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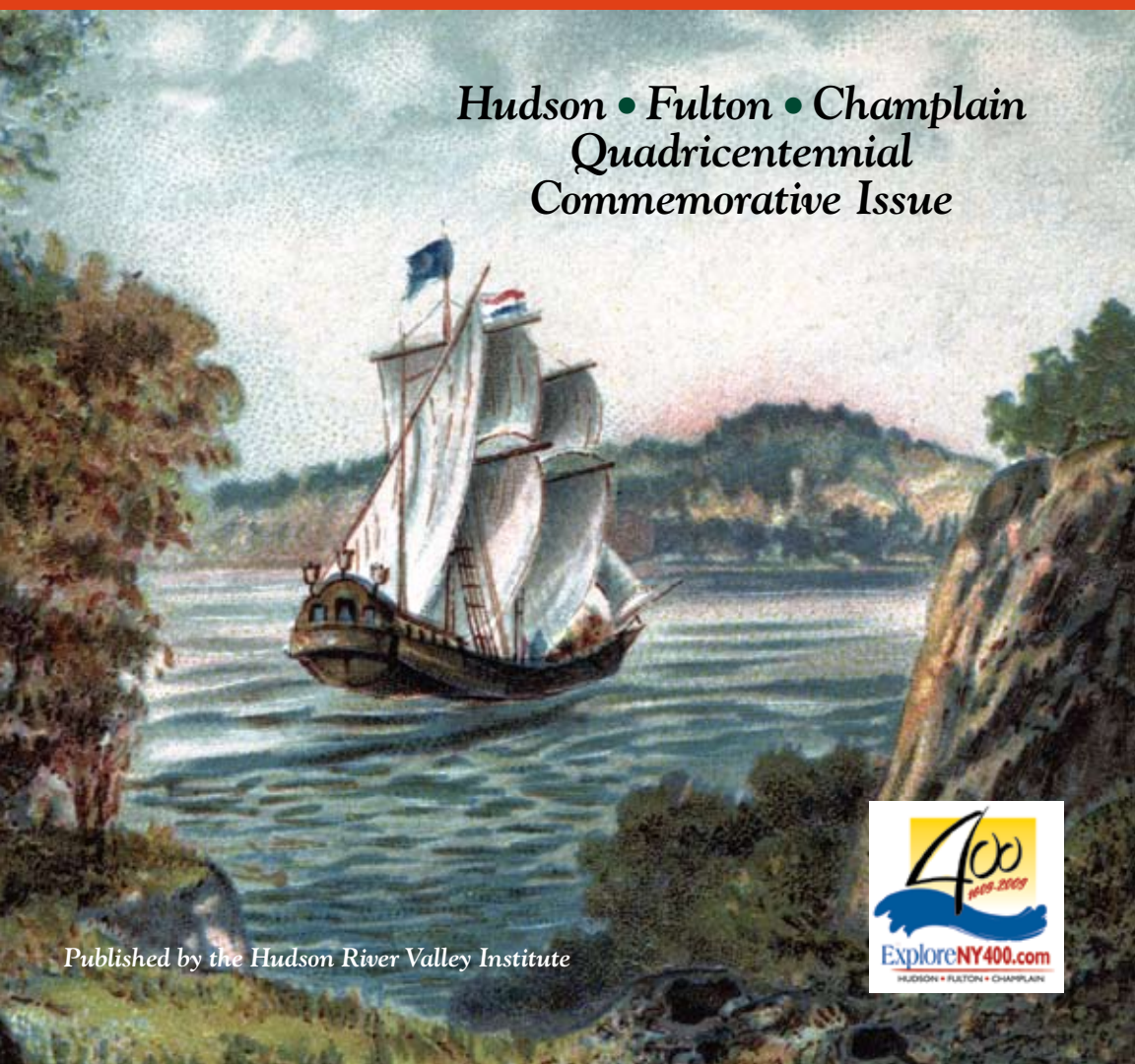
THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies



Hudson • Fulton • Champlain Quadricentennial Commemorative Issue

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THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST

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From the Publisher

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

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

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

Thomas S. Wermuth

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Capitol Building, Room 254
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Call for Essays

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

Submission of Essays and Other Materials

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

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

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

Contributors

Kenneth Pearl received his Ph.D. in history from the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. He is an Associate Professor at Queensborough Community College, a branch of the City University of New York.

Charles Gehring, Director of the New Netherland Project in Albany, has spent thirty years translating seventeenth-century documents from the Dutch colonial period. He has translated and written numerous guides to historic manuscript collections, and articles on the Dutch and Native Americans in New Netherland. He received gold medals from the Saint Nicholas and Holland Societies of New York as well as the New Netherlands Society of Philadelphia.

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

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

Captain William T "Chip" Reynolds is director of the New Netherland Museum. He has researched, written and lectured on Henry Hudson and his explorations from his unique perspective as captain of the replica ship *Half Moon*.

Joyce D. Goodfriend teaches 17th and 18th century America, American immigration and ethnic groups, and New England in American historical memory at the University of Denver. She is the author of *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* and co-authored *Going Dutch: The Dutch Presence in America 1609-2009*.

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

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THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

Vol. 25, No. 2, Spring 2009

Regional History Forum

Regional Writing

Book Reviews

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

Introduction to the Quadricentennial Commemorative Edition

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tara Sullivan
Sarah Olson

UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY MUSEUM

"View of the Steamboat Passing the Highlands"

The Triumph of "Fulton's Folly"

Cynthia Owen Philip

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

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

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

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

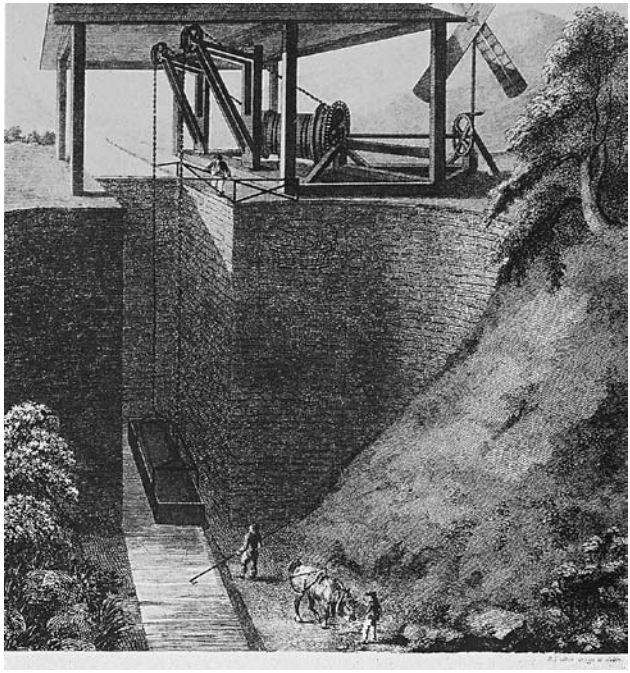


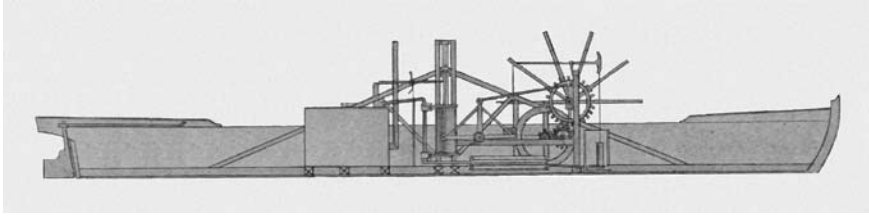
Illustration from Fulton's *A Treatise on the Improvement of Canal Navigation Exhibiting the Numerous Advantages to be Derived from Small Canals and Boats of Two to Five Feet Wide, Containing from Two to Five Tons Burthen with a Description of the Machinery for facilitating Conveyance by Water through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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

THE STEAM-BOAT.

For the Information of the Public.

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

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

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

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

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

Prices of passage—from New-York,

To West Point,	$ 3
Newburgh,	3 25
Poughkeepsie,	4
Esopus,	4 25
Redhook,	4 50
Hudson,	5
Albany,	7

From Albany,

To Hudson,	2
Redhook,	3
Esopus,	3 50
Poughkepsie,	4
Newburgh and West Point,	4 50
New-York,	7

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Passengers will breakfast before they come on board; dinner will be served up exactly at 2 o'clock; tea, with meats, which is also supper, at 8 in the evening; and breakfast at 9 in the morning: no one has a claim on the steward for victuals at any other hour.

REGULATIONS,

FOR THE NORTH RIVER STEAM-BOAT.

The rules which are made for order and neatness in the boat, are not to be abused. Judgement shall be according to the letter of the law. Gentlemen wishing well to so public and useful an establishment, will see the propriety of strict justice, and the impropriety of the least imposition on the purse or feelings of any individual.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Steamboat Handbill c. 1812

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

Miniature on ivory portrait of Robert Fulton, 1800-1814

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

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

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

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

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

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

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