dry grasslands after the turn of the nineteenth century, when upland areas were cleared and sown with imported forage species.⁸⁷ In some cases, these upland grasslands were called *artificial meadows* (in French, *prairies artificielles*) to distinguish them from natural wet meadows. In other instances, however, no distinction is made and it cannot be assumed that a post-1800 meadow was wetland.

Conclusion

Wetlands should be explicitly considered by researchers seeking to understand historical landscapes and land use, particularly in the colonial Northeast, where they were an invaluable agricultural resource into the nineteenth century. Management of wetlands in this region included several techniques that impacted wetland type, which in turn would have impacted appearance as well as ecological function. Despite the unavoidable ambiguity related to some translation, it is most likely that primary records referencing *valley*, *vly*, and their variants—along with *meadow*, *marsh*, *marish*—indicate emergent wetlands in Dutch-settled areas. *Creupelbos* and its variants, together with *swamp*, *morass*, and *thicket*, can be presumed to be forested or scrub-shrub wetlands. Researchers should also keep in mind that what was an emergent wetland could become scrub-shrub naturally over time or if the area was drained or diked, and that scrub-shrub wetlands could become emergent if flooding, mowing, grazing, or burning occurred.

It is recommended that original texts and topographic location be considered if research demands greater understanding of wetland type than is provided in a translated document. This is particularly true in the case of flats and when the same wetland is referred to by different terms. If original terms for a wetland are still found to vary, it is possible that the references were made at different times during natural succession processes, if management techniques were used, or if observations were made in different areas of a large wetland. Lastly, researchers should remember that post-1800 references to meadow may refer to upland fields and not wetlands.

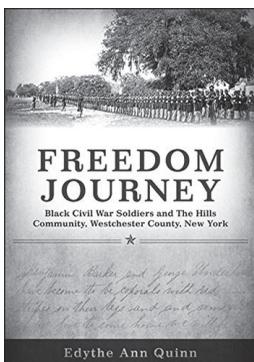
Chelsea Teale, Humboldt State University Geography Department

Acknowledgements

This research was undertaken while in residence at the New York State Museum and was facilitated by Pennsylvania State University, Society of Women Geographers, National Science Foundation, New York State Library, and New York State Archives.

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86. Coventry, A. *Memoirs of an Emigrant: The Journal of Alexander Coventry, M.D. In Scotland, the United States, and Canada During the Period 1788-1831* (New York State Library, 1978). May 16, 1788, 199.
87. Anderson, *Creatures of Empire*; Cronon, *Changes in the Land*; Donahue, *The Great Meadow*; Foster, *Thoreau's Country*; Hudson, A. S. *The History of Sudbury, Massachusetts 1638-1889* (Boston, MA: R.H. Blodgett, 1889); Valencius, *The Health of the Country*.
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Book Reviews



Freedom Journey: Black Civil War Soldiers and The Hills Community, Westchester County, New York, Edythe Ann Quinn. (Albany: SUNY Press, Excelsior Editions, 2015) 221 pp.

If, as the esteemed historian Charles Pierce Roland once argued, the Civil War was America's Iliad, then the emancipation process that became central to the war's outcome was its Odyssey. President Abraham Lincoln's January 1, 1863, Emancipation Proclamation was an act of military necessity, declaring free all enslaved persons residing in portions of states then in rebellion. Lincoln's order also authorized the mobilization of African American soldiers into the Union Army.

While African Americans and their white abolitionist friends enthusiastically welcomed Lincoln's edict, proslavery Northerners, including conservative Democrats and many military officers, vehemently opposed integrating the U.S. Army. They based their antipathy toward the military service of black men both on racist grounds and because they considered military service a citizen's right and, according to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), persons of color, even Northern free blacks, lacked full citizenship status. In many ways then, Lincoln's emancipation project was a revolutionary act, one conceivably fashioned only in the crucible of internecine war.

Eleven months following Lincoln's issuance of the proclamation, in his December 1863 annual message to Congress, the President summarized the remarkable progress of his black military mobilization policy. "Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion," Lincoln explained, "full one hundred thousand are now in the United States military service, about one-half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks; thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labor from the insurgent cause, and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men." The president went on to state that "So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any. No servile insurrection, or tendency to violence or cruelty, has marked the measures of emancipation and arming the blacks. These measures have been much discussed in foreign countries, and contemporary with such discussion the tone of public sentiment there is much improved." While "At home the same measures have been fully discussed, supported, criticised [sic], and denounced," Lincoln was pleased to report "the annual elections following are highly encouraging to those whose official duty it is to bear the country through this great trial." According to the President, "Thus we have the new reckoning. The crisis which threatened to divide

the friends of the Union is past.”

The “new reckoning” that Lincoln noted played out across the Northern states in 1863 and 1864 as thousands of free men of color rushed to don the Union blue. Recruiting agents determined to fill newly-authorized regiments flooded Northern and Midwestern states. New York was no exception. As historian William Serraille has documented in his important *New York’s Black Regiments during the Civil War* (2001), the Empire State organized and sent three regiments of African Americans—the 20th, 26th, and 31st—into federal service in what became officially known as the U.S. Colored Troops (USCT). Remarkably, during its first two months, 2,300 black recruits mustered into the 20th USCT. By war’s end, 4,125 African Americans served in New York’s three black regiments. This number constituted about two percent of the total number of black enlistees in U.S. forces (approximately 180,000 blacks served in the army and 20,000 in the navy).

For decades, historian Edythe Ann Quinn of Hartwick College has painstakingly researched and broadly interpreted the social and community history of The Hills, the largest African American community in Westchester County. First settled in the 1790s, this free black community crossing the borders of Harrison, North Castle, and White Plains consisted of 191 residents by 1860. In her handsome *Freedom Journey: Black Civil War Soldiers and The Hills Community, Westchester County, New York*, Quinn presents the fascinating story of thirty-six free black men who had entered the Union Army by January 1864. She also chronicles the service of their military units, sketches the social history of family members and friends, and comments on The Hills’ later history.

Quinn expertly charts the men’s varied wartime experiences. Fourteen joined the 11th U.S. Colored Artillery (Heavy), originally organized as the 14th Rhode Island Heavy Artillery [Colored]; sixteen served in the 29th Connecticut Infantry Regiment (Colored Volunteers); five mustered into the 20th USCT; and one volunteered for the integrated U.S. Navy and served as a landsman aboard the USS *Niagara*. Drawing upon extensive sources, including census and cemetery records, government pension and service records, newspapers, diaries, holograph letters, and reminiscences, the author ably constructs The Hills’ “community history even as it was being made” (ix).

Thanks to her dedicated sleuthing and the small overall number of service men she researched, Quinn overcame many of the methodological obstacles that usually confound historians engaged in micro African American history research. For example, she documents that of the thirty-six black recruits from The Hills, one was killed, three were wounded, and one was injured in combat, while five others died of illness. Six of Quinn’s subjects served as noncommissioned officers, including two who rose to the rank of sergeant (the highest rank, with only a handful of exceptions, to which black troops could aspire), and four who attained the rank of corporal. Quinn concludes that the men from The Hills joined Lincoln’s armed forces determined “to destroy slavery; to demonstrate their manhood; and to secure their civil rights, especially the vote. They also fought to restore and preserve the Union, both as an act of patriotism

and practicality, as without that victory, the other goals could not be achieved and sustained” (38). Quinn also asserts that these goals reflected not only the men’s own opinions, but also the values and goals of the community that sent them off to war. In her opinion, the men “grounded their military experiences in their kinship and community ties to The Hills, buffering the brutal indifference of boredom and battle, the ravages of illness and wounds, the deprivations of unequal pay, and the hostility of some commissioned officers and white troops” (9).

Quinn provides useful details for the units in which recruits from The Hills served. This information matters because these regiments lack modern histories. For example, the men of the 11th U.S. Colored Artillery (Heavy) trained at Dutch Island, Rhode Island, and then were posted at Plaquemine and Donaldsonville, Louisiana, in Mississippi River parishes above New Orleans. Like many African American units, it mostly performed garrison, picket, and outpost duty. In contrast, the soldiers of the 29th Connecticut were battle-tested, participating in the fierce fighting with the Army of the James in the Petersburg and Richmond campaigns, and serving in the vanguard when federal troops entered the Confederate capital on April 3, 1865. Following Appomattox, they assumed the difficult task of occupation duty around Brownsville, Texas. The men of the 20th USCT, like the 11th U.S. Colored Artillery (Heavy), experienced no combat but did face extensive fatigue labor in the swamps and Mississippi River forts outside New Orleans. Quinn relegates the service of the USS *Niagara* to one of the eighteen sidebars that add detail, color, and explanatory commentary to her narrative (see 34-35).

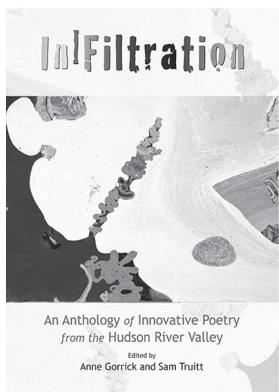
Quinn concludes her book by charting the post-Civil War history of The Hills, “a period of slow but steady decline and outmigration” that began in the 1870s. She explains that “By the early years of the twentieth century, this once-vital community of stable families and their church and school was a scattering of dwellings, a mere settlement clinging stubbornly to the rocky terrain” (111). The author also includes in her book four appendices, among them a detailed roster of all the men from The Hills who served in the war, transcriptions of five heretofore unpublished letters written by Sergeant Simeon Anderson Tierce of the 11th U.S. Colored Artillery (Heavy), and summaries of the service of Jacob Williams, 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, and Allen Banks of the 29th Connecticut.

For all of *Freedom Journey*’s value in resurrecting the history of The Hills and its men who went to war, Quinn’s publisher served her poorly in producing the book. It suffers from unfortunate repetition, poor copyediting, and inadequate proofreading. In places, Quinn also exhibits unfamiliarity with the organizational structure of USCT units, especially their relationship to state volunteer regiments.

These weaknesses notwithstanding, Quinn’s book adds to the growing historical literature on the USCT, notably by underscoring the black soldiers’ communal ties and their commitment to overthrowing slavery—what Lincoln termed the nation’s “new reckoning” of the war’s meaning. As Sergeant Tierce stated boldly in an undated letter written between March 27 and July 8, 1864, “with my epaulets on my shoulder and

my sable [saber] by my side and the sash across my shoulder... boldly [I] march into the field a rebel for to catch..." (146). He died from typhoid fever in Battalion Hospital, Plaquemine, Louisiana, on July 8, 1864.

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In|Filtration: An Anthology of Innovative Poetry from the Hudson River Valley, edited by Sam Truitt and Anne Gorrick. (Barrytown, NY: Station Hill, 2016) 400 pp.

Anthologies of “innovative poetry” are a constant on Amazon. In 2006 the University of Alabama Press published *Every Goodbye Ain't Gone: An Anthology of Innovative Poetry by African Americans*. A year later, the University of Iowa put out *Innovative Women Poets: An Anthology of Contemporary Poetry and Interviews*, and in 2008 Counterpath Press published *Lyric Postmodernisms: An Anthology of Contemporary Innovative Poetries*. From the fringe, progressive experimental writing organizations like &Now assemble anthologies every two years. For the more mainstream, there are even some BAX (best American experimental writing) series coming out from Omnidawn and Wesleyan University Press. And with even more surging and emerging insurgencies in acrobatic aesthetics out there vying to prescribe a new American poetry canon, the question naturally arises as to what *In|Filtration* can add to the avant-garde-antho conversation.

A look through the table of contents reveals a roster of rock star names in contemporary poetics—John Ashbery, Ann Lauterbach, Bernadette Mayer, Steve Hirsch, Ed Sanders, and more. Being drawn to the latter, I was glad to see the psycho-socio-political data-spangled form of “investigative verse” employed via “Homage to the Luddites: 1811-1812.” I also was pleased by Ashbery’s cryptic candor (“...She, a maid,/ unknown to terror, rising out of the ridge... The ancestors have never been influenced by/any kind of logic, not even a shriek’s”). Because that’s the thing about “innovative poetry”: you’re not supposed to always get it. If you do, it may not be “innovative.” But as Gorrick and Truitt note in their preface, the prerequisite for making this anthology is mostly defined by works that are “directly or indirectly in conversation with the national and international poetic movements directed toward atypical and exploratory uses of the medium—work that goes into its uncharted territories, where maps tatter in the explorer’s pockets and another world begins.”

The uniqueness of Claire Hero’s “I Am Made of Many Doors” typifies this characteristic:

Falling through water
—white arrows
on painted lichen
I knit a sheep house, I knit
a sheep house for my body
beautiful body
entered, entering

This ephemeral voyage into unknown terrain is both transportive and accessible. Such imagistic simplicity and visceral envisionings are borne from a mosaic of complexities that the Hudson poets seem to serve up effortlessly. Celia Bland's "Notes to Self" contributes to this thematic odyssey with moments like

The box of my lungs is
a membrane of leave-behind echo
as I slip/strip
into the planes
of escape
Wy-o-ming
Wy-o-ming.

But then we get hyphen-heretics like Andy Clausen, whose "Off Duty" describes "So-called fundamentalists two-story piled Gotham-Baghdad-by-the-Bay-Oklahoma City-Sky cross-blown health-destroying home-grown tip-dependent thespian's betting on a more in-your-face rhythm with a message. There's also R. Dinoysius Whiteur's "John Cougar's Mellon Camp," a hilarious visual poem which continues the PoMo quest to explode the status quo—as the ghosts of Pound and Olson poke at structure throughout. Even Dada/Surrealism leaves its mark, as in "Conventional Poem" by Cole Heinowitz: "The erection occurs in a space that has changed its nature/Dressed in a cloud of foam." Innovations on L=A=N=G=U=A=G=E poetics are also brandished by some new generational poets whose humor and politics are debuted alongside work from veterans of verse.

This means there's a vast biodiversity of subgenres here that's reminiscent of the actual ichthyological demographics that exist in the Hudson River itself. To make an ecosystem analogy for this anthology, we can look to William Least Heat-Moon's

memoir *River Horse* (Houghton Mifflin, 1999), in which he writes:

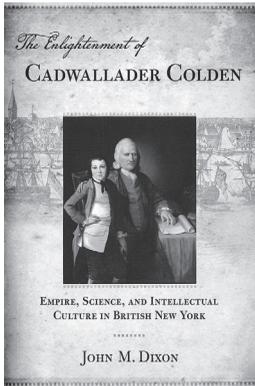
Beyond the numerous biological arguments (such as self-preservation) for clean water and abundant life in the river is the poetry in the names of Hudson fishes. How impoverished the river would be without stonerollers, horny-head chubs, comely shiners, margined madtoms, northeren hogsuckers, hogchokers, short-head redhorses, four-beard rocklings, mummichogs, naked gobies, striped searobins, slimy sculpins, and—more rarely—oyster toadfish, gags, lookdowns, four-eye butterfly fish, northern stargazers, freckled blennies, fat sleepers, and whole classes of bowfins, anchovies, needlefish, pipefish, silversides, jacks, wrasses, puffers, and flounders (left-eyed or right-eyed).

The Hudson River Valley, of course, is a sort of continental Mesopotamia. That is, from this early cradle of the country's literary civilization arises a sort of Babylonian library of towering poetic identities as diverse as the Hudson's enduring fisheries. Thus, a spectrum of voices and visions and histories is endemic to this mighty rolling river collection, which is not only "in conversation" with prior traditions (as noted above) but has the potential to shine a spotlight on a truly American bouillabaisse of cutting-edge poetics, with two major results. The first being a manifesto-like affirmation and declaration that a highly complex and sophisticated literary culture exists in what Gorrick and Truitt term "our poetic ecology." The second being the potential for this anthology to act as a model for other poetic fisheries. Because having researched both fisheries and poetic movements, I can confirm that the most successful fisheries are not just those that propagate and preserve species; they're the fisheries that teach other fisheries how to be effective in the field.

Fish aside, I also would look to what's commonly referred to as "Translation Theory" to answer the question of what *In|Filtration* adds to the avant-garde-antho conversation. In general, the study of literary translation values "bad" translations, since they focus attention on the original text and add to a dialogue in which the writer's "intention" is further examined. I'm not saying, however, that the poems in this anthology are bad; I'm saying the exact opposite—and that they add to the "echolocation" of place that the editors envision by providing a new cache of poetic innovations whose intentions are worthy of study.

What those intentions are, though, should be the subject of a deeper investigation. For now, I'm just happy that this book exists, because I can certainly see it serving as a college textbook for poetic innovations that showcases myriad, exceptional, imagination-evoking forms.

Mark Spitzer, University of Central Arkansas



***The Enlightenment of Cadwallader Colden: Empire, Science, and Intellectual Culture in British New York*, John M. Dixon. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016) 264 pp.**

In the opening pages of the *The Enlightenment of Cadwallader Colden*, John M. Dixon provides a sober assessment of the end of Colden's life. In his waning years, the statesman and philosopher saw his intellectual authority decline in the colonies. Rioters burned his effigy and property during the Stamp Act Crisis of 1765, and his country erupted into what he deemed civil war. All of this represented, in Colden's estimation, the failure of Enlightenment ideals in colonial America, ideals to which he had committed his entire political and intellectual life.

The name Cadwallader Colden is familiar to many historians of colonial America, especially historians of colonial New York. Oftentimes, Colden is portrayed as a stern, embattled, and stubborn Crown loyalist. He is also seen as a man who dabbled, quite unsuccessfully, in philosophy and science. Among philosophers and historians of science—that is, among those who know of his name—Colden is a footnote at best. He is notorious for his most important philosophical contribution, a failed and convoluted theory of active matter, as well as his criticisms of Newtonian physics. In both his politics and his philosophy, therefore, Colden appears on the wrong side of history, at least as far as the stereotype is concerned.

In his book, Dixon paints a more sympathetic portrait of Cadwallader Colden. In it, Colden emerges as a fascinating and representative figure of the intellectual ferment of the Colonial Enlightenment. This excellent book presents a balanced assessment of Colden's political and philosophical legacy. Dixon portrays Colden as a pragmatic politician and philosopher committed to the advancement of humankind, even from his remote corner of the world. In certain respects, Colden was not afraid to adopt views that stand against the grain of popular ideas in his own time. This is not only true of his criticism of Newton, but also in his work on the history of Native American tribes and his criticism of the immaterialism of George Berkeley, which was gaining popularity among important religious figures in the colonies. In general, Dixon successfully uses Colden to shine a light on intellectual culture in colonial New York, its political and social nature, and the fertile transatlantic exchange of ideas that was far from one-directional, as it is oftentimes portrayed.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part discusses Colden's early life, the second his philosophical activities, and the third his political efforts. Dixon paints a vivid portrait of the young Colden, describing him as a young man who took considerable risks in seeking his fortune in the colonies, and as someone who knew how to maintain and grow relationships for political, philosophical, and business ends.

In the second part, Dixon focuses on Colden's retirement to Coldenham, his Orange County farm sixty miles north of New York City, and examines his general philosophical interests and contributions. Dixon documents Colden's wide variety of intellectual interests, ranging from metaphysics, natural history, the history of Native American nations, and animal physiology. This intellectual eclecticism was not unusual for thinkers of his time, and it is also found in prominent European philosophers like Berkeley and Leibniz. (In addition to work in metaphysics, Berkeley wrote a treatise on the medicinal benefits of tar water, and Leibniz of course developed calculus.)

In the final section, the politician Colden emerges as a staunch defender of non-partisanship and as someone who sought to reconcile Crown rule with the proliferation of Enlightenment ideas in the colonies. This section also examines the new generation of intellectuals who assumed cultural and political power in New York. Colden was concerned about the growing independence of this new generation of intellectuals for stability and social order.

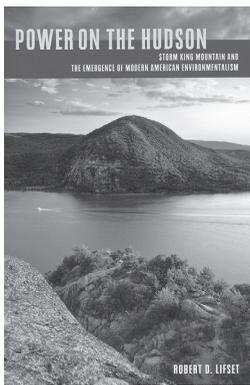
Two chapters are worth greater attention, especially to readers of this journal. In Chapter 5, Dixon brings to life Coldenham. In the following chapter, he digs deeper into Colden's philosophical contributions during his time there. The farm at Coldenham provided the growing Colden family with meat and produce, and the patriarch of the family with seclusion from the distractions of politics. But his rural life was far from a life of leisure, and this was an intellectually fertile period of Colden's life. The Enlightenment occurred in bustling urban environments, where philosophers and scientists had access to a wide range of contemporary and classical ideas. For this reason, Dixon's discussion of Colden's research at Coldenham is significant, and it raises interesting questions concerning the role of classical Epicurean and Stoic ideas, especially those concerning the attainment of tranquility, in a tumultuous world. The reality of advancing his philosophical and scientific goals still required strenuous contact with steady streams of both colonial and European researchers. Furthermore, Colden frequently corresponded with important intellectual figures, both in the colonies and Europe, about contemporary problems in philosophy and science. Dixon successfully situates Colden both in the rural Hudson Valley and the broader exchange of ideas in the eighteenth century.

This is an excellent book and a wonderful addition to Colden scholarship. It has a lot to offer to a wide range of historians, as well as historians of philosophy and science. It is refreshing to see Dixon take seriously Colden's ideas and aspirations, both philosophical and political. The author gives Colden's ideas a fair and charitable consideration, and deftly places his subject in broader intellectual discussions of the time.

Historians of philosophy are generally unfamiliar with philosophy in colonial America, as most of the focus is on the development of early modern science and Enlightenment thinkers in Europe. However, there are points in the book, sometimes quite lengthy, where Colden retreats entirely to the background, and larger historical, political, and philosophical themes take over. Also, there are some problems with

Dixon's understanding of the history of philosophy. For example, in his discussion of Colden's retreat to Coldenham, Dixon falls into broad generalizations of the influence of classical philosophy on early modern and colonial philosophers. Dixon stresses Stoic ideas over Epicurean. While Stoic ideas are perennial among philosophers, the influence of Epicurean philosophy on early modern and Enlightenment ideas is profound. Furthermore, Dixon presents George Berkeley, of whom Colden was a harsh critic, as an enemy of science. While Berkeley presents an alternative picture of the metaphysics of science, he was not an enemy of science. Berkeley held an instrumental view of science, according to which science explained the regularities and patterns of the world, but he was unwilling to take this any farther and recognize the existence of a material world with natural laws. However, these are relatively small criticisms of Dixon's important book, one that hopefully will increase attention to Colden's contributions to science, philosophy, and society.

James G. Snyder, Marist College



***Power on the Hudson: Storm King Mountain and the Emergence of Modern American Environmentalism*, Robert D. Lifset. (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014) 309pp.**

“The Hudson River Valley is beautiful,” Robert P. Lifset bluntly writes in *Power on the Hudson: Storm King Mountain and the Emergence of Modern American Environmentalism* (21). However in 1963 beauty was not enough to save Storm King Mountain from Consolidated Edison's proposed power plant. While scenic grandeur helped to protect many American landscapes in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, environmental protection in the 1960s and 1970s required quantifiable justification. Environmentalism needed to professionalize. Lifset's work follows the story of a grass-roots environmental movement that embraced science to protect the Hudson River Valley's iconic mountain in ecological, rather than romantic, terms. This shift, Lifset argues, sets apart modern environmentalism from previous iterations of the movement. Additionally, the author believes the struggle for Storm King Mountain ultimately provided the scientific and legal framework to protect many other landscapes across the nation from industrialization in the late twentieth century.

Power on the Hudson is organized in three parts. The first section outlines the fracture of local environmental organizations over the growing concern for reliable energy. Americans in the 1960s became painfully aware of the ever-increasing demand for reliable energy production. Prices continuously rose in response to increasing consumption. The need for energy had never been so high, with the nation's energy production increasing 673 percent between 1949 and 1980 to meet growing demand (195). Companies

like Consolidated Edison needed to expand operations in order to meet public need. Longstanding conservation-based organizations such as the Palisades Interstate Park Commission (PIPC) and Hudson River Conservation Society (HRCS) struggled to justify outright opposition to the construction of the proposed power plant at Storm King Mountain. Lifset argues that these organizations faltered for two reasons. First, their ties to New York State politicians hindered them from serious opposition to a project that would bring jobs and energy to a large population of the region. Second, the conservation organizations weighed the aesthetics of Storm King Mountain against the social need for the plant to supply power to New York City. After short debate, the longstanding environmental groups, PIPC and HRCS, picked energy.

Lifset's environmental movement spawns from energy production rather than the usual suspects, industrial waste and chemical hazards. In this moment, a new organization, Scenic Hudson, fought to preserve Storm King Mountain. Its argument for preservation met intense criticism—even more so after the 1965 blackout that left nearly 30 million people without power. The group quickly learned that basing its case on the aesthetic qualities of the mountain did not provide enough evidence to hinder construction of the power plant. To protect Storm King Mountain, the organization employed the language of ecology to obstruct construction. This shift from aesthetics-based to ecological-based arguments serves as a quintessential turn in the modern environmental movement. By claiming that Consolidated Edison's proposed plant would kill large populations of striped bass, Scenic Hudson harnessed firm ecological evidence to oppose the power plant.

The second section of the text explores how the rise of modern environmentalism transformed environmental policy and legislation. Relying on new science-based arguments, Consolidated Edison and environmental groups entered into uncharted legal territory. Lifset sees this as his largest historiographic intervention and frequently alludes to the debates at Storm King Mountain as a precursor to environmental law. The author uses compelling evidence to support his claim. Prior to the wave of 1970s environmental legislation, environmentalists pressed the government to take action to protect striped bass populations. Lacking legal basis, Scenic Hudson produced a series of damaging reports that argued for further studies about the proposed plant's effects on the river's spawning grounds and water quality. In response, Congress passed the Hudson River Basin Compact Act in 1969. The bill required the Department of the Interior to form a committee to review the ecological claims of both Consolidated Edison and environmental organizations. Lifset argues that this legislation acted in the same way as an early version of the National Environmental Policy Act, passed in 1972.

The activists ultimately bulwarked Storm King Mountain from Consolidated Edison's power plant through a flurry of environmental claims. The final portion of the text outlines how new federal laws, as well as establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency, provided the legal teeth to officially investigate and deter the construction of the Storm King power plant. Potential violations of the Clean Water Act

as well as the well-known threat to striped bass populations gave Scenic Hudson the upper hand to protect the iconic Hudson landscape. Scenic Hudson's efforts through the 1960s had "been able to delay the plant until the company faced a new welter of environmental laws, regulations, institutions, that finally scuttled the project" in the 1970s (184). The preservation of Storm King Mountain benefited from grass-roots fervor, legal resilience, and a national government increasingly interested in protecting American environments.

Power on the Hudson is a legal history of an environmental movement. The author's analysis is a reflection of the source material—court reports, legal documents, corporate records, and personal interviews of leading environmentalists. As a result, Lifset's environmentalists are determined and pragmatic. This perspective, while diligently researched and clearly written, overlooks the emotionality of many Hudson River Valley residents. When the author offers glimpses of the visceral reactions some individuals held towards Consolidated Edison's proposed plant, readers find a different type of environmental movement. At the group's early meetings, members of the Hudson River Fisherman's Association (HRFA) proposed using floating rafts of dynamite to destroy Consolidated Edison piers. As if pulled from Edward Abbey's *Monkey Wrench Gang*, these vignettes demonstrate the cultural importance area residents placed on Storm King Mountain and the Hudson River Valley landscape. A cultural perspective also may help to explain the final agreement, or Hudson River Peace Treaty, signed in 1980 between Consolidated Edison and several environmental organizations. The mutual agreement preserved Storm King Mountain while permitting Consolidated Edison to avoid strict enforcement of the Clean Water Act at its remaining power plants—an agreement the EPA begrudgingly accepted. For those hoping to protect Storm King Mountain, the resolution marked the end of a long legal battle. Lifset describes this compromise as a legal landmark and demonstrative of successful environmental mediation. The resolution protected the scenic mountain, but what can be said of the overall Hudson River watershed? Did the members of Scenic Hudson have a genuine concern for the ecology of the Hudson River? Or did the environmentalists use the striped bass to provide legal rhetoric to protect their beautiful Storm King Mountain? These are questions left unexplored in a monograph more focused on the legal implications of this movement than the cultural forces at play.

Lifset's work is an important contribution to the history of the modern environmental movement. As a result, *Power on the Hudson* will appeal to a wide range of specialists. Those interested in environmental history, legal history, and New York State history will find value in the text. And while the subject matter may seem too narrow to the casual reader, Lifset effectively weaves legal arguments and environmental issues into an approachable and broad narrative—an impressive accomplishment considering the number of environmental groups, legal briefs, and corporate records the author navigated throughout the project. Additionally, Lifset successfully demonstrates the importance energy production and consumption played in shaping the modern environmental

movement. Ultimately, *Power on the Hudson* will be a book future historians must consider when exploring the many shades of American environmentalism.

Camden Burd, University of Rochester

New & Noteworthy Books



American Gothic Art and Architecture in the Age of Romantic Literature

Kerry Dean Carso

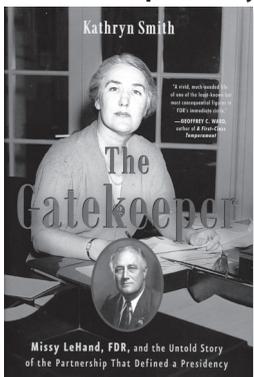
GOthic LITERARY STUDIES

American Gothic Art and Architecture in the Age of Romantic Literature

By Kerry Dean Carso (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014) 256 pp. \$160.00 (hardcover) <http://www.uwp.co.uk>

The tendency for literature to influence art and architecture has been observed throughout different periods of history. This study focuses specifically on how Gothic literature influenced American architecture from the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century. Using architectural examples primarily found in the Hudson River Valley from such key figures as Alexander Jackson Davis, Washington Irving, and Thomas Cole, Carso explores the impact that this primarily British genre of writing had on establishing the national identity of architecture in America. Extensively sourced, the text provides new and significant insight on the relationship between these concepts during the United States' infancy.

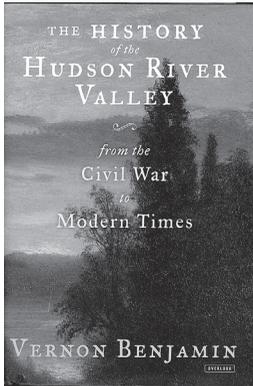
The Gatekeeper: Missy LeHand, FDR, and



the Untold Story of the Partnership That Defined the Presidency

By Kathryn Smith (New York, NY: Touchstone; an imprint of Simon and Schuster, 2016) 341 pp. \$28.00 (hardcover) www.simonandschusterpublishing.com/touchstone

As Franklin Roosevelt's private secretary for over two decades, Missy LeHand played a critical role in establishing his legacy. Through his political ascension from gubernatorial candidate to governor to President, LeHand served as FDR's confidante, advisor, and de facto chief of staff, enjoying a level of influence unprecedented at that time, and even today. Relying on an extensive array of books, interviews, and other archival materials, Kathryn Smith sheds new light on this oft-overlooked contributor to FDR's success and chronicles her importance during a key period in American history.

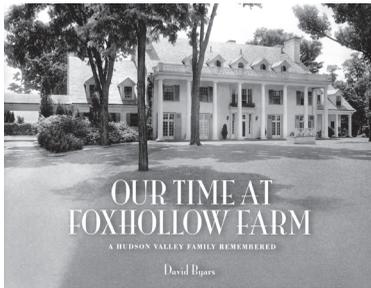


The History of the Hudson River Valley: From the Civil War to Modern Times

By Vernon Benjamin (New York, NY: The Overlook Press, 2016) 624 pp. \$45.00 (hardcover) www.overlookpress.com

Picking up where Benjamin's previous release, *The History of the Hudson River Valley: from Wilderness to the Civil War*, left off, this volume covers the region's last 150 years. Utilizing a robust collection of primary and secondary sources, Benjamin adds great depth to the understanding of how the region was impacted by national trends and events, as well as how much national and international history took root locally. Over fifty color and black and white images as

well as an extensive index and list of sources give context to the challenge of condensing such rich history, a feat Benjamin achieves nobly.



Our Time at Foxhollow Farm: A Hudson Valley Family Remembered

By David Byars (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2016) 298 pp. \$50.00 (hardcover) www.sunypress.edu

For families of certain means, the early twentieth century provided a unique opportunity for travel, recreation, and socialization. *Our Time at Foxhollow Farm* is the story of how one such family, the Dows of Rhinebeck, enjoyed these

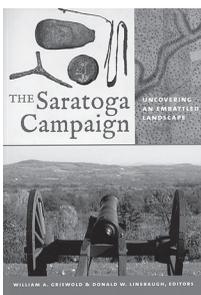
pursuits. This collection of hundreds of photographs depicts the Dows in a multitude of valley locations, as well as destinations across the globe. Progressing chronologically over a span of thirty years, Byars provides great insight into the family's lifestyle, while also capturing the character of each individual.



Robert Winthrop Chanler: Discovering the Fantastic

Edited by Gina Wouters and Andrea Gollin (New York, NY: The Monacelli Press, 2016) 256 pp. \$50.00 (hardcover) www.monacellipress.com

Robert Winthrop Chanler's approach to art was as eclectic as his life. From his Astor family lineage to his status among the social elite, he achieved great success and acclaim during his lifetime. However, since his death in 1930 he has been all but forgotten. *Discovering the Fantastic* captures Chanler's artistry and bohemian lifestyle through an insightful narrative and an abundance of color photographs of his haunting works. Published in conjunction with Vizcaya Museum and Gardens, the book offers a new, much-needed appreciation of this captivating artist with Hudson River Valley origins.

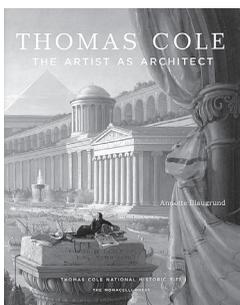


The Saratoga Campaign: Uncovering an Embattled Landscape

Edited By William A. Griswold and Donald W. Linebaugh (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2016)
268 pp. \$27.95 (softcover) www.upne.com



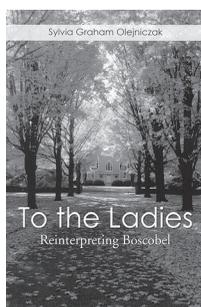
The Battles of Saratoga on September 19 and October 7, 1777, are often recognized as the “turning point of the American Revolution,” with British General John Burgoyne surrendering his troops to American General Horatio Gates. *The Saratoga Campaign* utilizes archaeological research and historical reconstruction to provide new insight on how the armies’ fortifications were designed and built, as well as what tactics allowed for an American victory. Relying on maps, photographs, and digital renderings, the diverse group of contributors interprets the physical attributes of the battles in a way that was previously impossible.



Thomas Cole: The Artist as Architect

By Annette Blaugrund (New York, NY: The Monacelli Press, 2016) 120 pp. \$30.00 (hardcover) www.monacellipress.com

The crucial role that Thomas Cole played in the development and publicizing of the Hudson River School of painting has been well-documented. In *The Artist as Architect*, Cole’s self-identification as an architect during his most prolific painting period is evaluated for the first time, focusing an architectural lens on some of his best-known works. Its publication coinciding with the reconstruction of Cole’s “New Studio” on the grounds of his Cedar Grove estate in Catskill, this book uses color images of the artist’s paintings as well as his architectural designs and sketches to find a balance between his two pursuits.



To the Ladies: Reinterpreting Boscobel

By Sylvia Graham Olejniczak (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris, LLC, 2014)
140 pp. \$29.99 (hardcover) www.xlibris.com

The history of the construction, deterioration, relocation, and interpretation of Boscobel, an early nineteenth-century Federal-style mansion today located in Garrison, is unique. *To the Ladies* contributes to that history by shedding new and much-deserved light on the home’s original owner and occupant, Elizabeth Dyckman, who oversaw and supervised Boscobel’s construction.

While most existing literature and interpretation focuses primarily on Elizabeth’s husband, States Dyckman, who died prior to Boscobel’s completion, Olejniczak brings Elizabeth to the forefront while simultaneously exploring the importance of place, architecture, and interior design.

Andrew Villani, Marist College

from the
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KEY TO THE
NORTHERN COUNTRY



THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY
IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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

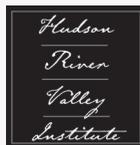
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