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From the Editors

Our spring 2020 issue spans Hudson River Valley history from the American Revolution through the First World War—and even a bit beyond. In his article "Fluid Loyalism at the Forge: The Sterling Ironworks and The American Revolution," Charles Dewey challenges long-held beliefs about what it meant to be a "patriot" or "loyalist" in the contested territories of the lower Hudson Valley. The Blooming Grove church stands today much as it did when rebuilt in 1823 on a 1759 foundation in that same contested region. In "The Veterans' Church: A History of Community in the Blooming Grove Church," Michael Matsler uses this structure to illustrate the surrounding settlement's transition from the Colonial to the Revolutionary and into the modern era.

On a lighter note, in "Thomas Pym Cope and Charles Brockden Brown: Diarists on the Hudson," James Ryan explores the implications of musings jotted down by two friends journeying up the Hudson River together in 1801, as the Age of Reason gave way to Romanticism here and around the world. Alex Prizgintas celebrates Orange County's place in the development of a national railroad system and the birth of America's dairy industry in "When Steel Rails, Glass Bottles, and Fresh Cream Ruled the Country: Orange County's Role in the Birth of Transporting and Marketing Milk." Finally, in "FDR's First Political Mentor," Laurence Hauptman introduces readers to publisher, orator, and one-term Congressman Richard E. Connell. Born in Poughkeepsie to immigrant parents—truly a self-made man—Connell helped to shape the political future of a young and inexperienced Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

As always, the issue is rounded out with book reviews and a listing of New and Noteworthy titles about our region.

***On the cover: The Hudson Highlands,* Currier & Ives, c. 1871. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division https://www.loc.gov/resource/pga.09132/**

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

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Fluid Loyalism at the Forge: The Sterling Ironworks and The American Revolution

Charles Dewey

Ruins of Sterling Iron Works furnace, photograph by Jeremy Blakeslee, used under the Creative Commons Attribution Non-Commercial License

Historians of the American Revolution have long assumed Loyalists to be social and political conservatives, unwilling to break ties with Britain. Recent scholarship has altered this perception. Scholars such as Judith Van Buskirk, Donald Johnson, and Jane Errington argue a theory of "Fluid Loyalism" that contests the rigid conventional approach. Fluid Loyalism emphasizes American pragmatism, arguing that the label "Tory," stressing

political ideology, has oversimplified Loyalists. Not all Loyalists were Tories, and in fact, many apparent Loyalists were not dedicated to the crown. For some, Loyalism provided security. Others used it to amass wealth under British military occupation. If it became advantageous to switch allegiance, colonists sometimes converted to the opposing side. A few enterprising Americans used allegiance to disguise their business interests, declaring support for one side while secretly profiting from the other.[1]

Judith Van Buskirk's *Generous Enemies: Patriots and Loyalists in Revolutionary New York* is one of the first scholarly works in the twenty-first century to describe allegiances on a personal level. Van Buskirk argues that declaring allegiance was a creative method for colonists to keep contact with family members across the boundaries created by war.[2] In *Unnatural Rebellion: Loyalists in New York City during the Revolution,* Ruma Chopra disagrees. She concludes that the arrival of the British Army in New York City cemented the allegiances of the city leaders whose positions of power depended on ideological allegiance.[3] In the absence of one or the other army, however, Chopra and Van Buskirk concur that the threat of violence and fear for personal safety played a more significant role than ideology in determining allegiance.[4] Chopra and Van Buskirk's investigations of Loyalism show that the more powerful men in the Revolution had the luxury of making ideological choices, while less-influential colonists were forced into pragmatic means of survival.

More recently, Christopher Minty and Donald Johnson reinforce the pragmatic and calculated portrayal of Loyalism. In "Ambiguous Allegiances: Urban Loyalties during the American Revolution," Johnson writes, "For most people living in British North America, allegiances during the Revolutionary War were fluid, contingent, and often contradictory," and "Americans living under occupation negotiated their loyalties in relation to changing, uncertain circumstances." Essentially, Johnson argues that ambiguity of loyalty was a deliberate strategy for survival.[5] Minty's "'Of One Hart and One Mind': Local Institutions and Allegiance during the American Revolution" follows this theme by providing a microhistory of Brookhaven, Long Island. Minty "focuses on how and why colonists' allegiances changed because of wartime circumstances, analyzing the behavior of the township's committee and the responses of its inhabitants to evolving wartime circumstances."[6]

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1 Christopher F. Minty, "Of One Hart and One Mind," *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal,* vol. 15, no. 1, (Winter 2017): 99–132; Donald F. Johnson, "Ambiguous Allegiances: Urban Loyalties during the American Revolution," *Journal Of American History,* vol. 104, no. 3 (December 2017): 610–631; Jane Errington, "Loyalists and Loyalism in the American Revolution and Beyond," *Acadiensis,* vol. 41, no. 2 (2012): 164–73.

2 Judith L. Van Buskirk, *Generous Enemies: Patriots and Loyalists in Revolutionary New York*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 3.

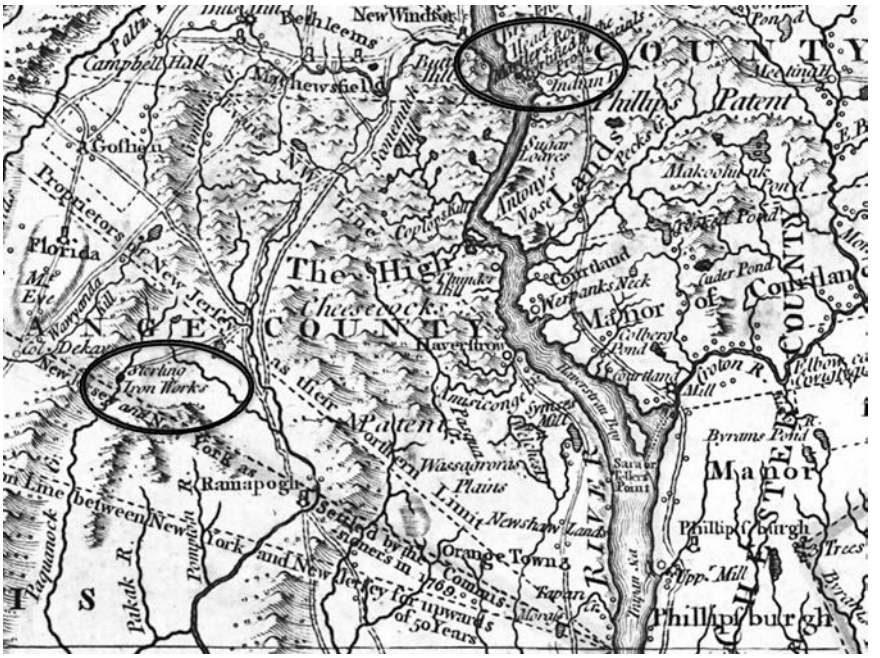
3 Ruma Chopra, *Unnatural Rebellion: Loyalists in New York City During the Revolution*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 1.

4 Ruma Chopra, *Choosing Sides: Loyalists in Revolutionary America,* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013), 3.

5 Johnson, "Ambiguous Allegiances," 610.

6 Minty, "Of One Hart and Mind," 104.

The following microhistory of New York's Sterling Ironworks before and during the Revolution expands this perception of American Loyalism. The ironworks' proprietors made deliberate accommodations in response to the British occupation of New York, while still contributing to the American war effort. The ambiguous loyalties of Sterling ironmasters facilitated the production of essential iron goods such as cannons, anchors, and most importantly the West Point chain.



Detail, with rings drawn around The Sterling Iron Works and the location of Fortress West Point, from *The Provinces of New York and New Jersey; with Part of Pensilvania, and the Province of Quebec*, Robert Sayer & John Bennett, London, 1775. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division

I—Geography

The Sterling Ironworks lay deep in the Ramapo Mountains in Orange County, New York. (Until a commission in 1769 corrected the mistake, many believed its location to be in Bergen County, New Jersey.[7]) Situated near the towns of Warwick and Goshen, the ironworks was forty miles north of New York City and twenty miles west of the Hudson River. The Ringwood River powered Sterling's trip hammer and bellows, and a dense forest provided trees for making charcoal.[8]

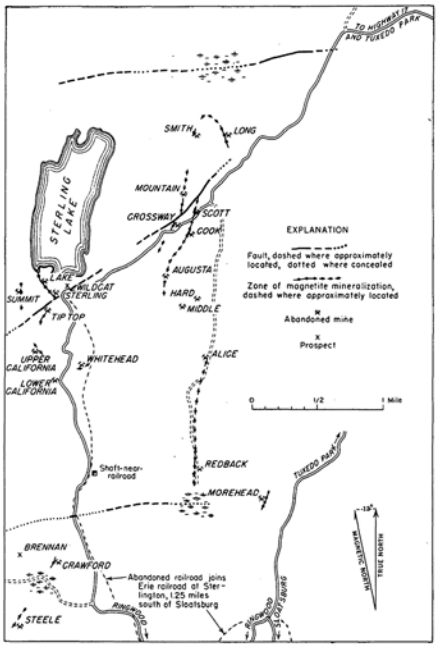
Most importantly, the Sterling Ironworks' high quality of iron ore distinguished it among its regional rivals. Iron deposits were abundant throughout the Ramapo Mountains, but they varied in volume and quality. Beginning in 1761, Sterling Ironworks' Long Mine

7 James M. Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks of the Ramapos: The Story of the Forges, Furnaces, and Mines of the New Jersey-New York Border Area*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1966), 178.

8 Ibid., 177–78.

produced exceptional ore.[9] A modern mineralogist noted that the Long Mine was the only one of its kind to utilize systematic mining in the county, a practice that extracted high-grade iron ore in one of the most efficient manners possible.[10] The Long Mine and the nearby Sterling Mine supplied the ironworks for decades, cementing the Sterling Ironworks' reputation as the most prolific producer of high quality iron in the Ramapo Mountains.[11]

Producing quality iron was only half the battle for an expanding ironworks. With a limited market in the rural mountains, products needed to be transported to distant locations. No direct roads spanned the forty miles between the ironworks and New York City. In 1760, New York's government approved Sterling Ironworks' petition to construct a road from the forge to Haverstraw, on the Hudson River. In good weather, the road boosted other local businesses as well, but hilly grades and harsh winters continued to frustrate the ironmasters of the Ramapos for years to come.[12]



Index map of the Sterling Lake district, Orange County, N. Y. *Magnetite Deposits of the Sterling Lake, N.Y. – Ringwood, N.J. Area*, Preston E. Hotz, Contributions to Economic Geology, 1952; Geological Survey Bulletin 982–F, United States Department of the Interior

II—Life at the Ironworks

The Sterling Ironworks was a vibrant, successful business for many years before the Revolution. The venture prospered by fulfilling contracts both locally and in New York City. Its most lucrative products were pig and bar iron. These products, however, were only of use to local businessmen if they were also part of the iron industry. Most of the pig and bar iron was transported to downriver markets.[13]

The Sterling Ironworks claimed to sell the finest quality anchors for the cheapest price in the colonies. Sterling repeatedly advertised the sale of its anchors in both New York and New England newspapers. One 1760 advertisement in *The New-York Gazette* boasted that the ironworks could produce anchors under 1,000 pounds upon short notice.[14] Its prolific production and marketing of anchors helped to establish its reputation.

The American colonies were not the only buyers of Sterling's iron. Historian Lincoln Diamant claims the ironworks began exporting "substantial amounts of iron" to Great

9 Ibid., 280.
10 Ibid., 280–81.
11 Ibid., 286–287.
12 Ibid., 181.
13 *New-York Mercury* (New York), 19 November 1759, 4.
14 *New York Gazette* (New York), 24 November 1760, 4.

Britain in 1768.[15] The Iron Act of 1750 placed restrictions on colonial iron manufacture and internal sales in an effort to increase the export of raw iron to Great Britain and the import of finished goods back to the colonies.[16] Colonists mostly ignored British attempts at regulation.[17] The Sterling Ironworks appeared to cooperate with the legislation because it represented a prime profit-making opportunity. As a result, its reputation spread even further.

Not at all limited to pig and bar iron and anchors, Sterling also advertised tires for "Chair, Waggon, and Ox and Horse Cart," which indicated its contribution to the expanding transportation industry.[18] Most of these products required a high level of skill to create, and further showcased Sterling's wide array of productive capabilities.

Producing these goods demanded numbers of both skilled and unskilled workers. A 1759 advertisement called for "Wood-cutters, Colliers, Refiners of Pig and Drawers of Bar Iron. Also a Person well recommended for driving a four Horse Stage, between said Works and the Landing."[19] A 1762 advertisement added that Sterling needed "founders, miners, mineburners, pounders and furnace fillers, banksmen and stocktakers," and also sought "common labourers" for anything not covered by these specific jobs.[20]

In 1776, just three months before the Americans declared independence from Britain, a new advertisement appeared in a New York newspaper. The ironworks was now in the process of creating a new forge for the production of steel. Likely in an effort to achieve optimal results with its new forge, the advertisement offered "Great encouragement" for "Workmen who understand manufacturing pig-metal into steel, in the German way."[21] The German method described was a cheap and advanced process to create steel by smelting iron carbonate.[22] Use of this method shows just how advanced the ironworks' operating process was compared to its peers.

III—Ownership

There are many difficulties in tracking ownership of the Sterling Ironworks. Owners, both legitimate and supposed, created a complex system of leases, land agreements, deeds, titles, and even partnerships—most of which were made without the knowledge of their contemporaries or were simply ignored. Three families owned most of the land at Sterling during the ironworks' early years: the Smiths, the Burlings, and the Nobles. By 1768, William

15 Lincoln Diamant, *Chaining the Hudson: The Fight for the River in the American Revolution*, (New York, NY: Carol Pub. Group, 1989), 143.

16 Arthur C. Bining, *British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933), 31.

17 Ibid., 3.

18 *New York Mercury*, 14 July 1760, 4.

19 *New York Mercury*, 19 November 1759, 4.

20 *New York Mercury*, 25 January 1762, 2.

21 *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, 8 April 1776, 4.

22 Frederick Overman, *The Manufacture of Steel: Containing the Practices and Principles of Working and Making Steel*, (Philadelphia, PA: Henry Carey Baird and Co., 1882), 113.

Hawxhurst controlled most of the property. By the time of the American Revolution, Peter Townsend directed operations at the ironworks.

Edward Burling received a deed for lands at the Sterling Ironworks in the 1740s. In turn, he willed one-eighth of the property to his brother, Samuel Burling. In 1750, a survey conducted for another family member, James Burling, shows that the family had added 130 acres to the property before the time of the survey. Shortly after James Burling died in 1759, his family advertised the sale of his share in a New York City newspaper, offering part ownership of "a dwelling house, coal-house and about 600 acres of land." Also to be sold were seven-eighths of the "New-Forge" and 100 acres of land. The men to contact if interested in purchasing the property were John Burling in New York City and Samuel Burling in Burlington, New Jersey.[23]

The Nobles began forging anchors at Sterling in the early 1750s.[24] They had obtained a lease from John Burling for the "New Forge" at Sterling and nearby lands on the condition that they return the land to the Burling family when John's nephew, Samuel Burling, turned twenty years old in 1767. Abel Noble inherited his partial share of the property from his father, William Noble, in 1759.

William Hawxhurst entered the ironworking business in 1757 by forming a partnership with the Noble family at Sterling and obtaining a lease from William Smith, patriarch of a powerful New York family. Smith leased lands at Sterling to Hawxhurst until 1767. Under the contract for the lease, Smith would receive a percentage of the sale of every ton of pig iron.[25] In 1762, Noble signed over his half of a lease obtained from John Burling to Hawxhurst.[26] It stands to reason that Hawxhurst's agreement with Noble would follow the same contractual obligations; this lease also was set to expire in 1767.

Before moving to Orange County to become an ironmaster, Hawxhurst was a successful businessman in New York City. His advertisements appeared in the *New-York Mercury* beginning in 1756, listing "beef, pork, and mackerel by the barrel, bread flour, rum, sugar, and molasses by the hogshead."[27] Hawxhurst's mercantile ventures suffered due to his ironworking investment.[28] By 1759, he began listing "Pig and Bar Iron" in addition to his usual promotions.[29] By 1760, Hawxhurst announced that he would solely operate the works and that anyone seeking employment should engage him in New York City.[30]

In 1767, a new man became involved with the ironworks—Peter Townsend. He belonged to a Quaker family that settled on Long Island, at Raynham Hall in Oyster Bay. Not

23 Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks*, 180.

24 Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks*, 179.

25 Lease for Sterling Lands, 1757, Box 3, Folder 38, Sterling Iron and Railway Company Records, New York State Library, Albany, New York.

26 Jane Thompson-Stahr, *The Burling Books: Ancestors and Descendants of Edward and Grace Burling, Quakers (1600–2000)*, (Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press, 2001), 223.

27 *New York Mercury*, 29 November 1756, 3.

28 *New York Mercury*, 8 January 1760, 4.

29 *New York Mercury*, 19 November 1759, 4.

30 *New York Gazette*, 24 November 1760, 4.

long after he moved away from there, Townsend married Hannah Hawxhurst, William's daughter.[31]

According to recent historical accounts, Townsend and Abel Noble became partners on 11 February 1768.[32] However, this date does not accurately establish when Townsend began his ironworking career. In fact, Townsend began earlier than he is credited in any historical record. In 1767, Hawxhurst entrusted Townsend with all his lands and property at the Sterling Ironworks.[33] With the absence of any other transaction between the major families during this era, the agreement made between Hawxhurst and Townsend appears to have been for the eighteen-year lease originally granted by William Smith to Hawxhurst in 1757. Therefore Townsend, not Hawxhurst, would have to return the lease to Smith after the eighteen-year period.

Even with this lease, Townsend sought to expand the Sterling Ironworks. In 1768, William Smith leased to Townsend "All of the Forge and House being that part of the Sterling Iron Works Excepted out of a Lease from the said William Smith to William Hawxhurst." The contract stipulated that at the end of eight years, in 1776, the property would be returned to Smith.[34]

Townsend's acquisition of these leases gave him near-complete control of the Sterling Ironworks. He soon established a network to help the business grow. Together with Noble, once again involved with ironworking, Townsend formed "Noble, Townsend, and Co." Hawxhurst's reputation as a merchant made him a valuable agent who could sell Sterling iron products in New York City. Their newspaper advertisements advised prospective buyers to contact Hawxhurst for anchors "which used to be along side [sic] the bridge at Burling's slip."[35] (The Burling's Slip in Manhattan was owned by the same Burling family that leased property at Sterling to Hawxhurst.[36]) This advertisement establishes the fact that Hawxhurst conducted business near Burling-owned property miles downriver from the Sterling Ironworks.

As the terms of the original leases were coming due, the Burling and Smith families wanted their share of the flourishing ironworks. John William Smith and Samuel Burling published two articles in the *New York Journal* in 1775 that offered "Three Fourths of the Sterling Furnace with Improvements thereon . . . now in the possession of Peter Townsend." They also listed the forge near the furnace in Abel Noble's possession.[37] Both men likely

31 Macgrane Coxe, *The Sterling Furnace and the West Point Chain: A Historical Address Delivered at Sterling Lake, on Saturday, June 23, 1906, on the Occasion of the Unveiling of a Tablet at That Place by the Daughters of the Revolution of the State of New York*, (Forgotten Books, 2016), 53.

32 Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks*, 182.

33 Deed for Sterling Lands, 21 September 1767, Box 2, Folder 24, Sterling Iron and Railway Company Records, New York State Library, Albany, New York. No previous scholarship has included this transaction as proof of Townsend's involvement at Sterling.

34 Lease For House And Forge, 18 March 1768, Box 3, Folder 42, Sterling Iron and Railway Company Records, New York State Library, Albany, New York.

35 *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, 22 February 1773, 1.

36 Thompson-Stahr, *The Burling Books*, 80.

37 *New York Journal*, 2 March 1775, 2.

believed they owned the property through family inheritance. Townsend published his own advertisement to discourage any interested buyers, writing that he could not give up possession of what was rightfully his property.[38] James Ransom argues that Townsend prevailed because he advertised in the *New York Journal* eight months later for workers to construct "a forge with six fires to be built near Sterling."[39] This reasoning implies that a settlement must have been made prior to construction, though no evidence of this exists.

Townsend is the only name that appears in connection with the ironworks after March 1775 despite land records that indicate that the Smith and Burling families should have received their leases back in 1767, 1775, and 1776. Years later, on 18 January 1790, Thomas Smith (a sibling of John William), filed a caveat against the Townsend family for "lands located by them in the county of Orange, east of the patent of Waywayanda in the Highlands, and adjoining the Jersey line."[40] The caveat made it clear that the Smith family felt they owned this highly valued property. Even if the two families reached a temporary settlement in 1775, it did not permanently resolve the dispute.

IV—Political Allegiances

Two factions, the Whigs and the Tories, dominated eighteenth-century politics in New York. American Whigs evolved from the liberal British Whig Party. They championed republican ideals and mostly favored independence from Great Britain. Tories were far more conservative and monarchist. Many Tories were loyal to Great Britain because they feared the potential loss of trade between the two. They remained loyal to preserve the status quo. These political sympathies in New York were split between aristocratic families, many of which were comprised of lawyers, merchants, and government officials. [41]

British attempts to regulate the colonial iron industry, such as the Iron Act of 1750, pushed ironmasters toward Whig views. Though colonial ironmasters appeared to ignore the restrictions, the act sought to limit production and tried to dictate to whom they could sell iron. Despite no real effect on operations, colonists added iron regulation to their ever-growing list of concerns with British rule.[42]

Historian John Bezís-Selfa cites the ironmasters' dismay with British legislation as a reason why many colonial ironmasters supported independence. Five ironmasters signed the Declaration of Independence and numerous others served as military leaders in both the Continental Army and local militias.[43] In 1774, Ramapo ironmaster Robert Erskine wrote that "the Oliverian spirit in New England diffuses across the entire continent." (He was referring to Oliver Cromwell, who helped overthrow the monarchy in England

38 Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks*, 184–5.

39 Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks*, 185.

40 "18 January 1790 Caveat of Thomas Smith," *Calendar of N.Y. Colonial Manuscripts: Indorsed Land Papers* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Co., 1864).

41 Charles H. Levermore, "The Whigs of Colonial New York," *The American Historical Review* vol. 1, no. 2 (1896), 238–9.

42 Bining, *British Regulation of the Colonial Iron Industry*, 3.

43 John Bezís-Selfa, *Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers, and the Industrious Revolution*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004), 22.

over a century before.) The diffusion of this "Oliverian spirit" meant that colonists had grown weary with Britain's policies, and had increased their calls for revolution. Erskine continued in another letter, "God in his providence seems to have determined the fate of the British Empire, which is likely to be rent in pieces."[44]

Sterling's ironmasters appeared ambivalent despite the revolutionary fervor throughout the iron industry. Members of the Smith, Burling, Hawxhurst, and Townsend families each demonstrated Fluid Loyalism, according to their circumstances. Much of the ironworks' early history involves the Smith family, whose history in colonial New York extends much further. Its patriarch, and an early owner of the Sterling Ironworks, was William Smith, Sr., a prominent lawyer and chief justice of the colony in the early eighteenth century. He was known for having Whig sympathies similar to other New York lawyers like James Alexander and William Livingston.[45]

The Smith Family

William Smith, Jr., replaced his father as chief justice of New York in 1767.[46] Unlike his father, he was quite active in colonial politics. Initially, neither Loyalists nor Revolutionaries could pinpoint his true sympathies. Historian Hilda Neatby ascribes his leanings as "imperialist in the aristocratic tradition of Burke," claiming that he was determined to exemplify "not the romantic virtue of dying for one's country," but the practical Whig value of living and profiting through hard work.[47] William Smith, Jr., was a vocal opponent of the 1765 Stamp Act, which enhanced his rapport with local revolutionaries. However, once the Revolution began, he could not remain impartial. He declared his loyalty to Britain two years later.[48]

Joshua Hett Smith, the younger brother of William Smith, Jr., aided the escape of General Benedict Arnold following his failed plot to hand West Point over to the British. It has long been disputed whether Smith was fooled or complicit in aiding Arnold and British Major John André. Smith's political opinions resembled those of his father and brother, trending Whig before the war but opposed to outright separation with Britain. Before the Battle of Long Island in 1776, Joshua and his family moved to Belmont (near Haverstraw, twenty miles from the Sterling Ironworks) and resided on his family's land.[49] Throughout Smith's time at Belmont, Continental Army officers regularly visited his home, so Arnold's assumption of command at West Point put him in regular contact with

44 Joseph F. Tuttle, "The Early History of Morris County, NJ," In *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, vol. 2, 2nd, 870.

45 Charles H. Levermore, "The Whigs of Colonial New York," *The American Historical Review,* vol. 1, no. 2 (1896), 241.

46 Chopra, *Unnatural Rebellion*, 31.

47 Hilda Neatby, "Chief Justice William Smith: an Eighteenth Century Whig Imperialist," *The Canadian Historical Review,* vol. 28, no. 2 (1947), 44.

48 Maturin L. Delafield, "William Smith, Judge of the Supreme Court of the Province of New York," *Magazine of American History* (1881), 430.

49 Ibid., 279.

Smith.[50] Smith facilitated the meeting between Arnold and André, whom Smith knew only as Mr. Anderson, and was on the boat that took André from the *HMS Vulture* to shore. Historian James Cronin argues that it is impossible to discern whether Smith was aware of the conspiracy at this point, but that he undoubtedly knew André was a British officer.[51] For his role in Arnold's defection, Smith was tried and found innocent. He then sought refuge within British lines, where he found safety at the home of his brother, and now active Loyalist, William Smith, Jr. Soon after, Joshua Hett Smith left New York for England, where he spent many years as a broken and bitter man.[52]

The politics of the Smith family had a unique impact on the Sterling Ironworks. Two brothers, Thomas Smith and John William Smith, were actively involved in matters of ownership of the ironworks and the lands nearby. Both also were executors of their father's will, along with their older brother, William, Jr.[53] As a co-executor, it is understandable why John William Smith advertised the sale of part of the ironworks and surrounding lands in 1775. Thomas Smith, while relatively quiet during the Revolution, re-appeared in the 1790 caveat that claimed the valuable lands around the ironworks. There is no evidence to suggest these two Smiths held beliefs contrary to the semi-Whig and halfhearted Loyalism expressed by the family's more politically vocal members.

Most scholarship on the Sterling Ironworks, such as Lincoln Diamant's *Chaining the Hudson* and James Ransom's *Vanishing Ironworks*, connects the ironworks and the Smith family, but fails to emphasize the significance of this fact. That the Smith family once owned and then later reclaimed ownership suggests that the Sterling Ironworks was, at the very minimum, well known to one of the most influential Loyalist families in colonial New York.

The Burling Family

The Burling family of New York made its mark on the Sterling Ironworks without any direct involvement. There are few records that reveal their political sympathies and almost none outside of their business ventures.

Most of the Burlings were Quakers, and like many Quakers of the time, they were merchants.[54] In colonial America, Quaker merchants had a pragmatic business relationship with England. Historian Thomas Doerflinger asserts that if the Revolution had been left to Quaker merchants, there would have been no Revolution at all: They were too concerned with losing Britain as a trading partner. Furthermore, he claims that turmoil between Quakers and Presbyterians led the Quakers to believe that Revolution would

50 Ibid., 280.

51 James E. Cronin, *New York History,* vol. 55, no. 4 (1974), 486.

52 Delafield, *William Smith*, 280–281.

53 LeRoy Elwood Kimball, "The Smiths of Haverstraw: Some Notes on a Highland Family," *New York History,* vol. 16, no. 4 (1935), 397.

54 Thompson-Stahr, *The Burling Books*, 47.

vault the Presbyterians into power.[55] Though Doerflinger's assessments describe merchants in Philadelphia, the experiences of Quaker merchants in New York were likely similar. All of the Burlings appearing on property records concerning the Sterling Ironworks and surrounding lands—including John, James, and Edward Burling—were either not affected by New York City's tumultuous politics or their involvement was never noted.

However, one Burling opposed the Revolution in a dramatic and consequential way. Samuel Burling made his living as a merchant in New York City. His uncle, James Burling, owned the Sterling Ironworks at the time of his death, and Samuel's father handled James' estate. He was also set to receive property in 1767 from the lease made by John Burling to Abel Noble, which Noble then leased to Hawxhurst. In 1775, Samuel Burling joined John William Smith in advertising the sale of a portion of the Sterling Ironworks. This land dispute connected Samuel Burling with prominent names in New York like Peter Townsend and William Hawxhurst. It also connected him with the Smith family, who shared a mutual concern with Townsend's control of the Sterling Ironworks. They advertised in the *Royal Gazette*, a leading Loyalist newspaper published by James Rivington.[56] In 1776, Samuel Burling ran into trouble with the Continental Army for suspicions of Loyalist activity. He was temporarily imprisoned in Connecticut and returned to New York when released. In 1783, he fled north to Canada where he remained until his death in 1803.[57]

The time between Burling's imprisonment and his removal to Canada is important in determining his legacy regarding the Sterling Ironworks. It was common practice for loyal colonists who served the crown and lost property to revolutionaries to claim compensation. To validate a claim, Loyalists needed to list their lost property and present proof of their attachment to Britain. Samuel Burling's claim is the richest source available in determining his politics. He was not just a Loyalist sympathizer; he was an active participant fully engaged in helping the British Army. Under the safety of the British, he traveled to Philadelphia, where he helped the army gather intelligence from New Jersey. The claim notes that he was a "serviceable guide" for the British Army. When the British evacuated Philadelphia, Burling accompanied it to New York City. Upon his return, Burling "rendered himself obnoxious to the principal people and the Leaders of the Rebellion," and was eventually forced to flee to Canada.[58] Of all the men to submit claims or to appear on land records concerning the Sterling Ironworks, none was more active in supporting England than Samuel Burling.

55 Thomas M. Doerflinger, "Philadelphia Merchants and the Logic of Moderation, 1760–1775," *The William and Mary Quarterly,* vol. 40, no. 2 (1983), 198.

56 Kenneth Scott, *Rivington's New York Newspaper: Excerpts from a Loyalist Press, 1773–1783* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1973), 104.

57 Thompson-Stahr, *The Burling Books*, 224.

58 "The Memorial of Samuel Burling," *Papers of the American Loyalist Claims Commission*, Claim, From Great Britain, *Audit Office*. Microfilm, film 264, reel 96, f. 60–62.

William Hawxhurst

As a merchant and later an agent for the Sterling Ironworks in New York City, William Hawxhurst witnessed firsthand the changes in the city's political landscape. As the city evolved with the coming of the Revolution, he used his knowledge of allegiances to his advantage.

As the Sterling Ironworks' agent, on 8 August 1776 Hawxhurst wrote on behalf of Peter Townsend and Abel Noble to the House of Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York. In his letter, Hawxhurst noted that the Sterling Ironworks was in the process of fulfilling its contractual agreement to the Continental Army for anchors, steel, and bar iron. He added that the "Men of War's arrival up the North (Hudson) River" hampered progress at the ironworks. This was likely due to compulsory militia service for every able-bodied individual in the Hudson Valley, which included employees at the Sterling Ironworks. Hawxhurst wrote that Sterling could not continue supplying the Continental Army unless its militia conscripts returned to the ironworks and the army resupplied it with sundry goods.[59] The Continental Army ignored Hawxhurst's request.

Historians such as Irene Neu claim that Hawxhurst "cast in his lot with the British." They base this claim solely on Lorenzo Sabine's assertion in his *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists*[60] that in a petition written on 21 October 1776, Hawxhurst was "an Addresser of Lord and Sir William Howe." If taken out of context, this would certainly indicate Hawxhurst's loyalism.[61] The document referred to is the "Petition and Representation of Queens County, in New-York." In this petition, the residents pledged their loyalty to King George III and expressed their hope for protection and benefits from Great Britain. The list of addressers includes, "W Hawxhurst."[62]

However, Hawxhurst corresponded with revolutionaries before and after the 21 October 1776 petition, proving his commitment to the Revolution. However, records bearing his name after 21 October 1776 are less public than those prior to the petition. Why might this be? It was dangerous to be considered a patriot in British-occupied New York City. One theory is that Hawxhurst signed the loyalty pledge to divert attention from his business with the Continental Army through the Sterling Ironworks. "I am just now from Nobels at Sterling. The Chane is going on fast," Hawxhurst wrote to Captain Thomas Machin on 23 April 1778.[63] The "chane" Hawxhurst refers to is the one that would be strung across the Hudson River to prevent the British from sailing northward. The Continental Army

59 *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts Relating to the War of the Revolution.* vol. I, (New York: State of New York, 1868), 446–447.

60 Irene D. Neu, "The Iron Plantations of Colonial New York," *New York History,* vol. 33, no. 1 (1952): 23.

61 Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists*, 526.

62 Henry, Onderdonk Jr., *Documents and Letters Intended to Illustrate the Revolutionary Incidents of Queens County,* (New York, NY: Leavitt, Trow, and Company, 1846), 129.

63 Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks*, 306.

tasked Machin with engineering the chain at the Sterling Ironworks. Hawxhurst also appeared in Machin's expense accounts; one line in it reads, "By cash paid Mr. Hawxhurst."[64]

Peter Townsend

Peter Townsend directed operations at the Sterling Ironworks during the Revolution. His political sympathies were key to the venture's success as well as the success of the Continental Army. Unlike Hawxhurst, his father-in-law, there are more definitive records that prove Townsend's patriotism. Under Hawxhurst's proprietorship, the Sterling Ironworks primarily dealt with domestic customers. However, historian Lincoln Diamant claims it began exporting iron to Great Britain during Townsend's first year in charge.[65] This surely granted the ironworks some deniability when it began producing iron for the Continental Army. In 1775, Townsend swore his allegiance to the revolutionary cause and served the Continental Army with commitment until his death in 1783.[66]

In the years following his pledge, Townsend corresponded with many influential revolutionaries.[67] Both he and Abel Noble repeatedly petitioned New York state Legislatures and county officials for a militia exemption for their workers. These petitions help illustrate the activities of the Sterling Ironworks during the war's early years. Not two weeks after William Hawxhurst's 8 August 1776 petition to New York's Legislature, Townsend and Noble penned their first letter to the same body. Their petition states that a contract for "sixteen Ton of Large Anchors, Eighteen Ton of Bar Iron, and Five Ton of Steel" had been made between the Continental Army and the ironworks.[68] To fulfill this contract, they claimed, they erected a new forge to produce anchors. Their main issue was a lack of manpower; Townsend and Noble implied that a militia exemption was absolutely necessary. They further warned that operations at the blast furnace also would suffer without an exemption. To their petition the ironmasters appended a roster of exactly how many men the ironworks required in order to remain operational.[69]

The Continental Army denied the first two petitions, but the ironworks' need for employees persisted. On 12 April 1777, Townsend and Noble again urgently requested an exemption for their workers. This time they petitioned the Honorable Convention at Kingston in the County of Ulster and State of New York. The petitioners pleaded that improving the ironworks had been a "great expense" to them, and that they had not completed even half of the contract they made with Hugh Hughes, the Continental

64 Edward Manning Ruttenber, *Obstructions to the Navigation of Hudson's River: Embracing the Minutes of the Secret Committee Appointed by the Provincial Convention of New York, July 16, 1776,* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1860), 141.

65 Diamant, *Chaining the Hudson,* 143.

66 Edward M. Ruttenber and Lewis Clark, *The History of Orange County, New York,* (Philadelphia: Everts and Peck, 1881), 67. Diamant, *Chaining the Hudson,* 142.

67 *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts Relating to the War of the Revolution*, 460.

68 Ibid., 460.

69 Ibid., 460.

Army's deputy quartermaster.[70] The Legislature again denied their petition. Nevertheless, the ironmasters pressed on in service to the Revolution.

Almost everyone with a stake in the Sterling Ironworks during the Revolutionary era practiced a form of Fluid Loyalism. William Smith, Jr., held similar Whig beliefs to his father, but the evolving situation in New York City pressured him to declare loyalty to Great Britain. Several of his brothers changed their politics to preserve their safety in the Hudson Valley as well. Samuel Burling was a fervent Loyalist sympathizer, agitator, and intelligence source. It is possible that he and the Smith family never revealed the revolutionary activity at the Sterling Ironworks because they had legitimate claims to ownership, supported by the land records. They stood to profit from their silence, further demonstrating the pragmatic nature of loyalty.

William Hawxhurst based his work primarily in the British stronghold of New York City. He likely relieved any suspicion surrounding his work by signing the address to the Howe brothers. By this act, Hawxhurst gained the safety necessary to continue selling iron to the British in New York City while Townsend sold it to the Continental Army in the Ramapos.

Peter Townsend took a revolutionary oath like many others in Orange County. However, he continued advertising Sterling iron in Loyalist newspapers and selling it in New York City through Hawxhurst. He was a patriot to his business partners in the Ramapo Mountains, but he appeared to be a faithful servant of the crown in the prosperous New York City market. It remains possible, too, that Townsend and Hawxhurst struck agreements with the powerful Smith and Burling families, sharing the immense profits from their Continental Army contracts with known Loyalists in exchange for safety. The remarkable work done at the ironworks was the springboard used to propel more than one opportunistic agenda. The safety granted by Fluid Loyalism, however, could not possibly shield the ironworks from every threat in the tumultuous Hudson Valley.

V—Safety and Security

The American Revolution complicated the politics, safety, and daily lives of citizens in Orange County. It also affected the business of ironworking. As the war crept northward up the Hudson River, it permeated the valley and neighboring Hudson Highlands, forcing colonists to decide between the Revolution and loyalty to Great Britain. Historian Michelle Figliomeni pushes back against the myth that the valley was totally devoted to the Revolution, writing that loyalism, both real and perceived, greatly concerned the region's influential patriots.[71]

Local citizens revealed their political choices in different ways. Many, like Peter Townsend, actively supported the Revolution, but did not serve in local militias. Others swore their support for a cause but took no action to support their side. Some provided

70 *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts Relating to the War of the Revolution*, vol. II, 69.

71 Michelle P. Figliomeni, *The Flickering Flame*, (Washingtonville, NY: Spear Printing, 1976), 16.

military support by joining local Patriot and Loyalist militias. Yet others made no decision at all: These indifferent individuals were eventually grouped into a side, often without their knowledge or consent. Essentially, if they were not *for* a given cause, they must be *against* it.

One method of determining a person's politics was the enforcement of revolutionary oaths. As the local surveillance committees entrusted with compiling the names soon discovered, taking the oath of allegiance was not a definitive statement of support for the Revolution.[72] Local authorities considered those who refused to take the oath as loyal to Britain, not as indifferent citizens who preferred to keep their thoughts private. These non-signers also were subject to imprisonment and fines.[73] Consequently, many Loyalists, both legitimate and suspected, fled the Hudson Valley for the safety of New York City.

This did not mean that the Hudson Valley's Patriots were free from danger. Loyalist militias and opportunistic vigilantes roamed the region, threatening anyone who supported the Revolution. Many stories about these groups can be found in Hudson Valley folklore. David Peck and his followers patrolled and plundered homes in the woods near Haverstraw. Peck was rumored to hold rank in the British Army, though there is little evidence to support this claim. Orange County residents implored Governor Clinton for protection from raids conducted by Peck and his gang during the summer of 1778.[74]

The most feared man in the area, the legendary Claudius Smith, led a gang known simply as "the Cowboys."[75] Sensationalized accounts, such as the one written by nineteenth-century author Benson Lossing, describe Smith as a "desperado of the darkest dye."[76] Local storytellers embellished Smith's appearance for years, describing him as handsome and standing seven feet tall. *The New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury* published a more accurate description in 1769 after one of Smith's escapes from jail. As well as noting Smith's average height and unimpressive features, the article refers to him as a "great bully," prone to fighting, and proud of his strength. Misrepresenting Smith damages the historical record because it distorts the gruesome nature of his crimes. Strip away the handsome and valiant persona, and Smith, despite his guile, was a brutal outlaw who practiced everything from petty thievery to murder.

Joshua Hett Smith provided local citizens' opinion of Claudius Smith (no relation), writing that, "No one slept safely in his bed. Many families hid themselves at night in barns, wheat-ricks, corncribs, and stacks of hay; and on each returning day, blessed their good fortune that their houses had escaped the flames." He also described Claudius

72 Figliomeni, *The Flickering Flame,* 16.

73 Alan Taylor, "The American Beginning: The Dark Side of Crèvecoeur's 'Letters from an American Farmer,'" *New Republic*, 18 July 2013, Accessed 23 July 2017. https://newrepublic.com/article/113571/crevecoeurs-letters-american-farmer-dark-side.

74 Figliomeni, *The Flickering Flame*, 61.

75 "Claudius Smith, 'Cowboy of the Ramapos,' hangs," History.com, Accessed 10 October 2017, http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/claudius-smith-cowboy-of-the-ramapos-hangs.

76 Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution: or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War of Independence*, vol. I, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1860), 210.

Smith's organization as "loose, including confirmed Tories, British deserters, runaway slaves, and Indians; their number was indeterminate; and their tastes in thievery were undiscriminating."[77]

Smith and his Cowboys based their raids primarily out of the enclave known as Smith's Clove in present-day Monroe, less than five miles from the Sterling Ironworks. The ironworks published several advertisements before the Revolution in search of lost horses. As a noted horse thief, Smith may have been the culprit. During the Revolution, the Cowboys stole horses throughout the Ramapos and delivered them to the British Army in New York City.[78]

Although mostly a horse thief before the war, Smith's crimes took on a more sinister tone when he targeted the Ringwood Ironworks, less than three miles from Sterling. Under the charismatic and talented Robert Erskine, a fairly recent immigrant from England, the London Company at Ringwood churned out iron for use by the Continental Army.[79] Many believed that Erskine was an instrument of the crown because of his origin and his former British employers. To prove otherwise, Erskine produced iron for the Continental Army. Eventually, he became a militia officer.[80] Erskine's support for the Revolution was the most public of any ironmaster in the Hudson Valley during the era.

Unfortunately for Erskine, this support drew hostile attention to Ringwood. Historian James Ransom stated that "throughout the years of the Revolution, Ringwood offered a most appropriate target for British raiding parties. As a strategic center supplying arms and equipment to the Continental Army, its destruction would have been welcomed by the British command in New York City."[81] Erskine transformed his home at Ringwood Manor into a fortress due to the "Tory robber bands that roamed the Ramapos."[82]

Members of Claudius Smith's gang raided Ringwood Manor on 11 November 1778. One marauder threatened to seize residents "in His Majesty's name," though no one was taken from the home.[83] Ringwood Manor residents had no reason to believe that the gang's threats were empty. The outlaws had murdered Major Nathaniel Strong, a prominent local militia leader, one month prior to their Ringwood raid.[84] They also raided the home of another Ramapo patriot, Captain Ebenezer Woodhull, moments before killing Major Strong.[85] Both of these attacks took place only miles away from the Sterling Ironworks. To escape arrest for these crimes, Claudius Smith abandoned the familiar Ramapo Mountains

77 Charles A. Huguenin, "The Cowboys of the Ramapos: The Legend of Claudius Smith," Accessed 15 November 2017, http://www.monroehistoryny.org/the-legend-of-claudius-smith-/.

78 Ibid.

79 Tuttle, *Early History of Morris County*.

80 Ibid.

81 Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks*, 44.

82 Albert H. Heusser, *George Washington's Map Maker,* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966), 152–53.

83 Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks*, 44–45.

84 *The Public Papers of George Clinton: First Governor of New York*, vol. IV, (New York and Albany: State of New York, 1900), 148.

85 Ibid., 146.

for refuge on Long Island.[86] He was eventually captured there, returned to the Hudson Valley and hanged at Goshen on 22 January 1779.

Late the following month, the Smith gang murdered John Clark less than one mile away from the Sterling Ironworks. Led by Richard Smith, the eldest son of Claudius, the gang dragged Clark from his home and repeatedly shot him.[87] The outlaws attached a warning note to his coat: "You are hereby warned at your peril to desist from hanging any more friends to government as you did Claudius Smith." The Cowboys warned that for each person killed by the Patriot government, they would kill six. They claimed to have militia, "Indians as well as white men," and "numbers" from New York that wish revenge upon the rebels. The note ominously concludes that the Cowboys would not stop "till the whole of you are murdered."[88] John Hathorn summarized local concerns in a letter to Governor George Clinton: "Instances of their bloody acts are frequent, their threats obvious, insomuch that every man that is a Whig is realy in danger, its Notorious that no Individual that lives near their course can be Exempt from their Power."[89]

Anyone who outwardly supported the Revolution made himself a target for Smith and other outlaws in the Ramapos. Captain Woodhull and Major Strong became targets because they led militia units. Erskine showed his patriotism by continuously and unabashedly voicing his concerns with British rule. When these concerns were ignored, he took up arms against his former homeland. John Clark was just a local worker and militiaman, but even this was enough to make him a target of the Cowboys. Local militia leader Colonel John Hathorn faced an attack at his Goshen home for multiple days from two loyal Native Americans commanded by Joseph Brant, though he never came into contact with Smith and the Cowboys.[90] Safety required self-awareness.

Peter Townsend, Abel Noble, and William Hawxhurst supported the Revolution, but with the exception of a single murder near the ironworks, the ruthless gangs of the Ramapo Mountains left them alone. A confession from William Cole, one Claudius Smith's companions, revealed that there were multiple safe houses and that several Cowboys lived "near Sterling."[91] Was the Sterling Ironworks a target due to its revolutionary activity? In *Chaining the Hudson*, Lincoln Diamant claims that once the "historic labor" of constructing the great chain began, Sterling became "a potential enemy objective." Diamant supports this claim with a letter from Henry Wisner to Governor George Clinton that urged Clinton to deny the passage of a "Mr. St. John" to New York City because he might "advise the Burning of Sterling works in order to prevent our giting the Chain Done."[92]

86 Ibid., 47.

87 *Providence Gazette*, 20 March 1779, 4.

88 *The Royal Gazette*, 17 April 1779, 2.

89 "Letter From John Hathorn," 14 March 1779, vol. 20F, p. 29, Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI.

90 "Milk, Applejack, and Fast Horses: Warwick Valley and the Land of Goshen," *New York Times*, 5 July 1896.

91 Ruttenber, *The History of Orange County, New York*, 72.

92 Diamant, *Chaining the Hudson*, 148.

This "Mr. St. John" could be none other than Hector St. John, a prominent French philosopher then living near Peter Townsend in Chester. St. John adapted his name from Michel-Guillaume-Saint-Jean de Crèvecoeur to Hector St. John in order to assimilate into life in the colonies. Today, he is remembered mostly as Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur. After the Revolution, he published *Letters from an American Farmer*, a descriptive work that captured not only the patriotic spirit of his community but also the danger of living in the Hudson Valley without declaring allegiance to either side.[93]

Contrary to Wisner's opinion, Crèvecoeur wrote favorably of the Revolution in his book. Moreover, Wisner appeared to be the only influential Orange County patriot that believed Crèvecoeur was a Loyalist. Local committee chairman Elihu Marvin supported Crèvecoeur's wish to travel to New York City; in a letter to Governor Clinton, he wrote that Crèvecoeur had wanted to leave the colonies even before the war. The committee as a whole believed it would be "no Danger to the State" if Crèvecoeur traveled to New York City.[94] General Alexander McDougall reluctantly approved Crèvecoeur's passage to the city and provided advice on his mode and route of travel.[95] Blooming Grove resident Thomas Moffat wrote to Governor Clinton that granting Crèvecoeur's request would be just, humane, and in accordance with the wishes of everyone in the community.[96]

It was known throughout the Hudson Valley that Crèvecoeur wished no harm upon the revolutionaries of Orange County; testimonies supporting his request to leave make this clear. It is possible that Diamant never found, or ignored, this evidence. Regardless, he is the only historian to claim that the Sterling Ironworks was a target during the Revolution.

While Sterling's ironmasters readily complained to New York's revolutionary government about any issues at the ironworks, neither Townsend nor Hawxhurst ever expressed concern for their workers' safety in their correspondence, and they never requested militia protection. In fact, they requested the opposite. In a petition written on 12 April 1777, Townsend and Noble reported that their ironworkers were threatened "to be Drove from the Works by the Militia Officers." They described these desertions as a "weakness of their minds," and that many workers despised militia service to "Defend as they Immagine the Rich people of the Country."[97] This petition proves that the workers did not desert because they feared the British Army or the Tory outlaws; rather, they opposed active military support. The Sterling ironmasters sought to fulfill their contracts with the Continental Army and they repeatedly requested a militia exemption for their workers. This contrasts with John Bezìs-Selfa's assertion that the ironworkers' politics often aligned with ironmasters to the mutual benefit of all, because of one distinctive caveat.[98] Outside influences significantly hampered

93 Taylor, *The American Beginning.*

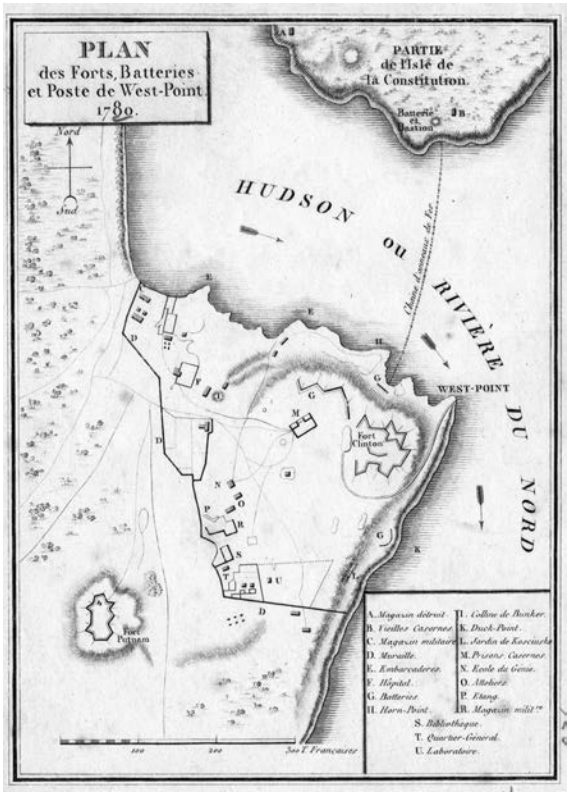
94 *The Public Papers of George Clinton: First Governor of New York*, vol. III, (Albany: State of New York, 1900), 148.

95 Ibid., 227.

96 Ibid., 151–152.

97 *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts Relating to the War of the Revolution.* vol. II, (New York: State of New York, 1868), 69.

98 John Bezís-Selfa, *Forging America: Ironworkers, Adventurers, and the Industrious Revolution*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2004), 209.



Plan des forts, batteries et poste de West-Point, 1780, Pierre Didot, 1831. Boston Public Library, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center Collection

production for colonial ironmasters. At the Sterling Ironworks, the proprietors fearlessly produced iron throughout the war despite the dangers in the Ramapos. If they were in any way hesitant, it surely would have been expressed.

VI – Holding the River

During the Revolution, controlling the Hudson River meant control of more than just New York City. The river linked New England to New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. King George III made control of the Hudson River his top priority, according to historian Frances Dunwell in *The Hudson: America's River*. She argues, "the Continental Congress aimed to neutralize Britain's superior strength by using local knowledge of river conditions to place forts in strategic locations." The revolutionaries chose the Hudson Highlands, a choke point and a "natural fortress," to establish their defense of the river.[99] According to Diamant in *Chaining the Hudson*, American forces did not fear the isolation of New England from the middle colonies. Rather, they wanted to resupply their soldiers via the only waterway spanning the entire state.

The Americans had failed in their previous attempts to block the Hudson River. These attempts included burning ships and placing stakes, known as *chevaux-de-frise*, in the river to damage British ships and canalize them within range of American cannons. The Royal Navy had no trouble overcoming these obstructions. In 1776, the *Rose* and the *Phoenix* passed through all the American defenses near Fort Washington and Fort Lee.[100] The British demonstrated their ability to dominate the river at every opportunity during the war's early years.

In 1775, Colonel James Clinton and Major Christopher Tappen, Continental Army officers charged with scouting the Hudson Valley for potential defensive positions, suggested that "four or five Booms chained together on one Side of the River" could prevent ships

99 Frances F. Dunwell, "The River That Unites, the River That Divides: King George and George Washington Vie for the Hudson," In *The Hudson: America's River*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 26.

100 Diamant, *Chaining the Hudson*, 53, 76.

from sailing upriver.[101] It would be an extraordinary task to forge a chain that could stop a vessel and withstand the river's strong tides. Such a chain required expert metalworking and engineering knowledge, not to mention iron of the finest quality. This iron had to be found locally to facilitate the chain's transportation to the river after forging. The Americans were already constructing a massive chain, though it was bound for a different location. General Charles Lee oversaw the forging of these chain links at the Mount Hope furnace in northern New Jersey and the Ancram Ironworks in southern New York. Lee wanted to place this chain on the St. Lawrence River to prevent British vessels from entering Lake Champlain.[102] Not long after the chain reached Lee's proposed location in Canada, the revolutionaries retreated southward from the St. Lawrence further into New York.[103] The Americans chose Fort Montgomery as the next location for a chain, as Robert Yates indicated to General Washington in early August 1776.[104] Clinton and Tappen's vision became reality in November 1776.[105]

The Fort Montgomery chain was troublesome for the Americans. Rafts designed to hold it above the water could not support the chain's weight.[106] It separated twice within a short span. Despite issues with the chain's swivels, the links were without flaw. Americans repaired the chain during the winter at Samuel Brewster's forge in New Windsor and then drew it across the river once again in the spring of 1777.[107]

For six months, the British never attempted to pass through the chain. When General Sir Henry Clinton attacked Fort Montgomery and its twin, Fort Clinton, on 6 October 1777, it was a surprise attack from the forts' land side. General Clinton's force consisting of British regulars, sailors, Loyalists, and Hessian mercenaries far outnumbered the American defenders comprised of Colonel Lewis Dubois' 5th New York Regiment, Captain John Lamb's 2nd Continental Artillery, and other militiamen.[108] In one day, British forces captured both forts and the chain as well.[109] General Clinton noted in the narrative of his campaigns that "a small chain which was run across the river at that place" was removed after taking the fort.[110]

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101 Ibid., 86.

102 Ibid., 92.

103 George Washington, John C. Fitzpatrick, and David M. Matteson, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799*, vol. 5, (Washington: U.S. Govt. Print Office, 1931), 15–16.

104 George Washington to Robert Yates, 17 August 1776, In *Magazine of American History with Notes and Queries*, vol. 6, (1881): 136–37.

105 Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks*, 300.

106 Ibid., 300.

107 Ibid., 300–301.

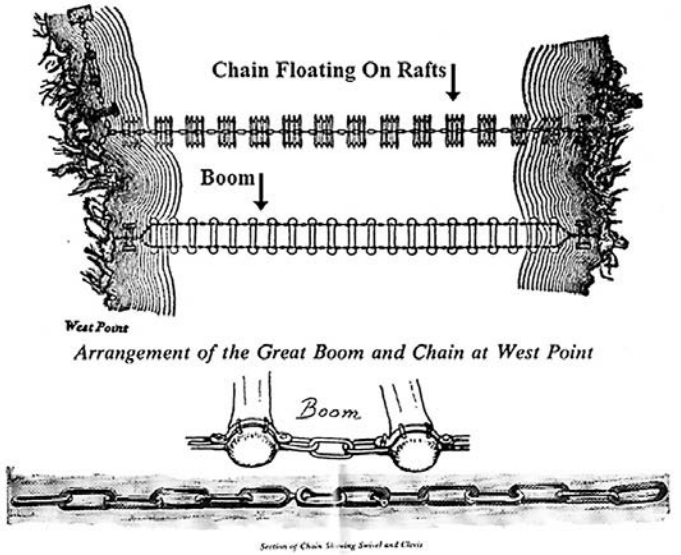
108 James M. Johnson and Gregory Smith, "Interpreting the Battle for the Hudson River Valley: The Battle of Fort Montgomery," in *Key to the Northern Country: The Hudson River Valley in the American Revolution*, ed. James M. Johnson, Christopher Pryslopski, and Andrew Villani (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2013), 223–224; William H. Carr and Richard J. Koke, *Twin Forts of the Popolopen: Forts Clinton and Montgomery, New York 1775–1777*, no. 1 (Bear Mountain, NY: Commissioners of the Palisades Interstate Park and the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, 1937), 29.

109 Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks*, 301.

110 William B. Wilcox, ed.,*The American Rebellion; Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of his Campaigns, 1775–1782: With an Appendix of Original Documents*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954), 77.

By capturing these two forts, the British Army freed the river for the Royal Navy. The navy sailed north, selectively destroying Patriot property, but turned back upon hearing that General Burgoyne had been defeated at Saratoga. Obstructing the river remained a top priority for American forces in order to prevent their revolutionary experiment in the Hudson River Valley from failing.[111] The defense committee responsible for obstructing the river could see that the Fort Montgomery chain did achieve moderate success. If both ends of the obstruction could be defended, chaining the Hudson River was still possible. However, creating a new chain within the dangerous Ramapo Mountains after the loss of the twin forts presented the Continental Army with a daunting challenge.

VII—The Great Chain



1864 representation of the West Point Chain and Boom, Image in Public Domain from Wikimedia Commons

The task of obstructing the Hudson River fell to an enterprising young engineer, Captain Thomas Machin. In 1776, General Washington described Machin as an "ingenious faithful hand" and a man with "considerable experience as an Engineer."[112] Washington first ordered Machin to Fort Montgomery in 1776 to assist with the river's defenses. After acquiring the links needed to complete that chain, Machin had it fastened to log floats at Brewster's forge in New Windsor and transported downriver to its final destination.[113]

After Machin recovered from a wound received during the defeat at Fort Montgomery, he searched for a new defensive location. Machin and the fortifications committee eventually decided to draw a new, sturdier chain across the river at West Point, a strategic location in the Hudson Highlands. British forces had captured Fort Montgomery by surprise, without challenging the chain, and might repeat such a strategy if the new site was not properly defended. For this reason, the commissioners warned that considerable troops were needed to defend West Point.[114]

111 Dunwell, *The Hudson: America's River*, 40.
112 Diamant, *Chaining the Hudson*, 102.
113 Ibid., 103.
114 Ibid., 140.

According to Lincoln Diamant, the fortifications committee let Machin decide which ironworks would fabricate the second chain. Diamant claimed that Machin quickly chose the Sterling Ironworks because it produced high-quality iron and had massive facilities. Diamant further states that Machin believed the ironworks was "well-known" and the most able of all of the region's ironworks.[115] But could the Continental Congress afford to pay for the chain? Colonel Hugh Hughes, deputy quartermaster general of the Continental Army, wrote to Governor Clinton on 22 January 1778. "I find it impracticable to engage the Sterling Iron-works for public Service," he complained. "Unless Arrearages are discharg'd, which it is not in my power to do, as the office is entirely out of Cash." Hughes pleaded with Governor Clinton for £5,000 in advance to cover the cost of the iron needed to obstruct the river; without it, Hughes claimed, "The Business of the Chain for the Security of the River must be retarded."[116]

Governor Clinton must have supported Hughes' request, because Hughes traveled with Machin through deep snow to negotiate the deal at the home of Peter Townsend. The chain they wanted was unlike anything Townsend had produced before.[117] On 2 February 1778, both parties signed a contract for the chain. The next day, Hughes informed Governor Clinton of the agreement and included a copy of the contract. It stipulated that the deadline for completion would be 1 April 1778.[118]

The contract required the chain to be "in Length five Hundred Yards, —each Link about two feet long, to be made of the best Sterling Iron, and one Quarter square, or as near thereto as possible, with a swivel to every hundred Feet and a Clevis to every Thousand W[eigh]'t in the same manner as those of the former chain."[119] The style was similar to the former chain, but much heavier.

Townsend agreed to construct the chain and to produce twelve ton of anchors upon its completion. The Continental Army agreed to pay £450 for each ton of iron produced for both the chain and the anchors. This high valuation came with several caveats. If Sterling did not meet the agreed-upon deadline, the ironworks would complete the chain at its own expense. Moreover, the contract required the ironworks to repair any damages to the chain at its own expense, no matter where the damage occurred.[120] The contract also stipulated that if the Continental Army utilized teams from the ironworks to transport the chain, they would be paid as if the government employed them.[121]

The pivotal aspect of the contract for Townsend was his sought-after militia exemption. Without it, Hughes reported, "There was no such Thing as concluding the agreement." The ironmasters pursued a full exemption for their entire workforce, a proposition that

115 Ibid., 141–142.
116 *The Public Papers of George Clinton*, vol. 2, (Albany: State of New York, 1900), 688.
117 Diamant, *Chaining the Hudson*, 142.
118 *The Public Papers of George Clinton*, vol. II, (Albany: State of New York, 1900), 708.
119 Ibid., 708.
120 Ibid., 709.
121 Ibid., 709.

Hughes denied on the spot.[122] The final contract granted an exemption for "Sixty Artificers" for the duration of the chain's construction, not to exceed nine months. The army even exempted Sterling's teams of draft animals.[123] General Washington had refused to grant exemptions, including many requests from Townsend. Goshen's militia regiment, based not far from the ironworks, had sustained massive casualties during the Battle of Fort Montgomery, which should have increased its need for soldiers.

The final portion of the contract detailed the minimum effort that the ironworks had to maintain throughout the chain's construction. Townsend agreed to keep "Seven Fires, at Forging, and ten at Welding, if assisted with such Hands, as are necessary & can be spared from the army." If the men needed to support this productive pace were called away for militia service, the representatives of the Continental Army would understand the extended time frame.[124]

Townsend and the Sterling Ironworks commenced fabrication of the West Point chain on 3 February 1778, the day after the contract was signed,[125] and construction proceeded without interruption. The ironworks completed the chain within the deadline. Machin's workers drew it across the river at West Point on 30 April 1778. The chain's final weight was said to be nearly 35 tons.[126] Stretched between West Point and Constitution Island, it rested on logs approximately sixteen feet long and pointed at the ends to reduce drag in the water. Later that year, the Americans may have stretched a boom on massive logs in front of the chain to absorb the shock of any vessel attempting passage.[127] The Royal Navy never tried to force its way past, though Sir Henry Clinton and British Army's intelligence officer, Major John André, plotted with American General Benedict Arnold to take West Point as late as the August 1780.[128] Chaining the Hudson River in 1778 did not defeat Sir Henry Clinton's attempts to capture the Hudson River, but the chain itself was a massive obstacle that British forces never overcame.

VIII—Forging Independence

The West Point chain was the largest ironworking project of its time in colonial New York. The manpower and resources required to create it should have drawn unwanted attention to the ironworks. Historians of the Revolution have long neglected the manufacturing processes behind this clandestine feat.

How did the project succeed without interruption? The answer to this question is complex. It requires analysis of the ownership of the Sterling Ironworks and the activities

122 Ibid., 708.

123 Ibid., 709.

124 Ibid., 709.

125 Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks*, 303.

126 Merle Sheffield, *What has Become of the Boom*, https://www.hudsonrivervalley.org/documents/401021/1055071/Whatisbecomeoftheboom.pdf

127 Edward C. Boynton, *History of West Point and Its Military Importance during the American Revolution: and the Origin and Progress of the United States Military Academy*, (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1864), 74.

128 Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution,* 146.

Portion of the Great Chain on display on the grounds of the United States Military Academy at West Point

of Sterling's ironmasters before the war. Sterling Ironworks was a productive and respected operation throughout the northern colonies.[129] The ironmasters successfully expanded their customer base and marketed their goods to a wide audience. Advertisements for Sterling products, such as anchors, appeared in the newspapers of northern port cities as far away as Providence, Rhode Island.[130] Sterling's reputation crossed the Atlantic when it began sending shipments to Great Britain in 1768.[131] By the time of the early skirmishes of the Revolution, businessmen and merchants in the greater New York area, New England, and possibly even Britain knew of the prolific ironworks in the Ramapo Mountains. Given this exposure, Sterling's ironmasters must have had a way other than secrecy to achieve their political and business aims.

As previously mentioned, William Hawxhurst signed a pledge of loyalty to the crown in Queens County, a Loyalist region, but continued marketing Sterling iron in New York City. In 1775, Hawxhurst's son-in-law, Peter Townsend, swore an oath to the Revolution in Goshen, a rebel stronghold. Their familial relationship never wavered. They used the perception of their loyalties in their respective regions to facilitate business for the ironworks.

Another possible reason why Sterling remained safe can be found in the ownership dispute. In 1775, John William Smith and Samuel Burling attempted to sell portions of the ironworks in local newspapers.[132] Townsend responded by claiming that the two men

129 *New-York Mercury*, 19 November 1759, 4.
130 *Providence Gazette and the Country Journal*, 17 April 1766, 4.
131 Diamant, *Chaining the Hudson*, 143.
132 *New York Journal*, 2 March 1775, 2.

had no right to lease property they did not own.[133] Townsend directed the ironworks until his death in 1783, despite the fact that leases and agreements concerning the Sterling Ironworks and the surrounding lands stated that the Smith and Burling families were due back their leases entirely by 1776.[134] The deed that Hawxhurst had left to Townsend in 1767 was for the lease Hawxhurst gained from William Smith in 1757.[135] This lease stipulated that a percentage of each ton of iron sold would be paid to Smith. Townsend had to fulfill this obligation because he gained the lease from Hawxhurst. Whoever inherited the property of William Smith, Sr., was owed a considerable sum of money. Similarly, as the inheritor of the Burling estate, Samuel Burling would also receive a profit from the Sterling Ironworks. If the ironmasters at Sterling were paid by the rate specified in their contract with the Continental Army, they made roughly £83,700 from the chain alone.

British officials knew the Americans planned to obstruct the Hudson River. A British intelligence report written in either late March or early April of 1778 noted that "General Putnam was at Boston about the middle of March, collecting Anchors and Cables to make a Boom for the North River across The Narrows, near Fort Montgomery."[136] "The Narrows" refers to the constricted section of the Hudson River between West Point and Constitution Island. The report was accurate, as this would indeed be the location of the West Point chain.

There were not many forges in the region capable of producing such a chain. At this time, however, the British employed Samuel Burling as a guide. Only three years prior, he advertised Sterling as an "Iron Works known to exceed any on the Continent, both for their Improvements, and every other Advantage, as well as the superior Quality of the Iron."[137] Burling never once suggested to his British employers that the Sterling Ironworks might be forging the new chain. After Burling fled New York for Canada in 1783 he submitted a claim for all the property he lost during the war; it included a store, a warehouse, and a wharf in New York City,[138] but not the Sterling Ironworks. If he lost his share of the ironworks to Townsend, surely his loyalties, if not his greed, would have led Burling to report the revolutionary activity at Sterling—unless he stood to make a fortune by keeping the ironworks a secret.

Dated scholarship, such as *Chaining the Hudson,* argues that the ironmasters produced a massive chain for the Continental Army while keeping the ironworks a secret from the

133 Ransom, *Vanishing Ironworks*, 184–5.

134 Deed for Sterling Lands, 23 September 1767, Box 2, Folder 24, Sterling Iron and Railway Company Records, New York State Library, Albany, New York; Half-Lease For The Sterling New Forge, 11 February 1762, Box 3, Folder 39, Sterling Iron and Railway Company Records, New York State Library, Albany, New York.

135 Deed for Sterling Lands, 23 September 1767, Box 2, Folder 24, Sterling Iron and Railway Company Records, New York State Library, Albany, New York; Lease for Sterling Lands, 1757, Box 3, Folder 38, Sterling Iron and Railway Company Records, New York State Library, Albany, New York.

136 Michael J. Crawford, ed., E. Gordon Bowen-Hassell, Dennis M. Conrad, and Mark L. Hayes, assistant eds., *Naval Documents of the American Revolution*, vol. 11 (Naval History and Heritage Command, Department of Navy, Washington, DC 2005), 764.

137 *New York Journal*, March 2, 1775.

138 Peter Wilson Coldham, *American Loyalist Claims* (Washington, DC: National Genealogical Society, 1980), 67.

Ramapo Mountains' many threats. Diamant's menacing "Mr. St. John" is just one example of this argument. Diamant assumed that the Sterling Ironworks became a target because of its revolutionary activity. Evidence does exist showing the British knew the Americans were building a chain, but the British never focused their attention or an attack on the Sterling Ironworks. Crown officials may have believed that the ironworks remained loyal because of its cooperation with the Iron Act of 1750, Townsend's sale of iron to the British before the war, and Hawxhurst's pledge of loyalty in 1776.

The Sterling ironmasters never behaved as if they faced a threat from the British Army or Loyalist militias. British regulars rarely had reason to venture westward into the Ramapo Mountains. However, Tory outlaws roamed the countryside at will. Attacks by Claudius Smith and others threatened the region's influential Whigs, but Peter Townsend was never bothered. If the ironworks' proprietors felt they needed protection, they would not have requested militia exemptions. In fact, Townsend and Noble considered the region's militia to be a hindrance.[139] Confident in their safety, Townsend, Noble, and Hawxhurst served the Revolution in the most impactful of ways.

Contemporary historians such as Van Buskirk, Johnson, and Errington explain that Fluid Loyalism was the result of wartime occupation. They argue that the colonists used allegiance to achieve specific aims such as continued contact with families in British-held territory and safety in their communities. Those at the Sterling Ironworks used Fluid Loyalism, and perhaps a shrewd business sense, to create the West Point chain and obstruct the Hudson River. They manipulated their loyalties to facilitate business, to pursue their political goals, and to make a significant contribution to the American war effort.

Townsend and his partners knew they could continue their work without interruption. That is not to say they operated with reckless abandon. Nor does this study wish to understate the courage exhibited by both the ironmasters and ironworkers at Sterling. Supporting independence meant accepting the risks that came with it. If caught, they stood to lose everything from their contract with the Continental Army. They kept the revolutionary flame alive by constructing the chain before the ice thawed on the Hudson River and allowed the Royal Navy to sail northward once again. It would not be a stretch to say that their efforts altered the course of the Revolutionary War.

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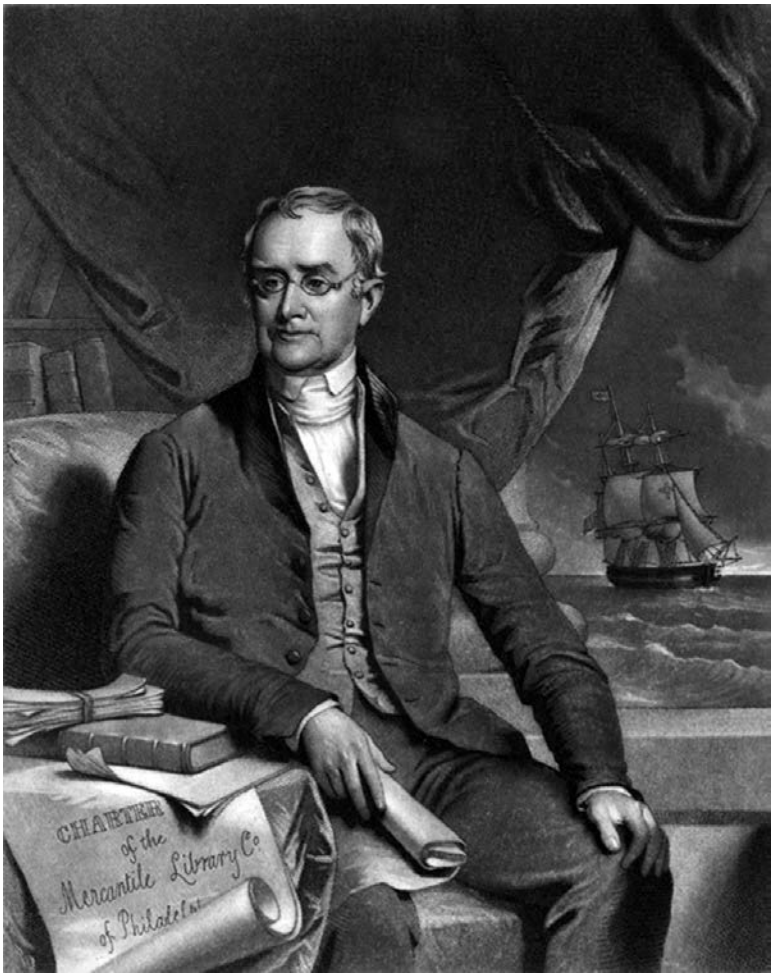
139 *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts Relating to the War of the Revolution,* vol. II, (New York: State of New York, 1868), 69.

Thomas Pim Cope and Charles Brockden Brown: Diarists on the Hudson

James Ryan



Engraving of Thomas Pim Cope from *The Digital Dictionary of Quaker Biography* online, a pilot project of Haverford College Special Collections

At 8 P. M. on July 7, 1801, Thomas Pim Cope, a wealthy Philadelphia merchant, and his friend, Charles Brockden Brown, America's first professional novelist, having "engaged a passage in the sloop *Harriet* from Captn. [William] Riley, … got under weight," according to Cope, "from Coynties slip with a favourable wind, which soon wafted us round the

battery & out of sight of N[ew] York."[1] Brown also records the moment of setting sail for Albany: "We embarked at sunset, … the wind propitious and the air wonderfully bland. I took my post at the stern, and found much employment for my feelings in marking through the dusk the receding city and the glimmering lights, first of quays and avenues, and afterwards of farms and villages."[2]

The contrast between these accounts—Cope's factual specificity and Brown's emotional description—suggests two stages in the changing attitudes toward the Hudson that in twenty years or so would culminate in the full-blown romanticism of William Cullen Bryant and Washington Irving and the sublime landscapes of Thomas Cole and Asher Durand. Cope's is essentially a rational, eighteenth-century view, while Brown, noted for his gothic imagination, already expresses embryonically the strong feeling of a later sensibility. In their particular observations and personal language, the diaries of these two accomplished writers not only reveal their individual personalities but also encapsulate the transition from neoclassical restraint to incipient Romanticism. As one commentator remarked of Brown's fictions, they "act as a kind of hinge between the Age of Enlightenment and nineteenth-century Romanticism."[3] If Brown anticipates Romanticism, both in his diary and in his fiction, Cope is almost emblematically an embodiment of the Age of Enlightenment.

Charles Brockden Brown, engraved by John B. Forrest after a drawing by William Dunlap. Image courtesy of The New York Public Library, https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/

Their observations of the Hudson are interesting for a couple of reasons. For one, at the time of their trip there was no settled view of the Hudson River. The travelers were largely

1 Harrison, Eliza Cope, *Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope 1800–1851,* ed., (South Bend, Indiana: Gateway Editions, 1978), 68.

2 Dunlap, William, *Memoirs of Charles Brockden Brown, the American Novelist,* (London: Henry Colburn and Co., 1822), 157.

3 Weinstock, Jeffrey Andrew, *Charles Brockden Brown* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 93.

without preconceptions, armed only with touristy reports of the "stupendous" scenery. It was a kind of terra incognita. The articulation of their experience, the translation of the raw topography into words, was itself a formidable task, for the Hudson was a "perfect wilderness," in Cope's phrase, featureless but for a few prominent natural formations or sites of civilized development like West Point or various villages. In fact, to a certain extent both of these voluble characters were struck mute, not with awe at the sublimity of the sights but with disorientation in the midst of the unfamiliar. Their entries turn with relief from wilderness to settlements, from raw nature to civilization, and once off the river become more characteristic of their usual interests, and more expansive.

Secondly, with little existing vocabulary or perspective, each man in the very act of keeping a diary, was a kind of explorer, isolating and naming those features along the way that interested him. The "map" that results could almost be of two different lands. No West Point appears in Brown's country; and he records only general impressions of the sights that attract him. In fact, Brown only promises, as in earlier trips, to present his "own sensations" and "a picture of his own character." He is the artist bringing an aesthetic sensibility to the trip. Cope, on the other hand, is a more traditional travel writer, intent on being (one of his favorite words) "useful." The strategic and historic importance of West Point, his personal knowledge of an historical figure—these are carefully recorded. Cope brings to bear his own wide experience as a businessman and civic planner, as well as his considerable knowledge, as the equally knowledgeable Brown does not. Like plein air painters of the same motif, they render the Hudson River and its shores from markedly different and distinctive perspectives.

Indeed, so different were the two friends that a long trip together seems at first unlikely. At seventeen, Thomas Pim Cope (1768–1854) left his hometown of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and was apprenticed to an uncle, a dry goods merchant in Philadelphia. After seven years, Cope went into business for himself. By the time he was thirty-two, he had enough money to retire, and he began his long participation as a councilman in the civic life of the city. But he was defrauded by his business partners in New York and had to return to what he called variously "the battle" or "the drudgery" of business. He branched out into shipping during the turbulent years leading up to the War of 1812, when both the English and French seized ships carrying cargo to their respective enemies. Cope survived both the Jeffersonian prohibition against foreign trade and the war itself, largely by the fortunate arrival of two ships from the Orient, whose goods made him one of Philadelphia's wealthiest men. Though the Cope packet line was successful, in 1829 he turned the business over to two sons. For the remainder of his long life he continued to devote himself to civic and philanthropic activities.

He was a force in city and state government, a philanthropist and—by no means least—a devout Quaker. He was committed to the service of others—the poor, the sick, the insane—and labored to improve the civic life of Philadelphia in far-sighted ways. As a member of the Philadelphia City Council committee tasked with establishing

the country's first municipal water supply system, he was prominently and sometimes contentiously involved, raising his voice against excessive spending and paying workers out of his own pocket when funds ran short. His interest in the quality of Philadelphia's water supply extended even until the 1844 purchase of Lemon Hill (now part of Fairmont Park) to protect the banks of the Schuylkill from increasing industrial development. (He negotiated such an attractive deal for the property that shadier committee members tried to highjack the sale for themselves.) Cope was also a founder of the Mercantile Library, the Board of Trade, and Haverford College; an advocate for the Pennsylvania Railroad; and treasurer of the Convention of Abolition Societies in America. With other philanthropic Quakers, he devoted time and money to alleviate the sufferings of the poor, the insane, and the incarcerated. He was not only a supporter of charitable institutions, but also seems to have been known as a soft touch for unfortunate individuals, especially women, and for aspiring inventors; his journal contains repeated resolutions to be more selective in his giving.

Between the years 1800 and 1821, and again from 1843 to 1851, Cope kept a wide-ranging diary. It was edited and introduced by Eliza Cope Harrison and published in 1978 under the title *Philadelphia Merchant: The Diary of Thomas P. Cope 1800–1851*. Perceptive and intelligently engaged, Cope comments on all the major historical events of his time, such as the yellow fever epidemics, the War of 1812, and the looming Civil War, as well as the more personal dramas of his own life. The diary thus contains an interesting mix of different genres—a Quaker's soul-searching spiritual journal, suspenseful narratives of business ventures, Jamesian scenes of relationships, travelogues through Pennsylvania and other East Coast states, humorous (and horrifying) anecdotes, and an anthology of short essays on a variety of topics, ranging from dreams to slavery and women's rights. In his own words, he somewhat misleadingly describes his writing and himself: "I have laid down no regular plan and I follow none. My diary is like myself, a chequered maze."[4] In spite of this, the long view must conclude that Cope consistently epitomized the spirit of the enterprising young American republic and embodied eighteenth-century values of reason, order, and civility.

By contrast with the settled civic life of Cope, Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810), often called the father of the American novel, lived precariously, struggling for years to establish himself as a novelist. After leaving Philadelphia's Friends' Latin School, he began to study law, as his family desired, entering the office of Alexander Wilcocks in 1787. During his five years with Wilcocks, learning what Brown would later call "the rubbish of the law,"[5] he also pursued his literary interests, planning epic poems about the Americas and ushering into print his first published work, "The Rhapsodist," a series of sketches about visionary writers. Brown then taught at the Quaker Friends' Grammar School while continuing his intellectual explorations. It was during this period that

4 Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant*, 107.

5 Quoted in Weinstock, *Charles Brockden Brown*, 9.

Brown entered into a friendship that would profoundly influence his life and career. He met Elihu Hubbard Smith (1771–98), a Harvard-educated physician, man of letters, and the guiding spirit of the Friendly Club, a New York City conversation club that met weekly to discuss books, philosophy, poetry, religion, and other topics. After Smith, an enthusiastic supporter of Brown's literary ambitions, established a medical practice in New York City in 1791, Brown's ties to Philadelphia increasingly attenuated. He became a member of the Friendly Club, and by 1797 moved in with Smith. During this time, Brown deepened his immersion in the ideas of the radical democratic writers of the day, especially William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft, and in their spirit composed a number of works that he shared with the Friendly Club. In 1798 he published *Alcuin*, a dialogue on women's rights, and the following year he became editor of and a frequent contributor to the *Monthly Magazine and American Review*, a periodical founded by the Friendly Club.

With the death of Smith from yellow fever in 1798, Brown entered a period of extraordinary productivity. In two years he wrote and published his four most acclaimed novels—*Wieland*, *Ormond*, *Arthur Mervyn*, and *Edgar Huntley*—and embarked on other similar novels, though they remained unfinished, while continuing his periodical editing and writing.

After this burst of creativity, initiating the Gothic tradition in America, Brown gave up his position with the *Monthly Magazine and American Review* and returned to Philadelphia. In 1801, he published two sentimental novels, *Clara Howard* and *Jane Talbot*. They are so markedly different in subject, tone, and philosophy that they have been taken to signal Brown's "retreat" from the radical Godwinian ideas entertained in his earlier novels to embrace more conventional morality. The change may be due to his courtship at about this time with Elizabeth Linn, a Presbyterian whose father, minister William Linn, married the couple in 1804, causing Brown to be disowned by the Philadelphia Quakers for marrying outside the Society of Friends. Brown's gothic imaginings had also elicited unfavorable comments from moderate Quakers, Cope and Brown's brother, James, among them, who tolerated some degree of imaginative indulgence but who found Brown's extreme and often sensationally violent fictions unpalatable; in *Wieland* for example, a man hears voices compelling him to murder his family. Though the novels engage significant contemporary issues such as women's rights and the place of religion in the public sphere, even Brown himself came to regret their "out-of-nature incidents." In reply to an April 1800 letter from his brother, Brown writes: "Your remarks upon the gloominess and out-of-nature incidents in Huntley [*Edgar Huntley*, 1799] … are, doubtless, such as most readers will make, which alone is sufficient reason for dropping the doleful tone and assuming a cheerful one; or at least substituting moral causes and daily incidents in place of the prodigious or singular. I will not fall hereafter into that

strain."[6] No such reservations taint his reputation today. "It is now commonplace to view Brown as among the shrewd moral and philosophical observers of his generation."[7]

After 1801, Brown continued to write and publish prolifically. He edited and was primary contributor to two more magazines: *The Literary Magazine and American Register* (1803–1806), a miscellany on a wide variety of topics, cultural and scientific, and *The American Register and General Repository of History, Politics, and Science* (1807–09), which included the book-length "Annals of Europe and America," Brown's contemporary historical narrative of Napoleonic geopolitics. He continued to experiment with different genres between 1803 and 1807, most notably the *Historical Sketches*, a posthumously published group of historical fictions. He contracted tuberculosis in 1809 and died the following year at the age of thirty-nine.

In spite of their considerable differences, the friendship between Cope and Brown was deeply rooted. As children during the Revolutionary War, both experienced the ire often directed toward their pacifist Quaker sect. On one occasion, Cope's house was attacked by a mob of local patriots throwing stones and battering the closed shutters. Only the intervention of a Continental Army general with a raised pistol dispersed the crowd. Brown was even more profoundly impacted by the war. His father, Elijah, though supportive of the Revolution, refused to bear arms or swear an oath of allegiance; he was arrested in September 1777 and held as a "dangerous" individual for eight months.[8] They also both attended the Friends' Latin School, and during those years founded a literary society called the Belles Lettres. Their interests continued to coincide after leaving school. The Belles Lettres morphed into the more ambitious Society for Useful Knowledge, which lasted through the early 1790s. when they both lived in the close-knit Philadelphia Quaker community. After that, though their friendship persisted, they were less often together. Brown was frequently in New York for long periods, and Cope was deeply engaged in business.

Beside their residual Quakerism, they also both held the same idealistic idea of friendship that was current at the time, best suggested in Cope's first meeting with Brown's friends. Only three days before their departure up the Hudson, on the Fourth of July, amid celebratory bell ringing and canon fire Cope had dinner with Brown, William Dunlap, America's first playwright and theater manager and Brown's first biographer, and another of Brown's friends, William Johnson. Cope's Quaker mores, initially jolted, mellowed by the end of the visit to the point that he uses his most exalted phrase to characterize the afternoon's gathering:

6 Dunlap, *Memoirs*, 210–11.

7 Waterman, Bryan, "Preface," *Wieland and Memoirs of Carwin the Biloquist*, (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 2011), ix.

8 Kafer, Peter, *Charles Brocken Brown's Revolution and the Birth of American Gothic*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 34, quoted in Weinstock, 8.

> At noon called on Wm. Johnson & accompanied by him & Charles waited on Wm. Dunlap opposite to the park, where we dined. He is a valuable man & I cannot help regretting & feeling surprised to find him the manager of the N. York theatre. He does not, as his friends assure me, associate with the players—having a contempt for the loose profligate manners which prevail among them…. Our company formed no Bacchanalian club. We dined well, drank some one, some two glasses of wine & discoursed on various incidental & desultory topics. Might not this be called the 'feast of reason & the flow of soul?'[9]

Cope's moral objections to the theater and its imagined Bacchanalian practices are completely overturned. His rhetorical question and quote from Horace (via Alexander Pope) express his highest praise for intimate companionship and unaffected conversation. They speak to the idealization of friendship in the early republic and also confirm the genial intellectual conversations of the recently defunct Friendly Club, which encouraged its members to ever greater intellectual feats and more truthful and sincere friendships, shaping Brown's view that "Between friends there must exist a perfect and entire similarity of disposition…. Soul must be knit unto Soul."[10] Though Cope and Brown hardly attained that degree of mystical unity, they remained close enough that on his deathbed, less than ten years after their trip, Brown called Cope his best friend.

Their itinerary took the travelers well beyond the river. They sailed up the Hudson to Troy, a distance of 166 miles, in Cope's calculation, and then west across the river to "an insignificant village," Washington, and then south six miles to Albany. After re-crossing the river, they left its banks and traveled east to Lebanon, known for its healing springs, and on to Pittsfield, Massachusetts, about forty miles distant. From Pittsfield, they continued east to Northampton and then south to Harford, Connecticut, and on to New Haven. They had planned to sail on Long Island Sound from New Haven to New York, but unfavorable winds convinced them to await the coach, which carried them the remaining eighty miles to the city. The trip lasted from July 7 to July 22. They were on the Hudson or its shores for five days.

The Hudson trip was more or less spontaneous. "Very suddenly conceived the design of voyaging up the Hudson, as far as Albany," Brown writes. "Had heard much of the grandeur of its shores. My friend C[ope] having some leisure, was willing to adventure for ten days or a fortnight, and I having still more, and being greatly in want of air and exercise, agreed to accompany him."[11] Cope, in New York City to tend to a failing business, may have felt a celebratory sense of relief, for a few days before the trip he wrote in his diary: "Visited some of the creditors of [my company,] I believe to mutual

9 Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant*, 67.

10 Quoted in Bryan Waterman, *Republic of Intellect: The Friendly Club of New York City and the Making of American Literature* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 32.

11 Dunlap, *Memoirs,* 157.

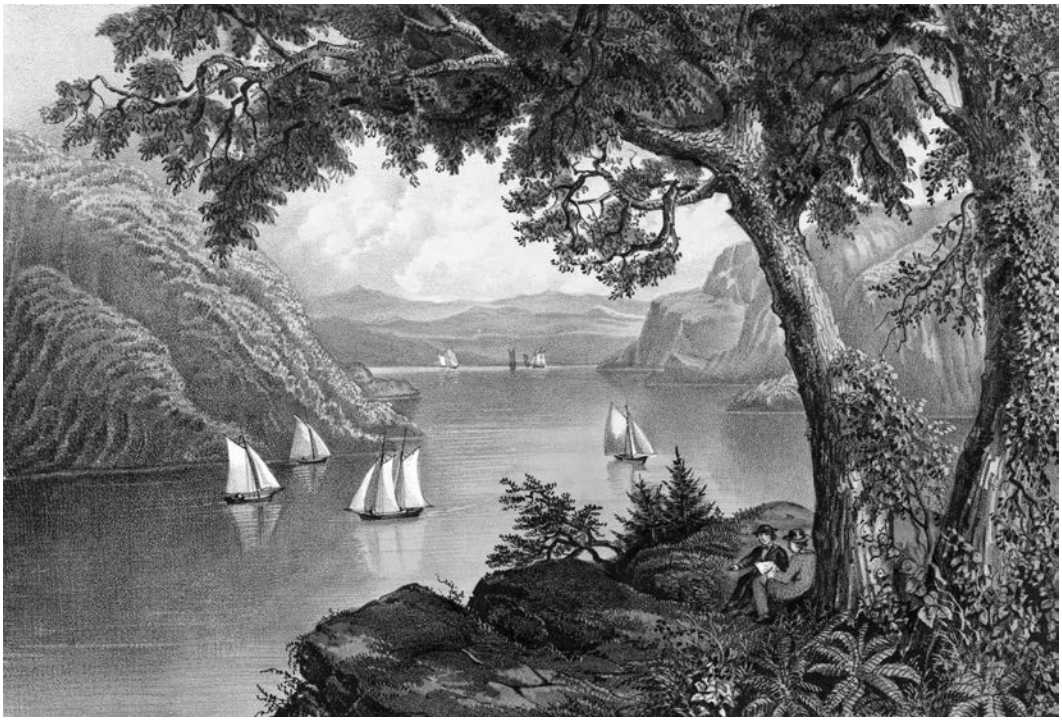
satisfaction."[12] Both released from the pressures of their usual occupations and agreed on travel, the friends nevertheless seem to have had divergent expectations about how they would spend their time.

After his two years of intense creativity, Brown apparently envisioned two weeks of leisurely sauntering and vigorous climbing, unshackled from desk and pen. On the first day under sail, passing the "craggy eminence" of Stony Point, he "much wished to go ashore and ascend this hill." The following day, forced ashore by adverse winds, the friends "seized the opportunity for wandering," and Brown had exactly the kind of day he wished for: "We roamed along the shore and among the bushes, highly pleased with the exercise, and concluded our rambles with a bathing in the river. In leaving the sloop, I left most of my sluggish feelings behind me, and walked enough to make the night's repose acceptable and sound." Later on the trip, at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, they find "amusement in the fields and the outsides of houses"; they "travers[e] the most part" of "the dull town of Hartford"; and in the neighborhood of New Haven "very agreeably [scale] East Rock," "a very bold and very lofty precipice."[13] Brown always records these hikes as pleasurable outings.

Cope is not so delighted with these jaunts. He mentions only one walk, taken after "an hour at the quill," and complains generally about the others: "We allow ourselves so little time to breathe, at the places where we halt & so much of that time is devoted to rest, company & rambling that I am compelled to scribble hastily & at snatched intervals."[14] He seems to prefer leisurely scribbling to sauntering. The trip was at least in some measure self-consciously literary for him, intended to provide subjects for his habitual journalizing. Brown describes him on deck, "busy with his spy-glass" in a detailed survey of the shore, and he notes his friend's frequent sessions at his notebook.[15] Certainly, Cope puts aside his pen only reluctantly. "The stage from Hartford has this moment arrived & is to proceed to New Haven in 5 minutes, so that there is an end to scribbling for the present."[16] The length, detail, and polish of his diary entries and their expository courtesy are testimony to the pleasure and seriousness with which he took up his quill.

Their different expectations for the trip were evident from the observations each made of the other's writing. "For two days past," Cope writes, "my friend has scarce been seized with one scribbling fit. The genius of the Hudson has at length inspired him & I perceive that he [now] fills page after page." Brown is even more aware of his companion's writing. "My friend is a very diligent observer and frequently betakes himself to the pen," Brown writes, and continues with a faint note of self-accusation after the two barren days Cope noticed: "Heavy brows and languid blood have made me indolent, and I have

12 Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant*, 66.
13 Dunlap, *Memoirs*, 163, 165, 167.
14 Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant*, 72.
15 Dunlap, *Memoirs*, 159.
16 Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant*, 75.



***The Hudson Highlands,* Currier & Ives, c.1871.**
Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division

done nothing but look about me, or muse for the last two days."[17] Fortunately, Brown roused from his languor.

It was precisely the "genius of the Hudson" that attracted both men. Though it would be decades before Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper, Thomas Cole and Asher Durand romanticized and popularized the Hudson River Valley, the region was sufficiently remarkable for its "stupendous" scenery that the sloops plying the river carried "tourists" as well as travelers and cargo. The grandeur of the mountains elicited some awed adjectives from Brown, but generally both writers preferred more civilized, more "charming" (Brown) or "cultivated" (Cope) scenes as subjects. Brown succinctly captures the relative attractions of the decorative and delightful over the "fantastic": "The highlands, from the height and boldness of the promontories, and the ruggedness of the rocks, and the fantastic shapes they assume, fully answer the expectations which my friends had excited. But the voyage over the lake ["where the mountains recede" and "the river expands" to "about two miles wide and ten miles long"] exceeded whatever my fancy had pictured as delightful. Three populous villages, Peekskill, New Windsor and Newburg, and innumerable farms decorate its borders."[18]

17 Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant*, 69; Dunlap, *Memoirs*, 159.
18 Dunlap, *Memoirs*, 159.

Not only wilderness, but any landscape in itself meant little to Brown. In an early, undated letter to "R." relating a trip to Rockaway, Brown claims that he has neither the requisite "fancy" nor sufficient knowledge to provide "amusement" for his correspondent by describing the scenery. "As the carriage whirls along," he writes, "faces, fences, barns cultivated fields, pass rapidly across my eye, without leaving a vestige behind them." By contrast, his correspondent (who anticipates Cope) "would take exact note of all these particulars, and draw from them a thousand inferences as to the nature of the soil, the state of agriculture and the condition of the people."[19]

What then can Brown write about? "Such an unobservant wretch as I represent myself to be, may yet amuse by relating his own sensations; and his narrative, if it give no account of the scene of his journey, will, at least, comprise a picture of his own character." Accordingly, he provides "a peep into my own thoughts," about his inadequate change of clothes, his broken umbrella, his apprehensions about the carriage, and similar personal annoyances.[20]

Of course, Brown's letter is not solely a record of his interior experiences. "I was not totally insensible to passing objects," he admits, and his correspondent would have learned, among many other things, about the sandy soil, the Dutch architecture, and the types of conveyances along the route.[21] And it is possible that, as some commentators have claimed, Brown's habitual semi-self-denigration was a psychic ploy to elicit his friends' denials and thus to boost his idealized self-image. Be that as it may, the subjectivity of his relationship to landscape is evident in his Hudson River journal.

"How shall I describe them?" he asks of the mountains from Stony Point to West Point. As in the Rockaway letter, Brown laments his ignorance and lack of imagination. "I cannot particularize the substance of the rock or the kind of tree, save oaks and cedars. I am as little versed in the picturesque." Once again, he is left with his own response. "I can only describe their influence on me." The landscape is therefore not particularized but is instead "emotionalized"; it is rendered in adjectives like "grand," "romantic," "bold," "lofty," "stupendous," and "beautiful."[22] Such adjectives, while anticipating Romanticism, are far from viewing nature as the sublime language of divinity, of nature as—in John Updike's phrase—"the God-designed vehicle of great truths."[23]

Cope casts a colder eye on the passing scene. He is an observant traveler, much like "R," to whom Brown had written about his trip to Rockaway. He composes a kind of travelogue, rating the roads and inns; appraising the soils, timber, streams, and bridges; judging the houses and towns; and often implying their varying cultures. And his interests extend beyond the practicalities of travel. For example, his entries from later in the trip

19 Ibid., 47.
20 Ibid., 47.
21 Ibid., 47.
22 Ibid., 159.
23 Updike, John, *Still Looking: Essays on American Art* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2005), 30.

include an anti-slavery anecdote, a humorous transcription of a teamster's "horse talk," and an extensive account of a Shaker community. Cope's curiosity never flags, and his observant eye and eloquent pen are always alert to whatever the trip presents along the way. He is disciplined to the world as it is and strives to fulfill his ideal of being "useful & practical." His account of the trip is in no small measure a Baedeker.

Cope's view of the difference between the writers is implicit in a diary entry of the preceding fall, commenting on Brown's fiction:

> Frequently visited by our friend C. B. B. of late. He proposes to reside in Philada. this winter. New subjects have occupied his pen & the public will probably soon be presented with some new ebullitions of his lively imagination, if this term be not improperly bestowed on an imagination fertile indeed, but generally devoted to the conception of gloomy representations. He would please one better if instead of employing himself in producing mere works of fancy he would apply the rare talents of which he is undoubtedly possessed to the promotion of science & the pursuit of useful & practical philosophy.[24]

The first sight along the river to catch Brown's attention is, unsurprisingly, a gothic scene:

> I write this seated in the cabin, from the windows of which we have a view of wooded slopes, rocky promontories and waving summits. Our attention has been, for some time, fixed upon Stony Point, a memorable post in the late war, a spot familiar to my ears since my infancy but which I have now seen for the first time. It is a rocky and rugged mass advancing into the river, the sides of which are covered with dwarf cedars, and the summit conspicuous still with some remains of fortification; a general solitude and vacancy around it, and a white cow grazing within the ruinous walls, produce a pleasing effect on my imagination. A craggy eminence, crowned with the ruins of a fortress, is an arresting spectacle everywhere, but a very rare one in America.[25]

The first particular place to arrest Cope's attention is the un-ruinous and strategic West Point:

> The most considerable place in the whole distance is West Point, the fort & fortifications of which, together with barracks & outhouses, are now in good preservation and garrisoned by troops of the United States. This place is esteemed to be the Gibraltar of America in point of strength & inaccessibility to an enemy. It has a complete command of the navigation. The river makes two considerable & sudden bends within reach of its fire & is moreover not

24 Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant*, 43.

25 Dunlap, *Memoirs*, 158–59.

> more that about 3/8 of a mile in width. These circumstances give the fort an incalculable advantage of the shipping of an enemy.[26]

With occasional forays onto shore when becalmed, the voyage itself, from New York to Troy, took two and a half days. On board, in addition to the captain and the two friends, were a mate and a boy who served as cook, as well as at least two other passengers. One disembarked at Hudson village; the other was a "Mr. H. of Albany, a well-behaved man, whose attention was swallowed up by Mrs. Bennet's 'Beggar Girl.'" Brown admits to "some vacant moments which a book might amuse" but can find in the captain's stock only a book of navigation and a book of arithmetic besides Oliver Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*, whose fiction Brown, ironically enough, given the implausibility of his own novels, found "ill-supported." He turned to the mate for entertainment, who offered up his global adventures in a "crude and brief tale" which nevertheless was "pleasing" to Brown.[27]

Cope mentions only two conversations while on board, one with the captain, on navigating the river past West Point, and the other with an unnamed "informant," who pointed out the (supposed) Tarrytown tree where Major John Andre was captured with treasonous papers from Benedict Arnold in his boots. Andre was hanged as a spy, though even Washington, who sentenced him, considered the British officer "more unfortunate [i.e., unlucky] than criminal." Cope had fond memories of Andre, who had been a prisoner of war in Cope's childhood home:

> We passed Fort Washington in the night & in the morning of the 8th saw several objects which … tended to revive the image of a man who was always dear to our family. His virtues made him so to others and perhaps no man ever met with a greater number of sympathizers. His hard & unfortunate sentence was lamented even by those whom the policy of war had made his enemies. "Here," said my informant, "Major Andre was taken. It was under that tree. There he was executed & in yonder house he & Arnold held their first conference." Altho' but a child when Andre lived in my father's family, he left me many interesting tokens of his urbanity. I have always been accustomed to regard him with the affection of a brother.[28]

Like other of Cope's attachments, his affection for Andre remained undiminished. Toward the end of his life, in 1851, he inscribed a watercolor Andre had given the family as a memento: "I was at that time [of Andre's capture] a small boy, but well remember Andre's bland manners, sporting with us children as if one of us. … I often played marbles and other boyish games with the Major. … I have carefully preserved the relic

26 Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant*, 68–69.

27 Dunlap, *Memoirs*, 162–63.

28 Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant*, 68. Washington's judgment of Andre's culpability is quoted in Robert McConnell Hatch, *Major John Andre: A Gallant in Spy's Clothing* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1986), 276.

in memory of the artist & of my affection for that gifted and deceived, that noble minded generous man."[29]

Cope continues his (apparently misdated) July 7 entry with a much less personal exposition of the Highlands that he clearly has no liking for, preferring facts about their geography and history to their "dreary" actuality.

> Peekskill may be considered as the Southern extremity of that large ridge of mountains through which the Hudson takes its course, known by the name of the Highlands. They form a link in that immense chain which runs in a NE & SW direction along the whole N. American continent & is variously denominated as the Blue Mountains, Allegheny, Appalachian &c. They skirt the river on both sides for about 12 miles & have a very dreary & impoverished aspect, being little more than a perfect wilderness covered with low cedars & some other shrubbery. Their surface is irregular & many of the promontories are lofty. One of them, called St. Anthony's Nose, is probably not less than 600 feet high. These wilds have been rendered memorable principally by the events of the Revolutionary War. The vestiges of Fort Montgomery may yet be traced in them.[30]

By contrast, Brown is directly engaged: "What are called the highlands of the North River are a mountainous district through which the river flows for some miles. I had heard much of the stupendous and alpine magnificence of the scenery. We entered it this morning, with a mild breeze and serene sky. The prospect hitherto has been soft and beautiful. Nothing abrupt, rugged or gigantic. Farms and cultivated fields seldom appear. Six or eight vessels like our own have been constantly in sight, and greatly enliven the scene."

And Brown encapsulates the experience of the voyage, the slow sail by day and the quiet anchorage at night: "I have … seated myself on deck watching the shore, as the breeze carried us slowly along. My friend is busy with his spy-glass, reconnoitering the rocks and haystacks, and surveying the wharfs and storehouses of Lunenburg and Hudson, villages we have just passed. I have observed but little besides a steep bank, roughened by rocks and bushes, occasionally yielding to slopes of a parched and yellowish soil, with poor cottages sparingly scattered, and now and then a small garden or field of corn."

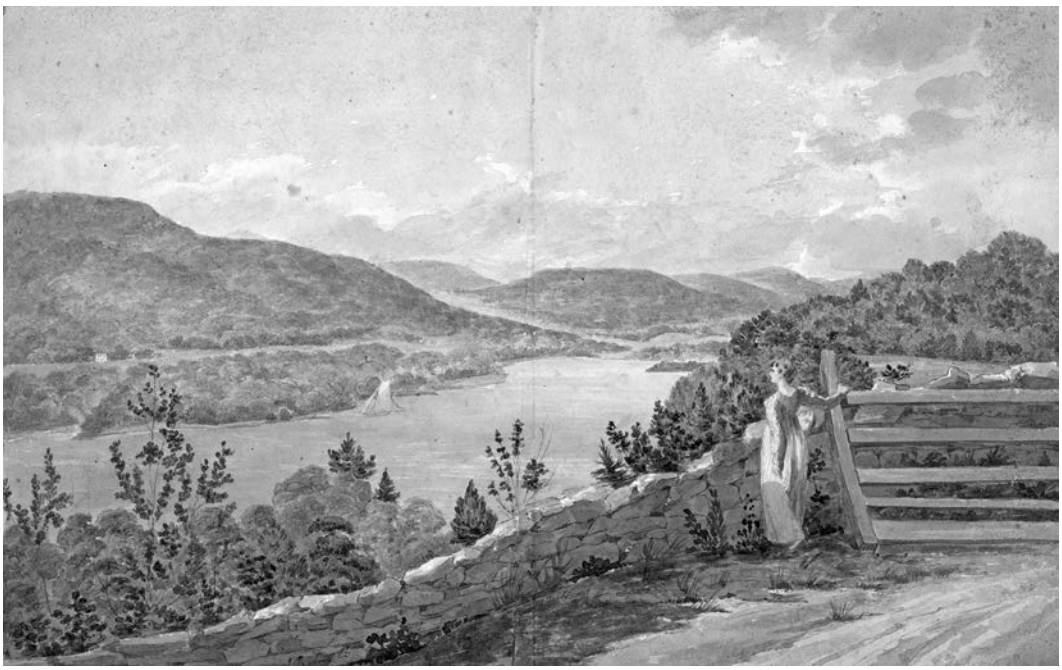
And he continues in the evening: "We are now at anchor, have just dined. My companions are gone to sleep. The utmost stillness prevails. Nothing to be heard but the buzzing of flies near at hand and the cawing of distant crows. We lie surrounded on all hands by loftier ridges than I ever before saw bordered by water…. Few or none of

29 Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant*, caption to illustration facing page 404.
30 Ibid., 68.

them are absolute precipices, but most of them are steep and not to be scaled without difficulty."[31]

Cope's sketch is characteristically less immediate, more florid. Creeks do not flow into the Hudson; they "offer their tribute to its full swelling tides." Even when he deploys emotion-tinged adjectives, he distances himself from them: "*Were* I to attempt…." Only the final grace note puts us immediately on the river:

> Were I to attempt a general description of the country we have passed on this river, I should say its shores are bold, rocky, and romantic. The soil is gravelly, sandy & stony with a large proportion of clay & that sterility is stamped in legible characters on its extensive margins. This noble river is but little beholden to inferior streams for its importance & seems to move along self supported. We have scarce seen one rivulet, but two or three insignificant creeks come to offer their tribute to its full swelling tides. At night the shores resound with the solitary voice of whippoorwill.[32]



***View of the Hudson near West Point,* John Rubens, c.1817.**
The Marian S. Carson Collection at the Library of Congress

This is as much as Brown or Cope have to say about the "perfect wilderness" they sail through. Unsettled and uncultivated nature is largely invisible to them. Though feeling is first for Brown, he does not rise to the emotional heights that the scenic sublime

31 Dunlap, *Memoirs*, 159–60.

32 Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant*, 69.

will generate in later tourists. Cope nods to the Revolutionary history that will be part of the Hudson River Valley's attractions but is otherwise too detached to thrill to the romantic highlands.

The *Harriet* docked in Troy on July 10, but it was not until the 12th that the travelers, after crossing the river, arrived in Albany. It appears from a much later reminiscence in Cope's diary that they visited Cohoes Falls, "where the Mohawk river is precipitated 70 feet over a ledge of rocks."[33] They set out again early the next morning, re-crossed the river, and traveled overland to Lebanon. Once off the river, released from the looming mountains and featureless wilderness, the travelers seem to regain their accustomed voices. Brown's entries become more expansive and lyrical:

> An hour ago we arrived at this delightful spot. Delightful it is in every view. The scenery around is sweetly picturesque, swelling slopes, luxuriant fertility and the wild music of birds combine to delight our senses while abroad, while the apartments are neat, rustic and perfectly commodious. Our room looks out upon the neighboring vallies at the most charming point of view….
>
> Our ride hither, being over a tolerably smooth road and through a country that has many indications of being newly settled, such as log huts, trunks of trees piled on each other for fences, men ploughing among the undecayed stumps of trees and corn growing luxuriantly among tall oaks, which fire and girdling axe had robbed of their leafy honours, has been very pleasing. In proportion as we approached Lebanon, the slopes become longer, more beautiful and more cultivated, and now, having reached our journey's end, we find ourselves within view of almost everything that can cheer the heart of man.[34]

Ashore, Cope resumes his civic-minded self, with an eye for improvements (and profits). He details the size, material, and course of the "tolerably smooth road" and doesn't mention the surrounding countryside at all. Beyond a very practical appreciation of the road's construction and comforts, there is nothing "pleasing," "beautiful," or cheering to the heart of man in his business-like appraisal:

> A turnpike is forming thro' this country over parts of which we travelled. It is very differently made from the Lancaster turnpike. Stones are excluded from its composition & this renders it a very pleasant road. You have not that grating racket which on the Lancaster turnpike precludes ordinary conversation, nor that continual jarring which is so tiresome. It is about 18 feet wide & rounded in the common manner. It does not pretend to straight courses, nor to fill up valleys & slice off mountains. It winds round the steepest hills, cuts off the sharp & shaggy points of the smaller ones & fills up the worst hollows of the

33 Ibid., 354.

34 Dunlap, *Memoirs*, 163–65.

> valleys. It is solid, smooth & tolerably direct. The nature of the soil over which it passes will always render it a good road with little expense & trouble. It has been undertaken by a company.[35]

In the reassuringly settled countryside, Brown happily ticks off the indications of subdued nature and the pleasure he takes in them; Cope records his detailed appreciation of civilization's mundane progress, the practical improvements that he saw so little sign of while on the river. These ample entries highlight their comparative silence about the Hudson itself, and, in their divergent focuses—the one subjective and emotional, the other objectively descriptive—epitomize their different reactions to the voyage and the significantly different landscapes they rendered in their diaries.

Had the friends taken the trip two decades later (by which time, of course, Brown had died), there would have been a language ready-to-hand, the language of sublimity, and the Hudson would have taken on a larger significance for them. Some indication of the change in the zeitgeist (and in Cope) that occurred during the decades following the friends' voyage is evident from an 1817 entry in Cope's diary. While on a carriage trip through Pennsylvania, he expresses a more exalted rather than merely factual view of a mountainous landscape:

> Nittany Mountain, like some others we had passed, was clothed with a variety of wild flowers, among which the two kinds of laurel and wild rose were very conspicuous. However jading to a traveler in a carriage, yet these mountains are very refreshing to the senses. There is much of grandeur in their gigantic & rude forms & the dark solitudes with which they abound excite to meditation, while the limpid streams, which tumble and foam down their craggy sides, add not a little to the general effect. The contemplative mind becomes harmonized & is naturally and almost irresistibly led to adore that Almighty Being who created not only the fathomless caverns of the great deep but also these stupendous monarchs of the wilderness.[36]

While still relatively detached and remaining firmly in an orthodox Christian tradition, far from the pantheistic view that God exists *in* nature, Cope nevertheless by this later date is forcibly brought to thoughts of the divinity by the "stupendous" scenery. His description is more lyrical and effusive, more nearly "romantic," than any landscape observation he made on the Hudson sixteen years earlier. His neoclassical restraint has changed with the changing times and "almost irresistibly" yielded to the Romantic zeitgeist.

James Ryan is the author of Shakespeare's Symmetries: The Mirrored Structure of Action in the Plays.

35 Harrison, *Philadelphia Merchant*, 70.
36 Ibid., 315.

Dick Connell: FDR's First Political Mentor

Laurence M. Hauptman

U. S. Representative Richard E. Connell, c.1911. Harris and Ewing Collection. Library of Congress

Richard E. Connell was a one-term Hudson Valley congressman from Poughkeepsie who was instrumental in Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New York State Senate campaign in the fall of 1910.[1] Connell preceded Louis McHenry Howe, FDR's much written-about advisor and political engineer, who guided the future president's campaigns from 1912 onward.[2] "Dick" Connell instructed the fledgling politician from Hyde Park on how to address crowds of working-class Americans of different faiths in the 21st New York State Senate District, then composed of Dutchess, Columbia, and Putnam counties. The congressman taught FDR a style of campaigning that he was to use the rest of his political life, along with the importance of generating media coverage and the need to build ties with people, including party members, with whom you disagreed or even strongly disliked.

Eminent scholars exploring FDR's political skills, such as James MacGregor Burns in his classic *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (1956), and Robert Dallek in his *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Political Life* (2017), do not mention Connell.[3] Other prominent historians

1 For FDR's state Senate campaign, see Frank Freidel,. *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1952), 76–96; Kenneth S. Davis, *FDR: The Beckoning of Destiny, 1882–1928* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1972), 225–242; Geoffrey C. Ward, *A First-Class Temperament: The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 103–123; and Alfred B. Rollins, Jr., *Roosevelt and Howe,* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1962). 16–32.

2 For Howe's entrance into FDR's political life, see Davis, *FDR: The Beckoning of Destiny,* 282–302. For their decades-old collaboration, see Alfred B. Rollins, Jr., *Roosevelt and Howe*.

3 James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt; The Lion and the Fox* (Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1956); Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Political Life* (New York: Viking, 2017).

such as Frank Freidel, Kenneth S. Davis, Roger Daniels, and Alfred Rollins, Jr., all make reference to Connell in FDR's New York State Senate campaign of 1910, but do not treat him in any great depth.[4] Rollins and others suggest that during FDR's first campaign, when he sought a seat in the state Senate, Connell's fiery stump speeches made him "the star of the show, manipulating relentlessly the impregnable clichés of patriotism."[5] Yet Connell's influence was much greater than serving as an over-the-top master of ceremonies. In his book *A First-Class Temperament: The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt,* Geoffrey Ward rightly states that the future president "enjoyed his [Connell's] company and his spread-eagle style," and "borrowed from him for his own use only a single phrase, the familiar opening, 'My Friends.'"[6] Ward also maintains that the two men had a permanent falling out after the election of 1910, although his conclusion seems to be overstated since their correspondence at the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library indicates otherwise. Indeed, the future president later chaired a committee that honored the congressman's memory.[7]

Connell, coming from a far different background, introduced FDR to people who he had little exposure to before—small-scale dairy and poultry farmers, factory workers, immigrants, and first-generation Americans, as well as people of different faiths. Son of Irish immigrants, the congressman was a devout Roman Catholic who worked with its church missions for the poor. In contrast, FDR's family, of Walloon-Dutch descent, had emigrated from the Low Countries, settled in Hyde Park in 1649, and by the second half of the nineteenth century had obtained substantial wealth in the China trade. While Connell grew up in poverty, FDR, from the time of his baptism in St. James Episcopal Church, had followed a path of privilege from Hyde Park to Groton, to Harvard, to a year at Columbia Law School, and to a prestigious Wall Street law firm. FDR had even married his wife Eleanor, the niece of Theodore Roosevelt, in a White House ceremony in 1905.

Theodore Roosevelt's political success and influence have long been recognized as the spark that led FDR to leave a dull and unsuccessful law career for the campaign trail. But before Louis Howe came on the scene, he was without a political handler to provide him with the needed insights to win election. While still overcoming grief after the death of his infant child in the summer of 1910, FDR made preparations to run for a seat in the New York State Assembly. His wife Eleanor later wrote that he had become intrigued

4 See Note 1.

5 Rollins, *Roosevelt and Howe*, 20–21. See also Nathan Miller, *F.D.R.: An Intimate History* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1983), 66. According to Jean Edward Smith, Connell was a "gifted speaker in the fluid style of William Jennings Bryan…." Jean Edward Smith, *FDR* (New York; Random House, 2007), 65.

6 Ward, *A First-Class Temperament: The Emergence of Franklin Roosevelt,* 113.

7 Ibid., 162–163. In a one-sentence note on page 123, Ward mentions that FDR chaired the Connell Memorial Association, but never mentions that he actually cajoled prominent local attorneys and judges to serve on the association's board and/or contribute money for a playground at Kaal Rock Park to honor the congressman's memory. FDR even convinced Congressman Champ Clark, speaker of the House of Representatives, to be on the board: FDR to Allen G. Neuman, January 23, 1913; FDR to John J. Mylod, January 30, 1913; FDR to Judge Joseph Morschauser, January 30, 1913; FDR to Champ Clark, February 4, 1913, FDR Records as New York State Senator, Box 11, Folder #101: Richard E. Connell Memorial Association, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) Presidential Library.

by the "science of government," especially "the ability to understand" the people and "the play of his personality on theirs…."[8] Subsequently, the aspiring politician met with Assemblyman Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, then representing the 1st Dutchess Assembly District. A member of the Astor family, great-great-grandson of Peter Stuyvesant, and a distant relative of FDR, Chanler had previously served as New York's lieutenant governor. In his meeting with Roosevelt, Chanler was non-committal about running again for office, although he soon decided to do so. Later, FDR met with Democratic Party leaders in Dutchess County who convinced him to run for the state Senate seat held by James Schlosser, a Republican attorney from Fishkill Landing, now the City of Beacon.[9]

No Democrats had been elected to statewide or federal office in Dutchess County since 1884. Their party leadership was in tatters. One faction included county Democratic chairman Edward Perkins, an attorney and president of the First National Bank, who was allied to Tammany Hall; the other by the Hinckley family, publishers of both the *Poughkeepsie News-Press* and the *Poughkeepsie Evening Enterprise*. Other key party members included John E. Mack, the district attorney in Poughkeepsie and later a New York State Supreme Court judge; Thomas Mott Osborne, the noted prison reformer and later warden of Sing Sing; John K. Sague, the mayor of Poughkeepsie; and Morgan H. Hoyt, editor of the *Matteawan Journal* and later commissioner of the New York State Forest, Fish, and Game Commission.[10]

Although Perkins initially had reservations about FDR, the majority of these Democratic leaders saw the magic of using the Roosevelt name to recapture political offices. As FDR later pointed out, they were also well aware of the Roosevelt family's wealth and hoped that it would contribute money to help other Democratic candidates.[11] Local party members immediately saw the advantages of running a young, energetic, and handsome twenty-eight-year-old with a magical last name against the seventy-one-year-old Schlosser, a one-term incumbent. Besides the age disparity, the Democrats came to the realization that the conservative Schlosser was politically vulnerable since he had been an opponent of highly popular Governor Charles Evans Hughes and his Progressive agenda.[12]

Importantly, the Roosevelts of Hyde Park, unlike their distant relatives in New York City and Oyster Bay, were well-known in Democratic circles and had been prominent

8 Eleanor Roosevelt, *The Autobiography of Eleanor Roosevelt* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1937), 66.

9 Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: the Apprenticeship*, 85; Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, 87.

10 Rollins discusses the split in the local Democratic Party. See *FDR and Howe*, 18–19; Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship,* 87–88; Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, 104–113; Morgan H. Hoyt, "The Dutchess County Roosevelt," Morgan Hoyt MSS, FDR Library [later republished as "Roosevelt Enters Politics," *Franklin D. Roosevelt Collector*, 1 (1949): 3–9. Valuable information about the local Democrats can be found in George A. Palmer's interviews with John E. Mack, February 1, 1949, and Mr. and Mrs. George Dickinson, March 22, 1949, Oral History Collection, Box 2, FDR Presidential Library. Other information about party leaders was found in the Poughkeepsie newspapers: *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle, Poughkeepsie News-Press, Poughkeepsie Evening Star, Poughkeepsie Evening Enterprise,* as well as in the weekly *Poughkeepsie Sunday Courier and Poughkeepsie News-Telegraph,* and in two popular local histories: Henry Noble MacCracken, *Blithe Dutchess: The Flowering of an American County* (New York Hastings House, 1958), 74–81; F. Kennan Moody, *FDR And His Hudson Valley Neighbors* (Poughkeepsie: Hudson House Publishing, 2013), 171–178.

11 Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: the Apprenticeship*, 85.

12 Ibid., 92–93.

in county affairs for generations. FDR's father James, who died in 1900, had been widely known in the county and fondly remembered as "the Squire." As a Democrat, he had been elected supervisor of the Town of Hyde Park in the early 1880s. He had actively supported and contributed money to Grover Cleveland's campaign for governor of New York State and for his subsequent runs for president in the 1880s and 1890s.[13] Thus, the Dutchess County Democratic leadership hoped that the Roosevelts would once again use their wealth and status to promote their party. They soon set out to transform FDR into a viable and formidable campaigner. Consequently, it was no accident that the politically experienced Connell was appointed by the local Democratic Party leadership to teach the novice Roosevelt "the ropes."

The Democratic Party convention for state Senate and for Congress was set for October 6 at Union Square in Poughkeepsie. There, John E. Mack put FDR's name into nomination. Mack, who went on to nominate FDR in every political convention through 1936, pointed to Roosevelt's youthful energy, the nominee's commitment to his Dutchess County constituents, and his legal work with "one of the largest and best firms of lawyers in the State of New York."[14] FDR's acceptance speech called for ending Republican boss rule. It became a theme of his campaign; if elected, he committed himself to cleaning house.[15]

At the convention, Connell was nominated for Congress to face the Republican scion, Hamilton Fish II, the odds-on favorite to win the race. Fish's family had been prominent in local, state, and national politics since the American Revolution; his father had been United States Senator, Governor of New York State, and President Grant's Secretary of State.[16] In Connell's acceptance speech, he pledged himself to oppose "Uncle Joe" Cannon, the tyrannical Republican speaker of the House of Representatives, who was seeking reappointment to that powerful post. He also committed himself to helping all the people, not special interests, and voting down an increase in tariff rates that had dramatically driven up the cost of living for Americans from coast to coast.[17]

Connell, a self-made and largely self-educated man, was born on November 6, 1857, in Poughkeepsie. His father, also named Richard, and his mother, Ann Phelan, emigrated from Kilkenny during Ireland's "Great Hunger" in 1846. By the age of ten, the younger

13 Smith, *FDR*, 22.

14 Mack quoted in "Democrats Name Winning Ticket," *Poughkeepsie News-Press* October 7, 1910, See also "Democrats Name Winning Ticket," *Poughkeepsie News-Telegraph*, October 8, 1910; Mack interview, February 1, 1949.

15 FDR speech, accepting Democratic Party nomination for state Senate, Poughkeepsie, October 6, 1910, FDR Master Speech File, FDR Presidential Library. FDR's speeches have been conveniently digitized by Marist College.

16 "Republican Conventions: Hon. Hamilton Fish Re-nominated for Congress and Senator John F. Schlosser Again Chosen as a Candidate for Re-Election," *Poughkeepsie Sunday Courier*, October 9, 1910. For Hamilton Fish, II, see "Hamilton Fish, 86, Dies in Aiken S.C.; Father of Representative and Son of Governor had Himself Served in Congress….*New York Times*, September 15, 1936; for his record in the New York State Legislature, see Edgar Murlin, comp., *New York Red Book* (Albany, 1895), 148; "Fish, Hamilton [1849–1936]" *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress. 1774– Present*. http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/ biodisplay.pl?index=C000686, Retrieved October 6, 2019.

17 "Democrats Name Winning Team," *Poughkeepsie News-Press*, October 7, 1910. Cannon was overthrown as speaker in 1911 during Connell's term in the House of Representatives. For Speaker Cannon's dictatorial rule, see Scott William Roger, "Uncle Joe Cannon: The Brakeman of the House of Representatives, 1903–1911." In: *Masters of the House: Congressional Leadership Over Two Centuries*, eds. Roger H. Davidson, Raymond W. Smock and Susan W. Hammond (New York: Perseus, 1998), 33–62; "'Uncle Joe' Cannon Dies in Danville at 90: 46 Years in the House," *New York Times*, November 13, 1926.

Connell worked—he wheeled a cart laden with water containers, bringing relief to thirsty workers building the Poughkeepsie reservoir. Because of the death of his father and the need to support his widowed mother and three sisters, at age fourteen Richard was forced to leave his studies at St. James Parochial School in Poughkeepsie for full-time employment. A frail, undernourished teenager, he contracted tuberculosis and spent months in isolation in Hudson River State Hospital. A voracious reader, he used the time to educate himself. When he recovered, he went to work at Streit and Lockwood, a carriage painting firm in Poughkeepsie.[18]

Connell's political career began in 1884, when he campaigned and made speeches for Grover Cleveland, then running for New York's governorship. Over the years, he refined his speeches campaigning for Democratic Party candidates and became sought after because of his eloquence. As a result of his work for the party, he was twice named a delegate to national Democratic presidential conventions. His career took off in 1887 when J.W. Hinckley, publisher of the Democratic-leaning *Poughkeepsie News-Press*, offered Connell a job as a reporter. Connell became known throughout Dutchess County for writing human interest as well as feature stories. Until his election to Congress in November 1910, Connell was to spend the next twenty-three years as a journalist there, ultimately rising to the position of city editor. In November 1890, he married Mary E. Miller, known as Molly, in St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in Poughkeepsie. The couple had four children—Catherine, Anne, Mary, and Richard, Jr.—who they raised at their modest home on North Clinton Street.[19]

Connell became widely known and respected through his reporting and for his work on behalf of missions run by Catholic charities. Historian Roger Daniels has rightly pointed out that FDR's "early willingness to work in tandem with a Catholic candidate [Connell] is worth noting."[20] While campaigning together in 1910, Connell brought Roosevelt to meet with James Forrestal, an Irish-American immigrant who lived in Fishkill Landing. Like Connell, Forrestal was a devout Roman Catholic, and his strong Democratic leanings were shaped by his support for Grover Cleveland. He later received a political appointment as postmaster at Matteawan. Forrestal was also a self-made man running a successful construction business. In 1910, he became heavily involved in campaigning for both

18 Mary Connell Bray, "Biography of Congressman Richard E. Connell," In: Richard E. Connell MSS, Box 1, FDR Presidential Library; "Sudden Death of Hon. R.E. Connell, *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, November 1, 1912; "Congressman R.E. Connell Dies Suddenly at Home Early Today of Heart Failure," *Poughkeepsie Evening Star*, October 30, 1912; "Congressman Connell Dead, *Hudson Evening Star*," October 31, 1912; "M.C. Dies in Campaign," *New York Times,* October 31, 1912; and three articles in the *Poughkeepsie Evening Enterprise* on October 30, 1912: "Congressman R.E. Connell Found Dead in Bed," "Mr. Connell's Struggle and Success in Life" and "Mr. Connell was Ever Devoted to His Family." See also "Connell, Richard E." *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–Present,* http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=C000686, retrieved October 6, 2019. Valuable information about Connell's life can also be found in his congressional colleagues' memorial tribute: *Richard E. Connell (Late Representative from New York): Memorial Address delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Proceedings of the Senate December, 1912, Proceedings of the House, February 16, 1913, Doc. # 1487, 62nd Congress, 3rd session, 1913).

19 See Note 18

20 Roger Daniels, *Franklin D. Roosevelt; Road to the New Deal, 1882–1939* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 24.

Connell and FDR. Forrestal's son, James V. Forrestal, actually took over as a reporter for the *Poughkeepsie News-Press* when Connell decided to run for Congress in 1910. In 1944, FDR appointed him to the post of Secretary of the Navy; a year later, President Truman appointed him the nation's first Secretary of Defense.[21]

After 1890, Connell had become a fixture in Democratic politics. Because of his oratory, he became a much sought-after banquet speaker, especially at political and church gatherings. Before his campaigning with FDR in 1910, Connell was considered by many as a perennial candidate for higher office. In 1892, he began his career in local government service by being appointed Poughkeepsie sheriff, serving two terms in office; fifteen years later, he served as inheritance tax appraiser for Dutchess County. But Connell had greater aspirations. In 1896, the Democrats nominated him to run for Congress. In 1898 and again in 1900, the party nominated him for the New York State Assembly. He was defeated each time, largely because of an overwhelming Republican majority in the rural areas of Dutchess County and parts of Columbia and Putnam counties.[22] Despite his defeats, he gained insights about campaigning that he was to teach the young FDR and help launch the future president on his political career.

In his campaigns, Connell was known for his rousing speeches that always ended with an appeal to patriotism. Historian Jean Edward Smith described him as a "gifted stump speaker in the florid style of William Jennings Bryan."[23] Connell's daughter, Mary, a graduate of Vassar College, later wrote that her father frequently studied the writing and speeches of famous orators and that he refined his thinking about larger matters through lengthy philosophical discussions with his friend James Monroe Taylor, president of Vassar.[24] He would complete his campaign stops with references to the American flag that had been carried into battle by Dutchess County men from the American Revolution onward. He frequently made reference to the Civil War since the famous Dutchess regiment, the 150th New York State Volunteer Infantry, played a major role at the Battle of Gettysburg and was part of General William Tecumseh Sherman's Grand Army of the West that captured Atlanta and marched to the sea.[25]

Before FDR's nomination, Roosevelt had discussions with Connell, sometimes at his *Poughkeepsie News-Press* office. Despite being from far different backgrounds, they hit it off from the beginning, and soon FDR's education in local politics and campaigning had begun. Because of Connell's past experiences and vast knowledge of the political landscape of the tri-county area, the Democratic leadership made the fateful decision that Connell

21 According to Arnold A. Rogow, Roosevelt's friendship with the senior James Forrestal "allayed FDR's so-called anti-Catholicism." *James Forrestal; A Study of Personality, Politics, and Policy* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 51. For James V. Forrestal, see Walter Millis, "Introduction." *The Forrestal Diaries*. Ed. Millis in collaboration with E.S. Duffield (New York: Viking Press, 1951), xvi–xxiii.

22 See Note 18.

23 Smith, *FDR*, 65.

24 Bray, "Biography of Congressman Richard E. Connell."

25 Ward. *A First-Class Temperament,* 113; Elliott Roosevelt, ed. *FDR: His Personal Letters* (New York; Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1948), 155.

and Roosevelt would campaign together**.** In her brief biography of her father**,** Mary Connell Bray described the two men's preparations for the month-long campaign:

> One day, there appeared upon the threshold a very handsome man from Hyde Park. He had come to seek Editor Connell's advice on getting into political life. My father told us at dinner that young Franklin Roosevelt would be coming to our house in the morning to get his ideas on public speaking (my Father was well known as an orator) and help in his ambition to run for the New York State Senate. I remember vividly opening the door of our simple home on North Clinton Street at the foot of College Hill Park, to a radiant young man who asked for 'Dick.' They would shut themselves in our little parlor where my Father taught the future greatest orator of Presidents the art of public speaking. He [Connell] had always begun his speeches at political conventions, school baccalaureates, and for many other types of audiences with the opening words, "MY FRIENDS." In the President's famous "Fire Side Chats" [sic], my Father's friendship with the future President in his youth was symbolized for me. He did not live to see his fame.[26]

Connell had a difficult assignment. Even though Roosevelt was born in the county and his mother Sara was a fixture there, her son he had been away for more than half of his life—attending private school, college, law school, and entering a legal practice in New York City. Hence, his opponents cast Roosevelt as a rich carpetbagger from New York City who did not fit in or understand the people of the district. Connell's difficult assignment was to acquaint FDR with the ordinary folk of Dutchess County and their needs. These included one of Roosevelt's neighbors, Thomas Leonard, a house painter and Hyde Park committeeman who he had never met before![27] According to Morgan Hoyt, FDR even had to be taught how to dress on the campaign. Ed Perkins suggested that FDR wear something other than white pants and add a band onto his hat since the youthful candidate's fashion statement was more suitable for yachting at Newport and "wouldn't get a single farmer's vote" in the district.[28] Connell was to transform the ambitious, handsome upper-class candidate into being "just one of the guys." He instructed FDR on how to make an appealing stump speech, how to get favorable media attention, and how to handle the press on the campaign trail. One of the first things Connell insisted upon was that FDR take off his pince-nez eyeglasses; the Poughkeepsie newsman thought they "made him look cold and distant."[29]

While the politically inexperienced Roosevelt needed instruction to run a campaign, Connell, a fifty-three-year-old newspaperman, clearly saw the advantages of piggybacking

26 See Note 24.

27 Interview of Thomas Leonard, January 11, 1949, Oral History Collection, Box 2, FDR Presidential Library.

28 Hoyt, "The Dutchess County Roosevelt."

29 Miller, *FDR*, 66.

his own political efforts with that of the handsome, energetic and wealthy novice. At the time, the 26th Congressional District consisted of Columbia, Dutchess, Greene, and Putnam counties, but the 21st New York State Senate District only included Columbia, all of Dutchess, and part of Putnam County. Connell realized that he had less need to actively campaign in heavily Democratic Greene County, but he saw that having a Roosevelt on the ticket could help him win more support, financial backing, and enough votes in Dutchess County outside of the City of Poughkeepsie. He hoped that by tying himself to FDR, he would finally achieve his long-time goal of political victory. Consequently, Connell was quite willing to join up with the novice's campaign for state Senate.

Connell was the perfect choice since he was well known from his newspaper columns, had previously campaigned throughout the region, had learned from his past political mistakes, and had an outstanding record of working for numerous charities and with immigrant communities centered in the City of Poughkeepsie. The *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, the county's major Republican newspaper, noted optimistically that state Senator Schlosser had little to worry about in the upcoming campaign against Connell and Roosevelt. After all, Connell was a habitual loser in mid-Hudson elections and was seen as no threat to Hamilton Fish II's candidacy. In a backhanded compliment to Connell, the editorial noted that the rival newsman had always made his campaigning entertaining: "Mr. Connell adds color to the campaign by his pyrotechnical speeches, and is always a welcome visitor in the outlying settlements." The editorial then suggested that Roosevelt's "jump into politics" was sweetened by the belief that the Roosevelts would make a substantial financial contribution to the campaign.[30]

Connell's knowledge of the tri-county area and its people came in handy from the first. Morgan Hoyt later wrote that Connell was a "brilliant and fluent writer, whose fame had reached beyond the confines of his home district."[31] To discredit him, the P*oughkeepsie Daily Eagle* reported incorrectly that the well-known journalist and perennial Democratic candidate for office was largely an unknown quantity outside of Poughkeepsie. To rile up the dairy farmers against Connell, the same newspaper claimed that he favored increasing oleomargarine production, a move that would have seriously affected the farmers' livelihoods. In response, Connell pointed out that the *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle* had advocated more oleomargarine production, not him. He presented himself as an economic conservative, challenging Theodore Roosevelt's regulatory policies, condemning the "new nationalism, or any other form of sensational agitation which threatens the confidence of the business world."[32]

FDR and Connell, nevertheless, had problems generating attention to their campaign. One reason was that former President Theodore Roosevelt, a "media hound," was

30 "The Democratic Ticket," *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle,* October 7, 1910, editorial.

31 Morgan H. Hoyt, "The Dutchess County Roosevelt."

32 "Democratic Speaking Tour of Three Counties Makes Record in Political History," Undated Newsclipping, Scrapbooks, Box 30: 1910, FDR Records as New York State Senator, FDR Presidential Library.

campaigning for Republican candidates in the Hudson Valley, drawing newspaper coverage away from the Democratic candidates. Moreover, other news stories blocked out coverage of the local campaign. They ranged from accounts of an impending crisis in the Balkans to the death of former New York Governor David Hill.

In an effort to draw attention to their candidates, and with typical political hyperbole, Connell and FDR announced that they planned to travel 3,000 miles and reach 5,000 potential voters.[33] With the approaching election just weeks away, Connell understood that the candidates had no more time to waste. Instead of using a horse and buggy to travel the district, the traditional way to campaign in the hinterland, Connell and Mack apparently got the idea to rent a new, eye-catching red Maxwell, referred to by FDR's mother as the "Red Menace."[34] The automobile was rented from Harry Hawkey, a piano tuner from Poughkeepsie, for twenty-eight days at twenty dollars per day. Hawkey served as their chauffeur. The action allowed FDR, Connell, and Ferdinand A. Hoyt, Jr. (running for the state Assembly in the district south of Chanler's, who joined them on their first campaign trips) to travel greater distances, and gave them a chance to make more political speeches and reach into every geographical nook and cranny, especially in rural sections of Dutchess County.[35]

Using his past political and newspaper experiences, Connell advanced the campaign in several key areas. He convinced FDR to write out personal checks, which enabled them to order 2,500 campaign buttons and publish advertisements in twenty-four local newspapers, including those with Republican leanings. Five hundred placards also were placed in store windows throughout the tri-county area.[36] To take care of campaign expenses, Sara Roosevelt and her immediate friends made a $2,500 contribution, equivalent to more than $50,000 today.[37] The Democratic ads introduced FDR as an energetic young man who came from a good family with long-time roots in Dutchess County.[38]

Purposely avoiding *ad hominem* attacks on Schlosser and Fish, Connell, the anti-Tammany Democrat, designed the campaign as one *against* Republican bossism and *for* a restoration of "good government." Based on years of campaigning, he clearly understood that the Republicans had a lock on voters in Columbia County. Lewis Payne, the Republican

33 "All Democratic Candidates to Go on Long Junket," *Poughkeepsie News-Press*, undated newspaper clipping, Folder 1: 1910. Box 19, FDR Records as New York State Senator, FDR Presidential Library.

34 Mrs. James Roosevelt [Sara Roosevelt], *My Boy Franklin as Told by Mrs. James Roosevelt to Isabel Leighton and Gabrielle Forbush* (New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith Publishers, 1933), 73–76.

35 Hoyt, "The Dutchess County Roosevelt," Daniels, *Franklin D. Roosevelt; Road to the New Deal*, 24; Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, 113; Rollins, *Roosevelt and Howe*, 20–21; Moody, *FDR and His Hudson Valley Neighbors*, 174. For the history of the Maxwell- Briscoe Automobile Company, see Anthony J. Yanik, *Maxwell Motor and the Making of the Chrysler Corporation* (Detroit; Wayne State University Press, 2009).

36 Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, 117.

37 Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: the Apprenticeship*, 88; Smith, *FDR*, 62.

38 Advertisement: "Franklin D. Roosevelt is Pledged to Serve the People," *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, October 21, 1910; The same ad was also in the *Poughkeepsie-News Telegraph* October 8, and 22, 1910 and in the *Cold Spring Recorder*, October 28, 1910. Besides mentioning campaign buttons and placards, Ward mentions that this ad also appeared in the *Amenia Times*, *Hillsdale Harbinger*, and the *Wappinger Falls Chronicle*. Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, 117. After the campaign ended, the *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle* in an article dated November 18, 1910, entitled, "Candidate's Expenses," indicated that Connell allegedly spent only $293 on his campaign, while FDR personally had spent $1,766 on his.

political boss from Chatham, held sway there and suspicions of corruption had long surrounded him. Besides limiting their campaigning somewhat in Columbia County, Connell was quite aware that Putnam County was Hamilton Fish II's home base, and thus the Democrats needed to focus much of their attention on the more populated Dutchess County. Since the Democrats' political advantage was the City of Poughkeepsie, they decided to focus their campaign on wooing mostly rural voters, primarily farmers. They made stops in front of post offices, railroad stations, in business districts, and at crossroads.[39] It was no accident that they launched their campaign in Senator Schlosser's political backyard, namely at Bank Square in Fishkill Landing and at Fountain Square in Matteawan. In order to win their elections, the candidates realized they needed to flip this traditionally Republican area to the Democrats. The mere presence of a young, tall, lean, and handsome Roosevelt on the stump stood in sharp contrast to the wizened and aged Schlosser. FDR, acting much like his distant cousin Theodore, accused Schlosser of not supporting the former Republican Governor Charles Evans Hughes and his Progressive reform agenda.[40]

Their open Maxwell touring car drew lots of free publicity in newspapers since the sight of a bright red automobile, let alone any car, was largely unknown in rural areas. The use of their flashy automobile, bedecked with an American flag, also drew the ire as well as jibes from Republicans, including Hamilton Fish II, who referred to it as "a vaudeville act." By focusing on it, the Republicans only brought more attention to the Democratic Party candidates. Sara Roosevelt later noted: "Mr. Connell and my son went on undisturbed by these derisive jibes, holding forth wherever any one [sic] would listen to them. They would make as many as seven speeches a day delivering them from town halls, public squares, apple orchards or standing sometimes on top of haystacks. Any spot that could yield even a handful of votes became their happy hunting grounds."[41]


MAXWELL-BRISCOE MOTOR CO.
Tarrytown, N. Y.

PRICE . . $1500
(top extra)

MODEL: MAXWELL E

Color	Blue-black.	Arranged	Vertically, under hood.
Seating Capacity	Five persons.	Cast	Separately.
Clutch	Multiple disc.	Bore	4¼ inches.
Wheel-base	110 inches.	Stroke	4¼ inches.
Gauge	56 inches.	Cooling	Water.
Tire Dimensions,		Radiator	Honeycomb.
Front	34 x 4 inches.	Ignition	Jump spark.
Rear	34 x 4 inches.	Electric Source	Low tension magneto and dry battery.
Brake Systems	Contracting and expanding on both rear wheels.	Drive	Shaft.
		Transmission	Progressive sliding gear.
Horse-power	30.	Gear Changes	Three forward, one reverse.
Cylinders	Four.		

Table of A. L. A. M. horse-power ratings shown on page 18.

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Advertisement for the 1910 Maxwell Model E appearing in the *Hand Book of Gasoline Automobiles: For the Information of the Public Who Are Interested in their Manufacture and Use*, Association of Licensed Automobile Manufacturers, 1910. Image courtesy of the Hathi Trust

Prior to their automobile tour, the two men, along with John E. Mack, had carefully worked out their strategy. Although Connell was known for his oratory, most of the time he deferred to FDR. Connell, fully aware of the power of the press, not only planned the itinerary for

39 For the campaign itinerary see the notice "Speaking Tour." FDR Records as New York State Senator, Box 19: Newsclippings, Folder 1: 1910, FDR Presidential Library.

40 Hoyt, "The Dutchess County Roosevelt."

41 Mrs. James Roosevelt [Sara Roosevelt], *My Boy Franklin as Told by Mrs. James Roosevelt to Isabel Leighton and Gabrielle Forbush* (New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith Publishers, 1933), 73–76.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt campaign poster, courtesy of the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library

the campaign, but as an experienced and well-respected reporter and city editor, he carefully cultivated bonds with his counterparts on other newspapers in the three-county region to get coverage for the Democratic candidates.

The tour was not without problems. Traveling on the counties' dirt roads, Hawkey's Maxwell not only had to deal with making it up steep hills, but had to avoid running over household pets, free-range chickens, and even cattle. Unfortunately, the car was unable to maneuver around one farmer's dog. The automobile broke down on several occasions and once the candidates found themselves in a sudden rainstorm that soaked them to the bone. Other incidents caused delays. Passing through Wiccopee, Connell was accidentally hit by a baseball thrown by Harry Stanton, a thirteen-year-old playing on a field adjoining the road. The ball broke the candidate's glasses, resulting in a highly inflamed eye and cuts on his forehead. After first aid was administered, the resilient (and now-bandaged) Connell resumed campaigning.[42]

From October 24 onward, Connell and FDR focused their first attention on eastern Dutchess County, making stops and speeches in Millerton, Wassaic, Dover Plains, Wingdale, and Pawling. At the latter stop, FDR attacked the overspending and corruption at the state capital. The next day, they pressed forward into southern Dutchess County, stopping and speaking at Patterson, Holmes, Poughquag, Beekmanville, Green Haven, Stormville, and ending up in Hopewell Junction. On October 26 at stops at Gay Head and Wappingers Falls, FDR once again presented himself as a reformer who aimed to cleanse Albany of corruption. To get under Schlosser's skin, FDR hailed Charles Evans Hughes as a model governor. The candidates then followed with stops and speeches at Wiccopee, Fishkill Village, New Hamburg, Chelsea, Wappingers Falls, Hughsonville, Fishkill Landing, and Matteawan.[43]

42 Ibid.; Daniels, *Franklin D Roosevelt; Road to the New Deal*, 24; Ward, *A First-Class Temperament* 113; Rollins, *Roosevelt and Howe*, 20–21; Moody, *FDR and His Hudson Valley Neighbors,* 174. "Mr. Connell Injured," *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle,* October 28, 1910.

43 FDR Speech at Pawling, October 24, 1910. FDR Master Speech file, Box 1, FDR Presidential Library. The Democratic campaign in southern Dutchess County can be followed in the *Poughkeepsie News Press*, October 25–26, 1910.

Franklin D. Roosevelt campaigning in Dutchess County for the New York State Senate, fall, 1910.
New Paltz Times **# 48224014(23), Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library**

On October 27 and 28, the candidates concentrated their campaigning in northern Dutchess and Columbia counties, repeating their call for change in the political culture of Albany and Washington. They presented themselves as independents not tied to the old order. Their stops included Germantown, Hudson, Copake, Ancram, Valatie, Kinderhook, and Philmont. At Hudson, FDR stated that New York State legislators as a whole had failed in responding to constituent needs and that Schlosser had not represented the 26th District well enough for them to send him back to Albany.[44]

On Halloween, they arrived back in Poughkeepsie, where the candidates spent the next three days campaigning. Although the campaign had been focused on the state Senate contest, FDR, realizing Connell's popularity in the city, featured the congressional candidate for the very first time in his speech. He attacked Fish for criticizing the type of campaign he and Connell had put on, claiming that the Republican candidate had not even met with his constituents. "The truth is, my friends, that Mr. Fish is alarmed because he is up against a man who will be a real representative of no special interests, of no bosses, but of the whole people. A man of the people, from the people, and a man who will be elected, Richard E. Connell." FDR then concluded by promising honesty, efficiency, and hard work if he was elected. [45]

From November 2 through the 4th, FDR and Connell returned to the campaign trail, wooing district farmers, but this time focusing their efforts in northern Putnam County.

44 FDR Speech at Hudson, New York, October 27, 1910, FDR Master Speech file, Box 1, FDR Presidential Library. The Democratic campaign in Columbia County can be followed in the *Hudson Evening Register*, October 27 and 28, 1910.

45 FDR Speech at Poughkeepsie, October 31, 1910, FDR Master Speech file, Box 1, FDR. Presidential Library.

Mack had been sent to the county as an advance man to set the groundwork and to challenge the lingering charge that FDR was a political opportunist and carpetbagger. Once again, Mack answered these charges in interviews with the local press, emphasizing that Roosevelt came from a good Dutchess County family with long roots in the region, and that he had the youth, energy, and courage to serve the peoples' needs in the state Legislature. Connell and FDR followed up Mack's work by speaking before a crowd of 500 people in Cold Spring. They then made stops at Ludingtonville, Kent Cliffs, Tompkins Corners, Adams Corners, Philipstown, Mahopac Falls, Lake Mahopac, Carmel, and Brewster before finishing up back in Dutchess County at Millbrook.[46]

The campaign came to an end on November 5 with speeches at Salt Point, Clinton Hollow, Clinton Corners, and finally two in Hyde Park. At Springwood, his family estate, FDR stumbled, apparently nervous speaking before his aunts and uncles. He spoke hesitantly and mixed his metaphors. Connell then took over the event and ended the meeting with his usual patriotic rhetoric. The campaign came to an end in front of the Hyde Park Town Hall. There, a more composed FDR, with Connell once again at his side, defended himself against past Republican charges that he was from New York City, not a true resident of Dutchess County. He then evoked the memory of his late father and maintained that he was committed to following in his footsteps.[47]

The next day, the Democrats won an overwhelming statewide election. John Alden Dix was swept into the governorship and Republican incumbents were defeated from Suffolk to Niagara County, including Schlosser and Fish in the mid-Hudson region. Connell carried the 26th Congressional District by 519 votes, largely because of a 650-vote margin from Greene County. Although he carried the City of Poughkeepsie, he lost in Dutchess County by forty-three votes and by 499 votes in Fish's Putnam County. Hoyt won his seat in the New York Assembly by a mere eleven votes. However, FDR was the great winner. When the votes were counted in the 21st State Senate District, he had garnered 15,708 to his opponent's 14,468. The future president won the Town of Hyde Park 406 votes to 205, carried Dutchess County by over 850 votes, and Columbia County by nearly 500 votes. He lost to Schlosser by 125 votes in Putnam County.[48]

While FDR went on to the state Senate, then a part-time occupation that allowed him to spend the majority of his days at Springwood, Connell left his Clinton Street home for Washington. During Connell's brief time on Capitol Hill, he supported an increase in pensions for Civil War veterans and federal funding for the United States Navy to build

46 Mack interview. The Democratic campaign in Putnam County can be followed in *Cold Spring Recorder*, November 4, 1910; *Putnam Courier,* November 4, 1910; *Poughkeepsie News Press*, November 5, 1910.

47 FDR Speech at Hyde Park, November 5, 1910, FDR Master Speech file, Box 1, FDR Presidential Library; Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, 122–123.

48 Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: the Apprenticeship*, 242. However, Poughkeepsie newspapers put Connell's margin of victory as 499. For election results, see "Democratic Victory Here and in the State Certain; Dix Will Carry Dutchess," *Poughkeepsie News-Press*, November 8, 1910; "Democrats Sweep State: Connell Swept to Victory," *Poughkeepsie News Press,* November 9, 1910. "Democrats Carry City and State," *Poughkeepsie Evening Star*, November 10, 1910.

two new battleships. After he was appointed to the House of Representatives' Committee on Territories, he backed statehood for Arizona and New Mexico.[49]

Geoffrey Ward claims that Connell and FDR had a permanent falling out in 1912 over issues related to Tammany Hall. The two men did drift apart after the victory, but there was never a permanent split. Ward brings out that FDR, despite presenting himself and receiving attention as an insurgent in strong opposition to boss rule, supported Tammany Hall's efforts to push for a new charter for New York City and backed its plan for redistricting. FDR's motivation for this support is not clear, but it did cause a rift in the two men's relationship since Connell was a virulent anti-Tammany Democrat.[50] Perhaps FDR's decision to support these two Tammany moves was caused by his fears of a growing schism in the Democratic Party, both in the mid-Hudson region and statewide, that would threaten party success in future elections. It should be pointed out that less than two years later, legislators allied with Tammany Hall had enough influence to impeach and remove reformist Democratic Governor William Sulzer from office.[51]

Another possible explanation is based on FDR's political inexperience. Perhaps FDR made a mistake, unaware that by supporting Tammany's plans for redistricting, he was undermining his friend Dick Connell's political future. The redrawn 26th Congressional District included a part of Orange County, which was Republican, and now was devoid of voters in heavily Democratic Greene County, making it less likely that Connell would be re-elected. In later correspondence between the two men, FDR realized that his actions had offended Connell and apparently made amends by encouraging Connell and suggesting ways for him to win re-election.[52]

Despite Ward's claim that their relationship had come to an end, the two men's correspondence between 1911 and 1912 clearly shows that they had a strong working relationship that served their constituents well. Less than four months after taking his seat in Congress, Connell, still acting as FDR's mentor, congratulated him for his great service to the Democratic Party and "for being a priceless example to the young men of our state and country who contemplate participation in public life." Connell praised FDR for already taking bold stands and being outspoken in leading the insurgency against boss rule in Albany.[53] Twelve days later, FDR wrote back, praising Connell for "the magnificent work" that he was doing in Washington.[54] Proudly, he later informed Connell, his political

49 See Note 18.

50 Ward, *A First-Class Temperament*, 162–163.

51 See Matthew L. Lifflander *The Impeachment of Governor Sulzer: A Story of American Politics* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012).

52 FDR to Richard E. Connell, January 23, 1912. FDR Records as New York State Senator, Correspondence, Box 11: Name File, Folder Connell, Richard E., FDR Presidential Library.

53 Richard E. Connell to FDR, April 6, 1911, FDR Records as New York State Senator, Correspondence, Box 11: Name File, Folder Connell, Richard E., FDR Presidential Library.

54 Richard E. Connell, Sr. to FDR, April 18, 1911, FDR Records as New York State Senator, Correspondence, Box 11: Name File, Folder: Connell, Richard E., FDR Presidential Library.

coach, that he was fighting for passage of an amendment to establish the direct election of U.S. senators.[55]

On numerous occasions, their correspondence dealt with helping residents of their districts—requests from a seamstress, an overworked mail carrier, as well as others seeking appointments as federal judges and game wardens.[56] The two men frequently discussed other constituent concerns ranging far afield. They included funding for a Pine Plains teachers' training class.[57] In one of the more unusual requests from a constituent, Connell wrote FDR about how to acquire buffalo from the federal government for a ranch in Dutchess County. In the same letter, knowing Roosevelt's long interest in ships, Connell promised to back one of the state Senator's pet projects, namely the incorporation of the Naval History Society.[58]

Some of the correspondence between the two men was directly related to Tammany Hall as well as to Hudson Valley politics. FDR warned the congressman about potential rivals, and invited him to be the keynote speaker at Democratic Party banquets in Dutchess County.[59] In a letter to FDR on January 17, 1912, Connell announced his candidacy for reelection to Congress.[60] In responding to the letter, FDR filled him in on political developments and about possible opponents and their strengths and weaknesses. He encouraged Connell to persevere, insisting that his reelection fight was not "in any way hopeless." He also assured Connell that he could win since the Republicans appeared to be in decline in Orange County and that the congressman could pick up more votes in Putnam and Dutchess counties than he did in 1910. FDR even suggested that they consider campaigning together as in 1910.[61]

By the late summer of 1912, Connell found himself faced with a formidable challenger. His Republican opponent was none other than his long-time rival, Edward Platt, editor of the *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*. Just when FDR and Connell could have teamed up, Roosevelt came down with a serious bout of typhoid fever that forced him off the campaign trail. Instead, FDR made a fateful decision—hiring a newcomer, the remarkable Lewis

55 FDR to Richard E. Connell, April 24, 1911, FDR Records as New York State Senator, Correspondence, Box 11: Name File, Folder: Connell, Richard E., FDR Presidential Library. The 17th Amendment to the United States Constitution was finally ratified on April 8, 1913.

56 Richard E. Connell to FDR, May 2, 1911. February 13, 1912, FDR to Connell, May 4, 15, 1911, February 14, 1912. FDR Records as New York State Senator, Correspondence, Box 11: Name File, Folder: Connell, Richard E., FDR Presidential Library.

57 Richard E. Connell to FDR, February 16, 1912, FDR Records as New York State Senator, Correspondence, Box 11: Name File, Folder: Connell, Richard E., FDR Presidential Library.

58 FDR to Richard E. Connell, February 20, 1912; Connell, to FDR, May 22, 1912; FDR to Connell, February 20, 1912, FDR Records as New York State Senator, Correspondence, Box 11: Name File, Folder: Connell, Richard E., FDR Presidential Library.

59 Richard E. Connell to FDR, January 17, 1912, 11. FDR Records as New York State Senator, Correspondence, Box 11: Name File, Folder: Connell, Richard E., FDR Presidential Library.

60 FDR to Richard E. Connell, April 18, 1911, January 15, 23, 1912; Richard E. Connell to FDR, January 17, May 22, September 7, 1912, FDR Records as New York State Senator, Correspondence, Box 11: Name File, Folder: Connell, Richard E., FDR Presidential Library.

61 FDR to Richard E. Connell, January 23, 1912.

McHenry Howe, who stood in for the candidate during the last month of the 1912 state Senate campaign.[62]

On October 29, 1912, after an exhausting day campaigning in Putnam County, Connell returned to his Poughkeepsie home at 2 a.m. Later that morning, he was found dead in his bed, having succumbed to a ruptured aorta.[63] In the following days, both Democratic- and Republican-leaning newspapers from Albany to New York City heaped praise on Connell. In an editorial in the P*oughkeepsie Evening Enterprise,* the congressman was praised as "a citizen of which any community may well be proud. He was as truly a 'self-made man' as can ordinarily be found. Born in the ordinary walk of life, with no advantages except such as were born within him, he worked his way along the road that leads to prominence and distinction and won for himself an honorable name and position among his fellows."[64]

His Republican opponent, Edward Platt, who was ultimately elected, immediately suspended his campaigning.[65] His newspaper referred to Connell as having "broadminded sympathy with all classes and conditions of people."[66] In the same edition of Platt's newspaper, the lead editorial was devoted to the late congressman:

> The sudden death of Hon. Richard E. Connell came as a bolt from a clear sky Wednesday morning… Mr. Connell and the editor of the *Eagle* had long been friends and neither rivalry in newspaper work nor rivalry in politics could shake that friendship. His memory will long be cherished among the people of Poughkeepsie and Dutchess County as a man of integrity and honor, a true representative of what a genuine, whole hearted patriotic young man of high and laudable ambition can make of himself .[67]

When the funeral was held on November 2, many of the stores in Poughkeepsie closed for the day.[68] Most of the New York State congressional delegation attended the solemn ceremony in St. Mary's Catholic Church on North Clinton Street, only a short distance from the Connell family's residence. According to the *Poughkeepsie Evening Enterprise*, the "solemn event was one of the largest attended funerals held in this city in years if not the largest in the history of the City."[69] Reverend Patrick Daly, who delivered the eulogy, noted that the "cosmopolitan gathering" represented so many people "who were not of the Catholic faith." He called the late congressman "one of the best types of men that the

62 See Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt: The Apprenticeship*, 148– 153.

63 "Sudden Death of Hon. R.E. Connell," *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, November 1, 1912; "Congressman Connell Dead, M.C. Dies in Campaign," *New York Times,* October 31, 1912; "Congressman R.E. Connell Found Dead in Bed," *Poughkeepsie Evening Enterprise,* October 30, 1912.

64 "The Death of Hon. R.E. Connell," *Poughkeepsie Evening Enterprise*, October 30, 1912. See also "Sudden Death Of Hon. R.E. Connell," *Poughkeepsie Eagle*, November 1, 1912; "Political Meeting Turned to Memorial," P*oughkeepsie Evening Enterprise*," October 31, 1912.

65 "Whole City Saddened by Death of Mr. Connell," *Poughkeepsie Evening Star*, October 30, 1912.

66 "The Death of Mr. Connell." *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, October 31, 1912.

67 Ibid., editorial.

68 "Stores Close as Mr. Connell is Laid to Rest," *Poughkeepsie Evening Star*, November 2, 1912.

69 "Many Congressman Attend Funeral of Richard Connell," *Poughkeepsie Evening Enterprise*, November 2, 1912.

institutions of this country can produce." Father Ryan added that Connell "was thoroughly conversant with the needs of the people and who had the training in the church which is the mother of all law [that] fitted him especially for that particular duty."[70] Because FDR was still recovering from typhoid fever, he could not attend the funeral, but he did send a wreath of oak leaves and carnations to the Connell family.[71] The congressman was buried in a family gravesite in St. Peter's Cemetery in Poughkeepsie.

Connell's congressional colleagues subsequently paid tribute in two separate memorials held in the U.S. Capitol. These tributes came from both House and Senate members who made reference to Connell's collegiality and abilities, especially his eloquence in floor debates and his forthright stand against boss rule.[72] Much like FDR during the New Deal, the Poughkeepsie congressman had quickly come to the realization that the Democratic Party at the time was heavily dependent on powerful Southerners. These men controlled the committee structure in Congress and their votes were needed to enact progressive reforms. Connell was able to get political support on legislation from the likes of "Cotton Tom" Heflin, even though the representative from Alabama was one of the most outspoken voices of racial bigotry and anti-Catholic intolerance in Congress. Heflin actually attended the memorial for Connell held the day after his death at the Poughkeepsie Opera House (now the Bardavon).[73]

At the memorial tributes to Connell in Washington, James Collier and Thomas S. Sisson, both freshman representatives from Mississippi, expressed admiration for their colleague from Poughkeepsie. Collier had lived at the same hotel where Connell resided when Congress was in session. He lauded his New York counterpart for his generosity and ability. Collier called him a "true Democrat," accurately pointing out that Connell had often been willing in the past to accept the nomination of his party despite knowing he had little chance of winning.[74] After praising Connell for overcoming poverty and becoming a well-respected journalist, Sisson referred to Connell as a "states' rights man"—even though he was not. A devotee of the myth of the "Lost Cause," Sisson added that the Poughkeepsie congressman had high regard for the Southern people in their struggles to

70 Father Ryan quoted in Ibid.

71 See Note 68.

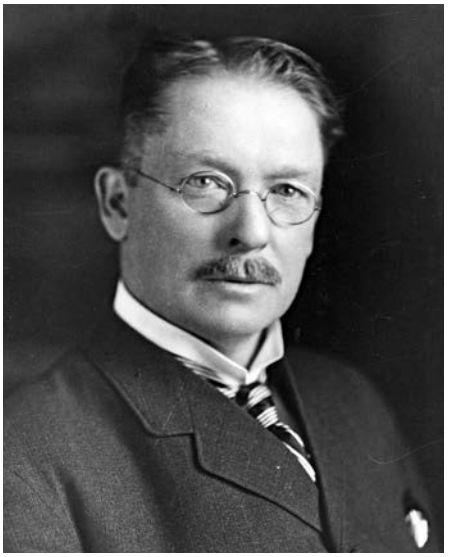
72 *Richard E. Connell (Late Representative from New York): Memorial Address delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States.*

73 "Cotton Tom" Heflin [James Thomas Heflin] was a rabid anti-Catholic and white supremacist congressman from Alabama. As a member of the House of Representatives, Heflin, even got away with assaulting—some say shooting—a black man on a trolley car in the District of Columbia. Later, as a senator from Alabama. then known as "Tom Tom." "Don Tom." and 'Tom Quixote," he later campaigned for the KKK's racist agenda and against the presidential nomination and candidacy of Al Smith, the son of Irish Catholic immigrants. For Heflin's favorable impression of Connell, see "Orators Eulogize Hon. R.E Connell," *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, October 31, 1910; and "Sudden Death of Hon. R.E. Connell," *Poughkeepsie Daily Eagle*, November 1, 1910. For Heflin's racial and religious biases, see Robert Chiles, *The Revolution of '28: Al Smith, American Progressive and the Coming of the New Deal* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018), 115; Sheldon Hackney, *Populism to Progressivism in Alabama* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 204–205.

74 *Richard E. Connell (Late Representative from New York): Memorial Address delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States*, 22.

overcome what he claimed was "the dark days of Reconstruction."[75]

After Connell's death, Roosevelt headed the Connell Memorial Association, raising money for a plaque and playground at Kaal Rock Park along the Hudson River in Poughkeepsie to honor the memory of his friend and first political mentor. Roosevelt also continued to take a keen interest in the congressman's family and their welfare.[76] Writing in 1913 to Connell's son Richard, then a student at Harvard (he later became a major American novelist and short story writer in the 1930s and 1940s), FDR offered him a helping hand: "I hope that everything is going well with you in Cambridge and I know you will let me know if there is something I can do to help you in the way of letters of introduction to any people there whom I know or in any other way in which I can be of service."[77]



U. S. Representative Richard E. Connell, 1912. Image PX 91–150, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library

According to Connell's daughter, Mary, every time FDR later campaigned in Poughkeepsie, he mentioned her father's name and influence. For FDR, who was to later suffer political defeat in his candidacy for vice president in 1920 and had to deal with the debilitating effects of polio, Connell's influence remained with him well after the congressman's death. In 1940, writing to Mary, FDR reflected on his friendship with the congressman: "I have always cited him as a striking example of what can be achieved through persistence. He was a staunch friend and his memory is very dear to me."[78] Indeed, although the congressman did not live to see his pupil achieve greatness, this talented newsman from Poughkeepsie had helped change the course of American history.

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75 Ibid., 11. According to the Congressman's daughter Mary, Connell did not share these men's views on race and welcomed an African American attorney as his neighbor. Bray, "Biography of Congressman Richard E. Connell."

76 See Note 7.

77 FDR to Richard E. Connell, Jr. January 22, 1913, FDR Records as New York State Senator, Correspondence, Box 11: Name File, Folder: Connell, Richard E., FDR Presidential Library.

78 FDR to Mary Connell Bray, December 18, 1940, Richard E. Connell MSS, Box 1, FDR Presidential Library.

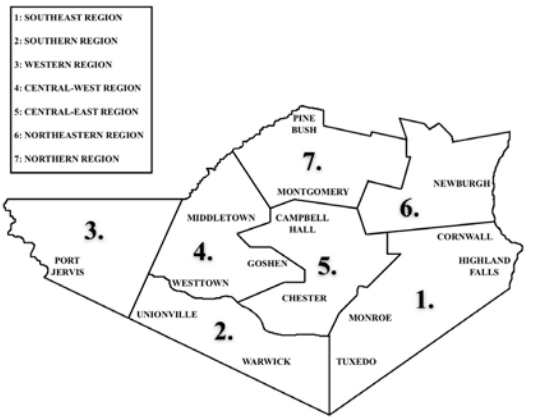
When Steel Rails, Glass Bottles, and Fresh Cream Ruled the Country

Orange County's Role in the Birth of Transporting and Marketing Milk

Alex Prizgintas

Orange County at a Glance

Fifty miles north of Manhattan, the Hudson River narrows as it passes through the Highlands before opening into the broad Newburgh Bay. Here, on the river's west shore, located between the Ramapo Mountains to the southwest, the Hudson Highlands to the southeast, and the Shawangunk range to the northwest, is Orange County. The county's agricultural history is best understood through its geography, with its 833 square miles divided into seven distinctly different regions.



The diverse regions of agricultural productivity in Orange County, courtesy of the author

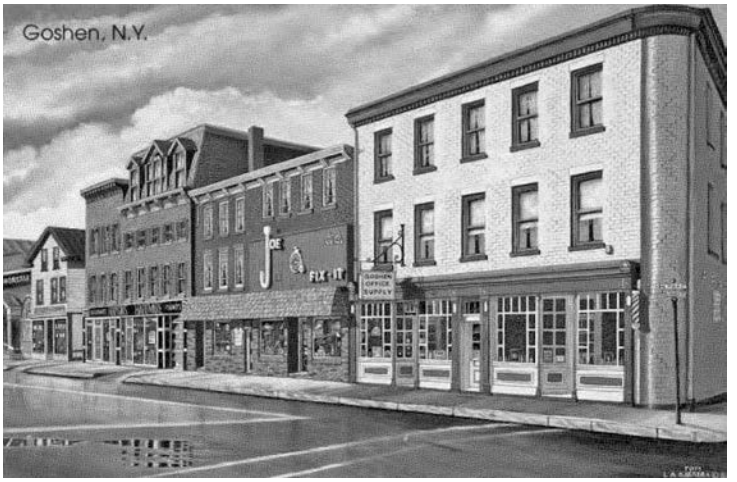
The majority of Orange County's farms are located in the regions of Central West (4), Central East (5), and Southern (2), which encompasses the towns of Wawayanda, Wallkill, Goshen, Chester, Blooming Grove, Hamptonburgh, and Warwick. Here, many pioneering events in the dairy industry occurred, such as the first shipment of milk by train in 1842 and the opening of the country's first butter factory in 1856. The landscape is primarily flat and fertile, with a balance of isolated hills and streams.[1] The southeastern edge is bordered by the Schunnemunk, Warwick, Bellvale, and Ramapo ranges, while the northwestern border is morphed by the foothills of the Shawangunks. This low-lying region, known in the southern part of the county as the Drowned Lands, extends northward to the towns of New Windsor and Newburgh.

1 Nelson Greene, *History of the Valley of the Hudson*, (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1931), 877.

Finally, there are the southeastern (1) and western regions (3) of the county. Here lie two prominent mountain ranges with elevations reaching over 1,000 feet in height. In the southeastern region, the Kittatiny (or South) Mountains extend from New Jersey and join the Highlands at the Hudson just south of Newburgh.[2] In this range the Ramapo Mountains slice the land in a series of diagonal striations, creating numerous valleys (known as cloves) where the dairy-rich towns of Cornwall, Woodbury, Monroe, Arden, and Tuxedo are found. Whether in the fertile plains or the mountains, much of Orange County's land was sought after for farming, and in particular dairy farming.

When Butter was King

It is about an hour's ride from New York City to Goshen, a picturesque village with a long Main Street, Victorian architecture, and a variety of stores. Goshen is steeped in history, home to the oldest, continuously operating harness racing track in America as well as the Hall of Fame of the Trotter, a magnificent museum covering the extensive history of horse racing.



A postcard view showing the Victorian buildings lining Goshen's Main Street, Goshen Public Library and Historical Society

The Goshen region has another important yet often-overlooked piece of history. In the time when butter was widely produced in Orange County, it was known as America's "butter capital." By the end of the Civil War, it was one of the first products shipped to the southern cities of Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina. Even in the early twentieth century, butter produced as far away as Elmira was advertised using the prestigious name of Goshen Butter.[3]

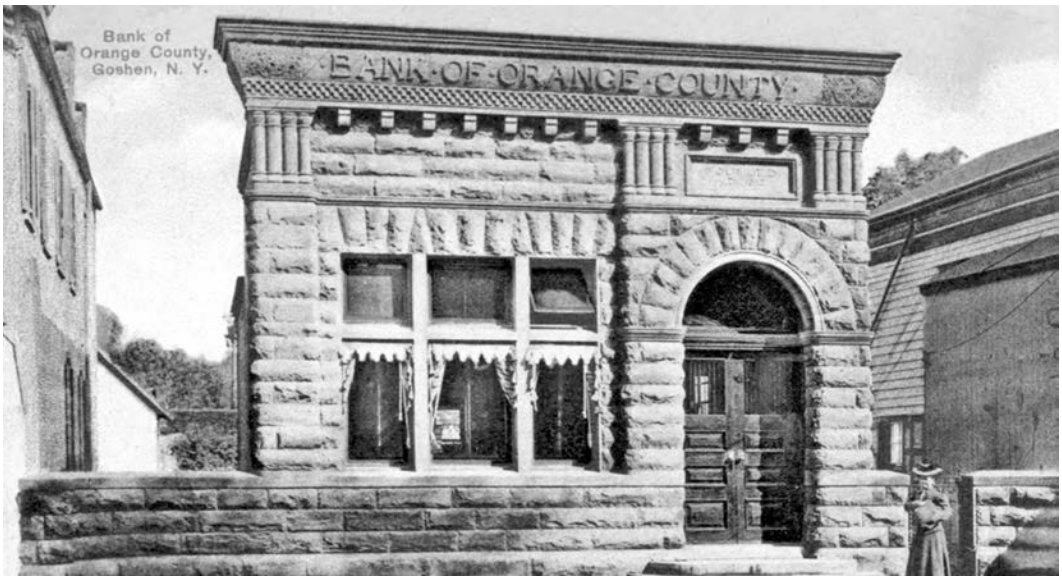
The village of Campbell Hall, five miles northeast of Goshen, holds another important link in the chain of Orange County's dairy history. In 1856, it became home to the first butter factory of the United States, with George Gouge as the operator and H.W. Woodhull

2 Ibid.

3 "An Idea Worth Millions," *The Sun*, November 21, 1897, 5.

owning the property.[4] This was the first of fifteen butter factories that would open across Orange County over the next nine years. Together, they produced about three million pounds of butter, making this small portion of New York State the "Dairyland USA" of its time.[5]

Orange County's geography made it ideal for agricultural purposes. Its interior valley, surrounded by mountains that act as natural barriers, sits between 500 and 1,000 feet above sea level, protecting it from the fungi and algae often found in coastal areas of low elevation.[6]



The Bank of Orange County's Goshen branch, Goshen Public Library and Historical Society

The county's first settlers, many of whom were landowners, began their agricultural pursuits planting and harvesting grain. However, butter became popular by the turn of the nineteenth century.[7] It was an ideal cash crop of sorts—when stored in the right conditions, it could last up to a year and travel great distances without spoiling. Butter production required two essential factors: cleanliness and proper temperature.[8] When these were achieved, the butter would then be packed closely together in small containers, called firkins, and covered with a layer of fine salt over a muslin cloth before being transported. This butter became such a famed commodity that local legend states the

4 Niir Board, *The Complete Technology Book on Dairy and Poultry Industries with Farming and Processing*, (Delhi: Niir Project Consultancy Services, 2012), 374.

5 "Butter Factory to be Feature of Farm Week," *The Ithaca Journal*, February 18, 1956, 3.

6 "Milky Ways," *The New York Times*, August 15, 1865, 2.

7 Dwight Akers, *Outposts of History in Orange County*, (Washingtonville, NY: The Bender Press, 1937), 80–81.

8 Jes C. Knudsen, Kell Mortensen, and Stine Rønholt, *The Effective Factors on the Structure of Butter and Other Milk Fat-Based Products*, (Chicago: Institute of Food Technologists, 2013), 471.

National Bank of Orange County printed its banknotes on yellow paper, affectionately known as "butter money."[9]

With so much butter being produced in Orange County, it was not long before farmers began looking for new markets. One such market was the growing population of New York City. Exporting butter began before the days of the railroad, but the county's natural topography made it long and arduous. The first part of the trip occurred annually on the second Tuesday of November; it consisted of a cumbersome ride from the county's heartland to the Hudson River towns of Cornwall or Newburgh.[10] This was no easy feat when traveling by horse and carriage upon unpaved country roads, along a route that would have featured numerous tolls.

The once busy waterfront of Newburgh, circa 1867,
Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and The Highlands

Upon reaching the end of this journey, the farmers were greeted by Newburgh merchants, some of the most notable being Thomas Powell, Issac Van Duzer, Homer Ramsdell, Henry Robinson, and Henry Walsh.[11] At the waterfront, "barkers" acted as negotiators between the farmers and the shippers who were eager to make a profit. Sloop owners were very determined to consign cargo; often, the captain of the boat acted as a selling agent for the shipper, earning a commission of two to six percent plus the freight charge. In 1829, the City of Newburgh shipped more than 3,500,000 pounds of butter, returning $560,000 to Orange County.[12]

The county's early butter factories were built at high standards to produce more butter and to store it for extended periods. In the 1865 *Transactions of the New York State Agricultural Society*, the modern factory established by the Rockville Milk Association in Middletown is discussed in great detail: "The two-story structure was twenty-five feet wide by fifty feet long. Adjoining one end was the spring room. This room contained two vats, with one nine feet by twelve feet and the other eight feet by twelve feet. They were

9 Elizabeth Sharts, *Land O'Goshen Then and Now*, (Goshen, NY: The Bookmill on Windy Hill, 1960), 50.

10 "An Idea Worth Millions," 5.

11 Mark C. Carnes, "The Rise and Fall of a Mercantile Town: Family, Land, and Capital in Newburgh, New York, 1790–1844," *Hudson River Valley Regional Review* 2, No. 2 (September 1985): 29.

12 "Rockville Milk Association," *Transactions of the New York State Agricultural Society*, (Albany, NY: Cornelius Wendell, 1865), 252.

sunk even with the floor and filled with spring water that usually had a temperature of forty-eight degrees. The milk was kept cool in these vats until made into butter. On the side of the building in the shape of the "letter L" was the churning room with a broad hall that served as a cellar for storing butter. The walls were packed with tanbark, making it a cool place. The cost of this structure was three thousand dollars."[13] As additional factories populated the Orange County countryside, more butter could be made, stored, and transported—generating a substantial profit to the region's farmers.

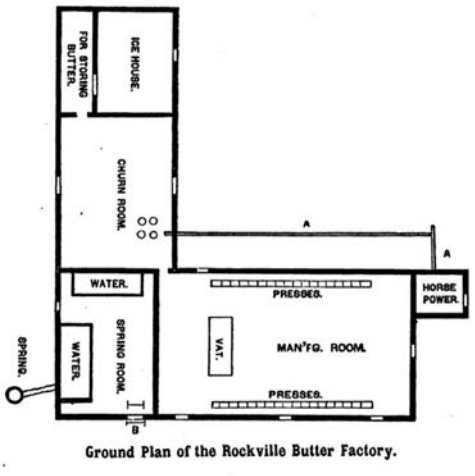


Diagram of the Rockville Butter Factory constructed outside of Middletown, *Transactions of the New York State Agricultural Society*

While some innovations helped the local butter industry, others drew it to an end. As the 1800s progressed, railroads gained an ever-increasing foothold in Orange County. Advancements in transportation that even included the gradual development of refrigerated train cars meant dairy products could be sent from far-away destinations to New York City's efficient and modern processing plants. The gross production of butter in the small town of Blooming Grove amounted to 205,460 pounds in 1845, just three years after the Erie Railroad first shipped milk from the nearby town of Chester.[14] However, farmers soon discovered that more money could be made by shipping milk instead of turning it into butter. As a result, New York State saw an 80 percent reduction in butter shipments as farmers instead delivered nearly 794,000 cans of milk by 1851.[15] The milk trade was strong by 1853; in Blooming Grove, the amount of butter produced had decreased by more than half (96,060 lbs.), almost exclusively because of the railroad's advance.[16]

Today, the history of Orange County's butter industry is often overshadowed by the history of its milk industry. However, it was crucially important in establishing the superior quality of the county's dairy products within New York City's markets. Now, the next important chapter in Orange County's dairy history was ready to take shape.

The Great Milk Awakening

The prospect of shipping milk begins with the industrial wonder of its day: the iron horse. Only a few small railroads existed throughout the United States in the early 1830s, and

13 Ibid.

14 Akers, 87.

15 Eric Bunger, "Dairying and Urban Development in New York State, 1850–1900," Kennesaw, GA: *Agricultural History* 29, no. 4 (1955): 170.

16 Akers, 88.

Before milk became one of Orange County's sizable exports, butter factories were a popular industry. This one was operated by the Greenleaf family in Otisville, Mount Hope Historical Society

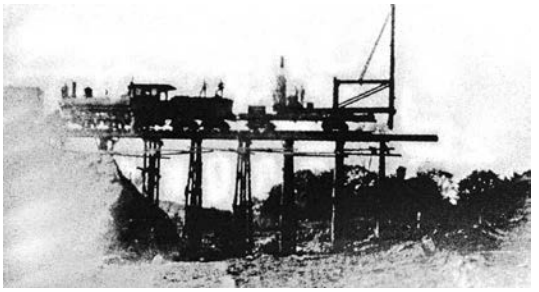
most were located in the coastal regions around large cities and harbors. However, plans were being made for more expansive routes. One such example was the New York and Erie Railroad, connecting Lake Erie at Dunkirk, New York, with the Hudson River at Piermont. Upon arriving at Piermont, trains were transferred onto barges and floated downriver to New York City.[17] From Piermont, the route crossed northwest through Rockland and Orange counties to the Delaware River Valley. Upon reaching Chester, the workers encountered a serious problem. The black dirt, a commodity fertile in nutrients and most valuable to the area's farmers, proved unable to support the railroad's weight. The solution to this dilemma was simple; since the ground lacked strength, a foundation was needed.

The first step of this process was constructing a wooden trestle. In Chester, this trestle was between twenty to thirty feet high and fitted with fifty-foot-long piles driven deep into the ground to reach solid rock.[18] Next, railroad hopper cars transported gravel and rocks to the site. This fill was dumped through the elevated tracks, eventually covering the trestle and creating an embankment that (along with the trestle) proved sturdy enough to support the full weight of trains. This example of construction can be found across Orange County's many railroads; much of today's Metro-North Port Jervis line was built in this fashion. The portion in Chester, although not having seen a train since 1983, is still visible and walkable as the popular Heritage Trail.

What did this transportation-related construction technique have to do with the legacy of Orange County's dairy industry? It is precisely how the birth of milk transportation

17 Ibid.

18 "Monroe Heard First Engine," *Middletown Daily Times-Press*, February 19, 1917, 4.

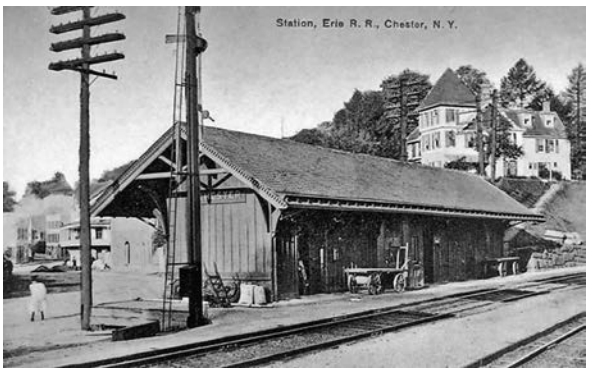


This construction style would have been used along the New York and Erie railroad in Chester. Once driven deep into the ground, the trestles would be back-filled with gravel and dirt, Warwick Valley Historical Society

came to be. The individuals who won the contract to construct the railroad there were Thaddeus Selleck and Matthew Brainard.[19] Brainard retired during the project; the railroad went into bankruptcy soon afterward and was unable to pay Selleck for his work.[20] Once the railroad reorganized, Selleck was compensated by being appointed Chester's first station agent, making him one of the railroad's two original agents (along with John A. Bailey in Goshen).[21]

When Selleck was appointed station agent in 1841, butter was still Orange County's most popular dairy export. However, Selleck's attention was drawn toward the superior quality of pure Orange County milk. Milk was produced to make butter, but transporting it over extended distances was considered impossible since milk could not survive long journeys without being cooled at a proper temperature. Except for a few hotels and establishments that purchased fresh milk from nearby Westchester County, New York City residents grew accustomed to the vastly inferior and dangerous swill milk, produced by cows fed leftover mash from distilleries.[22] Visualizing a very lucrative market, Selleck was determined to solve what was considered impossible: transporting fresh milk without it turning sour before reaching city markets.

Pushing forward with his bold plan, Selleck found that his largest obstacles were the farmers themselves: They had grown satisfied with the strong, stable trade established through butter. Historian Robert Mohowski states that the farmers "scoffed at Selleck and his idea in the same manner that had greeted most visionaries since the dawn of time."[23] They could not grasp the concept of milk traveling more than fifty miles, especially in the hot summer months, in jarring railroad



The original railroad station in Chester where Thaddeus Selleck worked as an agent starting in 1841, courtesy of the author

19 "History of Howland House is Recalled by Antiquarian," *Middletown Times-Press*, December 7, 1915, 4.

20 Ibid.

21 Edward Harold Mott, *Between the Ocean and the Lakes: The Story of Erie*, (New York: J.S. Collins, 1901), 406.

22 "The First Sunday Train," *The New York Times*, August 12, 1900, 22.

23 Robert E. Mohowski, *The New York, Ontario & Western Railway and the Dairy Industry in Central New York State: Milk Cans, Mixed Trains, and Motor Cars*, (Lewisburg, PA: Garrigues House Publishers, 1995), 39.

cars. Still, sometime between 1841 and 1842, Selleck met with local farmers Philo Gregory, James Durland, Jonas King, and John M. Bull to discuss his novel idea of shipping milk by rail to New York City.[24] The milk would never have survived the journey of butter, but the efficiency and speed of a railroad greatly reduced the time it took to reach the city. In Selleck's proposal, the milk would first be transported in butter churns to Piermont, a distance of forty-one miles. From there, it would travel by barge the additional twenty-one miles to New York City. There, Selleck would consign the milk to the public at a storefront located at 193 Reade Street.[25]

It took time for Selleck to convince any farmers, but by the spring of 1842, Philo Gregory agreed to send approximately 240 quarts of milk, which arrived successfully.[26] While Gregory's farm was located in Chester, he accepted the proposal because he had a business in New York City and had made an agreement with Selleck that the milk would be sold to consumers upon its arrival.[27] Surprisingly, the milk was not immediately popular among city residents. They were repulsed by the yellow "scum" on top of it; this was, in fact, the rich layer of buttery fat that made Orange County's milk so vastly superior, famous, and valuable.[28] This layer of creaminess was not found in the milk produced by disease-ridden cows fed on the toxic swill. Soon, city customers grew to like the smell, taste, and look of fresh milk sent directly from the farm and the demand became so great that Selleck was forced to open additional depots.[29] As business improved, farmers stopped laughing at Selleck's idea and joined with others to transport their milk. By 1897, over 7,000 milk depots had opened in New York City. They sold close to 750,000 quarts of milk a day to eager city residents.[30]

In 1844, Selleck sold his original business, including his New York milk depots, to the newly formed Orange County Milk Association (OCMA). Initially, the organization lost money due to poor management and the uncertainty of the new milk transportation industry. But as confidence rose, it became a prosperous business.[31] After nearly twenty years of private ownership, the OCMA was incorporated in the winter of 1861/62 with an operating capital of $100,000.[32] It was one of many similar companies that soon developed across Orange County. These businesses often had no farmland or cows, but owned a creamery building and would buy milk directly from farmers to market it themselves. Their conception was by no means revolutionary; in the era of swill milk, reformer Robert Hartley suggested the establishment of such associations so rural farmers could provide

24 "An Idea Worth Millions," 5.

25 J.C. Anderson, *A Brief History of New York City's Milk Traffic and the Milk Business of the N.Y. Ontario and Western Railway Company*, (New York: Self-Published, December 1902, Reprint November 1973), 3

26 Mohowski, 39.

27 "The First Sunday Train," 22.

28 John J. Dillon, *Seven Decades of Milk—A History of New York's Dairy Industry*, (New York: Orange Judd, 1941), 2.

29 "The First Sunday Train," 22.

30 "An Idea Worth Millions," 5.

31 "The First Sunday Train," 22; Dillon, 2.

32 "Milky Ways," 2.

the necessary milk for New York City's inhabitants.[33] However, their implementation was impossible before milk transportation became viable. As soon as Orange County milk entered the metropolitan market, many similar companies developed, including the Warwick Valley Milk Association, J.P. Burning of Turner's, and The Deer Park Farm of Port Orange. There were also more powerful players in the growing dairy industry who called Orange County home. Charles Beakes of Middletown opened his first creamery in the town of Salisbury Mills during the late 1800s; it was followed by the construction of eight other creameries around Orange County by 1916.[34] The company was one of the most prominent in New York City until its absorption into the Dairymen's League in 1927.[35]

Selleck's first shipment of milk took place during the spring, which posed no problems. However, as the temperature rose, much of the milk soured before reaching the depot. This resulted in a total loss of the shipment and collateral damage to the reputation of Orange County's milk. The initial wooden milk containers, called churns, were placed on four-wheel handcarts that allowed for easy transportation between the railroad car and the refrigerated storefront.[36] These were later replaced with "hogshead" style jugs that were smaller but, like the earlier churns, failed to keep milk cool.

A tin-top bottle from the Orange County Milk Association. This bottle from the Beakes Dairy Company features four different addresses, courtesy of the author

Jacob Vail, a prominent farmer living in the Goshen vicinity, wanted to take advantage of shipping his milk to New York City and wondered whether cooling the milk before it was shipped would solve the problem of spoilage. In the fall of 1842, Vail tested his hypothesis by fitting a hogshead jug with a coil made of lead pipe.[37] Ice was placed inside the lead coil; as fresh milk was poured into the jug, the ice would cool it to a temperature more stable for transportation. When the milk was shipped to New York City, even on hot summer days, Vail's technique kept the milk cool and refreshing.

Through his experiments, Vail discovered the importance of cooling milk before it left the depot. Many dairymen soon constructed large icehouses and even cooled their filled milk containers by placing them in nearby springs to secure the proper temperature for shipment.[38] Additionally, Vail unintentionally invented the ancestor to the modern-day milk can. As time progressed, more durable metal cans replaced the earlier wooden jugs

33 Michael Egan, "Organizing Protest in the Changing City: Swill Milk and Social Activism in New York City, 1842–1864," *New York History* 86, No. 3 (2005): 213.

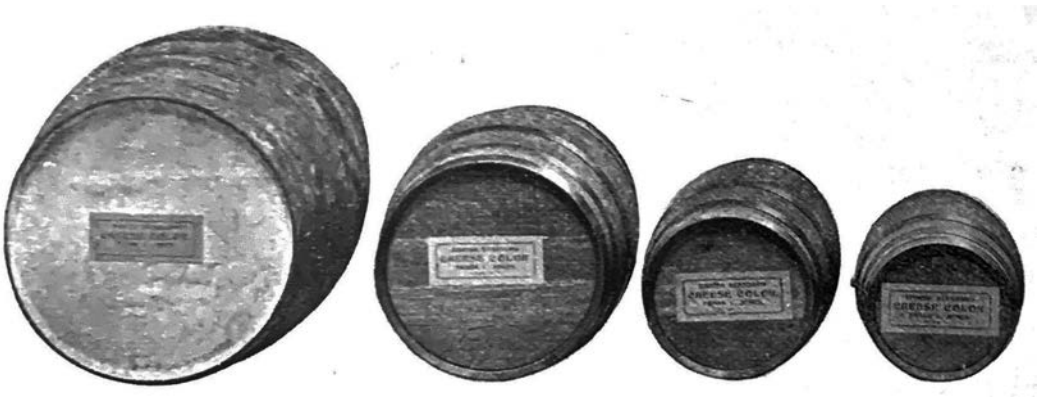
34 Charles S. Wilson, *Department of Agriculture Bulletin*, (Albany, NY: Department of Agriculture of the State of New York, Sept. 1916), 41.

35 "A.S. Beakes, Milk Industry Veteran, To Be Buried Here," *Middletown Times Herald*, August 30, 1940, 7.

36 Mott, 408.

37 Ibid.

38 "An Idea Worth Millions," 5.



Different styles of hogshead jugs that were used in the dairy business. These examples, sold by the supplier Frank L. Jones of Utica, NY, were designed to carry cheese, but similar examples would have been used for milk, courtesy of the author

used by farmers. Numerous patents were created for the cans, and tinsmiths across Orange County, as well as New York City, manufactured them by the thousands. Even larger companies, such as the Beakes Creamery, installed tin shops above their stores to both make and repair these vital containers.[39]

The development of a process to cool milk now established it as a highly profitable commodity that could be reliably transported over great distances without the threat of spoilage. This was the final blow to Orange County's butter industry. As Goshen Butter took its final bow, pure Orange County milk became the new "golden ticket" of the dairy industry.[40] By 1881, a reported 4,016 farms were operating in Orange County.[41] While not all dairy farms, many did produce milk, and soon milk cans flooded the county. By 1884, close to 10,000 cans were transported daily along the Erie and New York, Ontario and Western railroads to New York City.[42] A monumental effort began to keep them separated and organized by dairy. A "milk can law" enacted in 1865 made it illegal for dairy farmers to sell milk without a can prominently featuring identification letters made of tin that were applied to the can's shoulder or lid.[43] These markings would often indicate the initials of the dairy's proprietor as well as the name of the railroad on which the can was transported.

One final effect of the burgeoning milk trade was the rapid growth of regional railroads. Initially, the New York and Erie had a monopoly over Orange County milk shipments, but not for long. Another railroad that valued milk as much as the Erie was the New York, Ontario and Western (NYO&W). Initially operating as the New York and Oswego Midland Railroad, it ran practically straight through the western portion of Orange County, from

39 *Independent Republican*, November 27, 1896.

40 "An Idea Worth Millions," 5.

41 L.H. Clark and E.M. Ruttenber, *History of Orange County, NY*, (Philadelphia: Everts & Peck, 1881), 125.

42 "The Price of Milk," *The New York Times*, May 16, 1884, 4.

43 Austin Abbott and Benjamin Vaughan Abbott, *Digest of New York Statutes and Reports*, (New York: Baker, Voorhis & Co. Law Publishers, 1868), 446.

After Jacob Vail's success, tin milk cans began to populate the countryside. These were smaller than more modern milk cans and would have been for personal use. This example features an applied tin label stating that the can be returned to the estate of W.R. Barr in Harriman, NY, courtesy of the author

the creameries in the agriculturally-rich land between Unionville and the City of Middletown north to Bloomingburg. By 1880, the railroad had been reorganized as the New York, Ontario and Western, coinciding with the construction of the West Shore Railroad. This new route along the Hudson River potentially offered the NYO&W a more convenient pathway to New York City; by 1883, the first NYO&W train traversed the Middletown branch and the West Shore to Weehawken, New Jersey. The previous route was then sold to the predecessors of today's Middletown and New Jersey Railroad (M&NJ) in the 1880s. It continued to serve the dairies of this region.[44]

Heading through the heartland of Orange County, the Middletown Branch gave the NYO&W access to areas of Orange County with its high concentration of dairy farms. Almost every train station had at least one creamery. One of the largest, owned by Borden's, was located just outside Campbell Hall at Burnside. Here, a small siding ran south of the mainline to the impressive icehouse used for keeping dairy products at an optimal temperature. Ice was harvested from the adjoining Burnside Pond. Today, the icehouse is gone, as is the railroad that served it, but the creamery's abandoned offices remain standing.

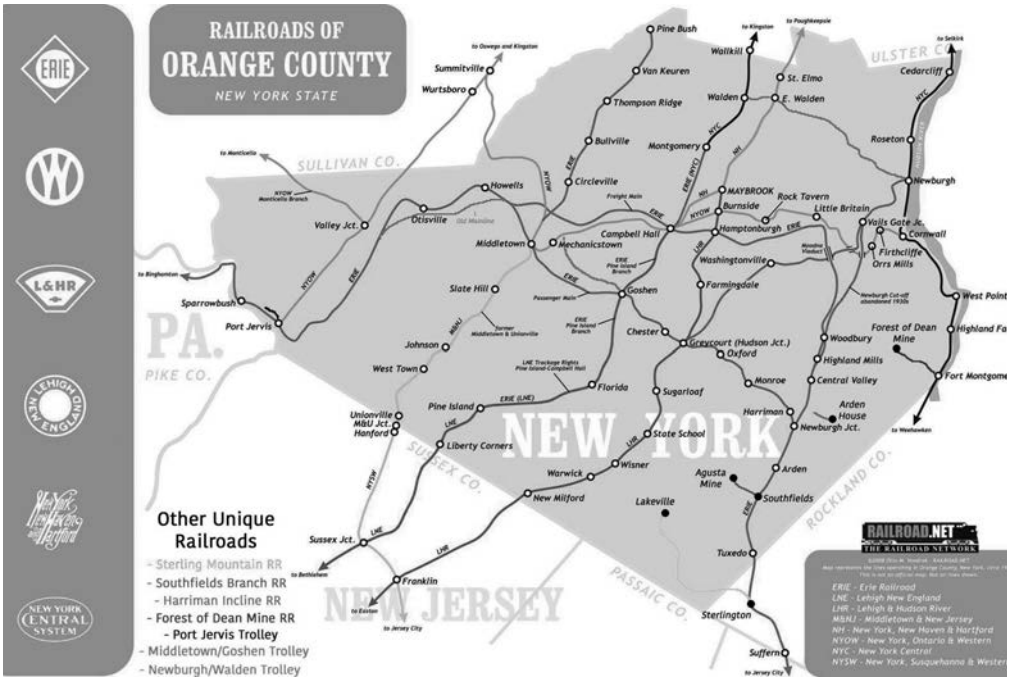
The NYO&W and the Erie were just two of many railroads that transported milk within the county. The Lehigh and Hudson River (L&HR) handled operations between Maybrook, Warwick, and points south, while the Middletown and Unionville handled the creameries in Unionville, Westtown, Johnson, and Slate Hill. Through Selleck's intrepid endeavor, a grand business was born that would help to build five railroads and return more than $50,000,000 to Orange County.[45]

Epilogue: The Suburbanization of Orange County

Sixty years ago, one could not toss a milk bottle in Orange County without it landing on a farm. Heading into the county's heartland, one would have seen miles of fields, barns, and cows. This was a haven for dairy and agriculture. Since then, the situation has greatly

44 William F. Helmer, *The Long Life and Slow Death of the New York, Ontario and Western Railway*, (Hensonville, NY: Black Dome Press Corp, 2000), 47, 51.

45 Mott, 406.



A map of Orange County's railroads, many of which were stimulated as a result of the dairy industry, Otto Vondrak

changed. In 2016, Orange County had only forty-two dairy farms left from its one-time total of more than 4,000.[46] Seven more farmers sold their herds in 2018.[47] Those that remain are concentrated in the heartland, with the southeastern and western regions now practically devoid of any milk production.

The issue of space has hindered Orange County's dairy farming. Over the past century, the region has transformed from a farming mecca to a bedroom community for white-collar workers. Farms have been replaced with housing developments and shopping malls. This is coupled with the fact that Americans drink nearly thirty-seven percent less milk today than they did fifty years ago, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture.[48] The primary reason for this plummet is the replacement of milk with other beverages. At the same time vitamin D and calcium, two important components of milk that benefit the human body, can now be found today in various pills and nutritional bars.

With all these problems compounded, Orange County's remaining dairy farms face insurmountable difficulties, but their legacy is far from forgotten. Picturesque barns,

46 United States, State of New York, Division of Milk Control and Dairy Services, et al., *New York State Dairy Statistics*, (Albany, NY: New York State Department of Agriculture and Markets, 2016), 5.

47 "Local dairy farms falling victim to less demand, stagnant prices," *Times Herald-Record*, December 26, 2018, 4.

48 Roberto A. Ferdman, "The mysterious case of America's plummeting milk consumption," *The Washington Post*, June 20, 2014, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2014/06/20/the-mysterious-case-of-americas-plummeting-milk-consumption/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.61a480c3f999

pastures, and even a few creamery buildings still grace the landscape. The former Erie Railroad's "mainline," along which the first shipment of milk was transported in 1841, was abandoned in 1983, but its roadbed did not remain dormant for long.[49] Today, known as the Heritage Trail, it offers local residents and visitors an opportunity to travel through Orange County's heartland along the old railroad route. One walks directly upon the embankment that Thaddeus Selleck constructed in the 1830s and can even stop by the restored 1915 Chester station, which is now home to the town's historical society.

Some farms have found niche markets in order to survive, but another solution might be a partnership between an educational institution (such as Orange County Community College/SUNY Orange), farmers, and the public. SUNY Orange offers a culinary arts program that could find the business application of processing raw milk into pasteurized milk, artisanal cheeses, and yogurt as a valuable part of its curriculum. Farmers would benefit by drastically cutting their transportation fees and receiving better prices for their milk. SUNY Orange could sell dairy products directly to public schools (offering a discount while still generating revenue), and any surplus milk, cheese, and yogurt to the public.

The circa 1915 station in Chester has not seen a train for over three decades, but still serves its region as the historical society. Outside the structure is this marker commemorating the first shipment of milk by Thaddeus Selleck over 150 ago, courtesy of the author

49 Oliver Mackson, "A Tale of Two Stations," *The Times Herald-Record*, April 15, 2007, https:// www.recordonline.com/article/20070415/NEWS/704150332.

A similar partnership between nearby Sullivan County dairy farmers and Sullivan County Community College (SUNY Sullivan) received state approval in 2018. The result, the Catskill Creamery Inc., is projected to aid in providing a market for local farmers who are struggling to sell their products.[50] While the initial expense of creating a milk processing plant is significant, Sullivan County decided that the long-term benefit would be far greater. Such a bold and progressive proposal deserves careful consideration as a way to save Orange County's remaining dairy farms. It is, after all, a vital part of our heritage.

Alex Prizgintas is a sophomore at Marist College and the president of the Hudson Valley Bottle Club, which seeks to preserve the history of glass manufacturing and antique bottle collecting in New York's Hudson Valley region.

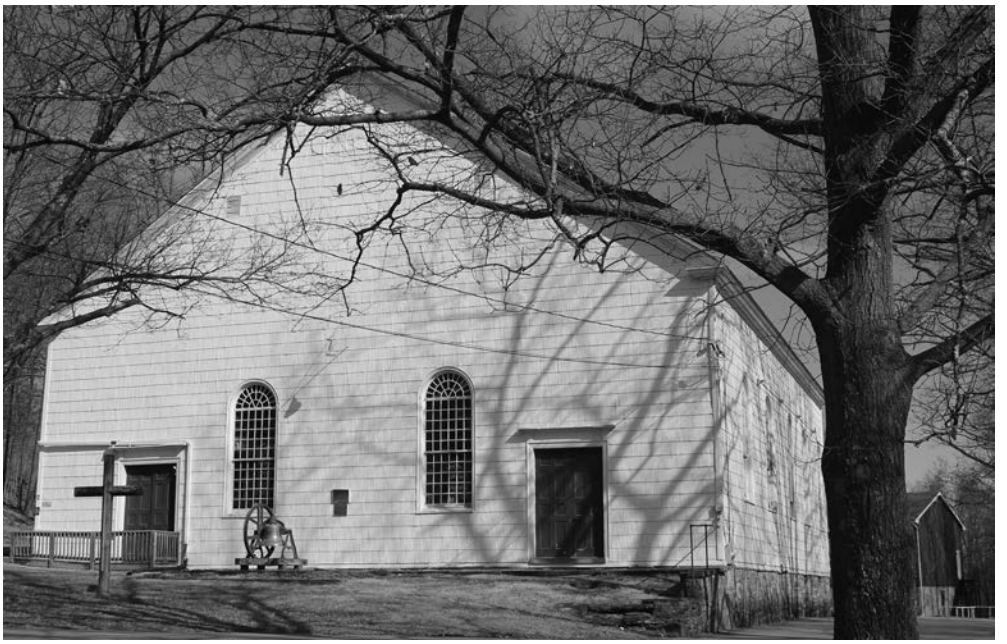
As more and more dairy farms vanish from Orange County, the remaining milk bottles are a reminder of this once powerful industry, courtesy of the author

50 "Creamery to be built on SUNY Sullivan campus," *Times Herald-Record*, December 2, 2018, 20.

If Windows Could See: The Historic Blooming Grove Church

Michael J. Matsler

Throughout the Hudson River Valley lie hundreds of little-known but sparkling treasures of history and architecture waiting to be rediscovered, explored, and revealed. They are doorways from our world today into the past, and the time traveler returns with a deeper understanding of who we are as a people, where we've been, and where we're heading. The tissue of our lives today is woven with the threads of yesterday, and tracing those threads can lead us to surprising places and delightful discoveries. The Blooming Grove Church in Orange County is one such gem.



The Blooming Grove Church, constructed 1823. All illustrations courtesy of the author

The church with its elegant Palladian windows reigns on a small rise above the old King's Highway, steep end gables and white-shingled cladding like a New England meetinghouse. A simple plank door, centuries old and painted colonial green, gives access to within, its identical twin securing the opposite flank in puritan proportionality.

The majestic quiet of its oak-shaded grounds belies the turbulent history swirling around its stoic stone foundations, galloping past on the old road between Newburgh on the Hudson and Philadelphia on the Delaware over which traveled the likes of Washington and Lafayette, Burr and Hamilton, Daniel Morgan's riflemen, and four score years later, the glorious, tragic Orange Blossoms of the valiant 124th Regiment whose young petals were to fall at places like Fredericksburg, Antietam, and Gettysburg.

If its windows were eyes, they would also have seen the khaki-clad troops with campaign hats of the New York 71st Infantry marching en route to another war in August 1917. In their ranks was the grandson of a long-time pastor of the church, returning to the country his ancestors had fled, due to the tyranny of religious persecution, to find liberty of worship in America.

It is only a short walk from the present to the past. To enter the church is to stroll back through time. The fifteen tall arched windows illuminate the vast open space under a ceiling floating thirty feet above the pews without any visible means of support other than the exterior walls. The original pine box pews from 1823 descend in whitewashed rows capped with cherry trim down the sloping wide-plank floor to the pulpit of the church and a magnificent pipe organ with gray tubes pointing heavenward like gothic arrows. Behind you on the opposite wall presides a striking stained-glass window, a memorial to veterans from all branches of the United States military. The gray-green marbled walls glitter in the light. [1]

In the middle of the east wall another stunning stained-glass window glows in the morning light, radiating hues of gold, green, blue, and purple. Purple, the color of honor, the memory of sacrifice. Athwart the Palladian arch of the window is the single word: Patriotism.

At the bottom of the window in black lettering are the names of a dozen young men. No bridges are named after them. No cities, no highways, no schools. Few outside their direct descendants know who they are or what they did. They did not write magazine articles or books or make speeches. But they all were willing to give the last full measure

1 The church is on the National Register of Historic Places, a copy of its registration at Moffat Library. A rare hidden system of king and queen post trusses supports the roof. The interior walls retain their original gray-green marbled plaster, a formula unique to the area featuring crushed quartz and soot. The stained-glass window on the north wall honoring all service men and women was installed in 2013. The church is known locally as "The Veterans' Church."

of devotion. As did countless thousands more, in quiet anonymity. "It is our acts, not our words, that count," we can read above their names. One of those young heroes, only three months after the day the Patriotism Window was dedicated on June 29, 1918, was to give up his life in the fields of France.

It is altogether fitting for the Patriotism Window to have its home here, in this historic house of worship, built in 1823 over the foundations of the first meeting house. The deed dated 1758 conveyed the land for a Presbyterian church, but it remained a Congregational meetinghouse in spirit, loosely allied with the Presbyterians out of necessity, most of the parishioners only having recently emigrated from Connecticut or Long Island with names like Woodhull, Strong, and Brewster. Others, like the Moffats, braved the ocean from Ireland. Most of the families over the years had become related to each other through marriage, and that pattern continued here in the farming community called Blooming Grove, in the frontier wilderness of Orange County west of Hudson's River. [2]

The church was born into a colony at war, erected in the same year—1759—when the British and American forces under Gen. Wolfe scaled the cliffs of Quebec to rout the French defenders on the Plains of Abraham, presaging the end of the Seven Years' War. Most of the male parishioners served in the militia, some like Jesse Woodhull and Elihu Marvin destined to become prominent leaders in the Revolutionary War. [3]

Their founding pastor, Rev. Enos Ayres, had the distinction of being the first graduate of Princeton in 1748. It was then located in Newark and known as the College of New Jersey. Rev. Ayres' grave and tombstone, once outside the original foundations of the church, are now in its basement along with those of two other early ministers.[4] His successor was Rev. Abner Reeve, whose son, Judge Tapping Reeve, founded the country's first law school in 1773 in Litchfield, Connecticut. Judge Reeve married Sally Burr, the sister of Aaron Burr, future vice president, almost president, and a much better shot than the unfortunate Alexander Hamilton.[5] Although Burr is not known to have attended any services in this church,

2 A. Elwood Corning, *History of the Congregational Church of Blooming Grove, N.Y.* (Cornwall Press, 1929) pp. 1–5, 22, 36–38, 48–49. The framed deed hangs in the church. *See also* E.M. Ruttenber and L.H. Clark. *History of Orange County, New York* (Philadelphia, Everts & Peck, 1881) pp. 27, 633; Headley, Russell. *History of Orange County, New York* (Van Deusen and Elms, Middletown, New York, 1908); Benjamin C. Sears, "Town of Blooming Grove", http://history.rays-place.com.

3 Ruttenber, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–73 (Revolutionary War muster rolls); 629–649 (history of Blooming Grove).

4 Ruttenber, *ibid,* p. 637; Corning, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 12, 19.

5 Ruttenber, *ibid,* p. 637; Corning, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–12; www.litchfieldhistoricalsociety.org.

without doubt he rode by here on the old King's Highway many a time after the war. For lawyer Burr in May 1785 participated in a trial with Alexander Hamilton just down the road at Yelverton's Inn, or rather in the tavernkeep's barn in order to accommodate the scores of witnesses comprising every prominent man in Orange County, including many members of this church. The dispute, not surprisingly, was over land, one of numerous boundary disputes bedeviling the county since its inception in 1683.[6]

The Revolutionary War saw numerous members of the church distinguish themselves by their service in the militia and army. Orange County was fiercely on the Patriot side, and Blooming Grove's farmers and mechanics and civic leaders even more so, being on the flaming edge of the fiery frontier. By May 1775, following the bloodshed at Lexington and Concord, the New York Provincial Congress approved the request by the Continental Congress to ask the citizens of all counties to sign the Pledge of Association, swearing obedience to Congress and the local committees that became the *de facto* rebel government. Members of the church signed the Pledge and enlisted at some point in either militia or army.[7]

The most prominent parishioner was Jesse Woodhull, colonel of the Blooming Grove militia. He owned 500 acres of farmland between Oxford Road and today's Route 208. He cast a long shadow in Orange County: civic leader, member of the New York Provincial Congress, Sheriff of Orange County, delegate to the New York Convention of 1788 ratifying the U.S. Constitution.[8] Jesse's brother was the famous Gen. Nathaniel Woodhull, who achieved martyrdom at the Battle of Long Island in August 1776 after being taken captive, mortally wounded by a British officer for refusing to render homage to King George. Gen. Nathaniel's daughter Juliana was married to Blooming Grove's Hezekiah Howell, who was an elder of this church and a sheriff during the war.[9] Jesse's cousin Abraham was to gain fame decades after the fact as having been one of Washington's Long Island spies, along with Robert Townsend, in the Culpepper spy ring.[10]

Jesse Woodhull's wife Hester was from the DuBois family, French Huguenots fleeing Catholic France to found New Paltz in Ulster County. Along with Col. Woodhull, her brothers Zachary and Lewis were among the defenders of Forts Clinton and Montgomery,

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6 *See* "Proceedings to Determine the Boundaries of the Wawayanda and Cheesecocks Patents Held in 1785 at Yelverton's Barn, Chester from Official Records in the Orange County Clerk's Office, Goshen, N.Y." *Orange County Historical Society Journal*, vol. 5, 1975–1976, pp. 21–48.

7 Ruttenber, *op. cit*., pp. 62–71.

8 Ruttenber, *ibid*., pp. 631–32, 206. Many early families and their farms are described in Barrell, Donald Melville. *Along the Wawayanda Path from Old Greycourt to Chester to Sugar Loaf* (Middletown: T. Emmett Henderson 1975), pp. 12–16, 30–43, 50–51 and map p. 61. The Colonial Assembly appointed Woodhull, Marvin and Dr. Benjamin Tusten to supervise construction of the Goshen courthouse in 1772. *See Colonial Laws of New York, from the Year 1664 to the Revolution* (Albany: James B. Lyon, State Printer, 1894) vol. II, chapter 1537, p. 331, March 12, 1772. Woodhull, Marvin, Thomas Moffat, Henry Wisner and Samuel Gale founded the Farmers Hall Academy in Goshen where Noah Webster taught in 1782. Ruttenber, *op. cit*., pp. 531–532.

9 Corning, *op. cit*., pp. 5–6; Ruttenber, *op. cit*., p. 632.

10 *See* Brian Kilmead and Don Yaeger. *George Washington's Secret Six, the Spy Ring that Saved the American Revolution* (New York: Sentinel, 2013). Robert's uncle Peter Townsend lived in Chester not far from the church. He cast the second chain across the Hudson at West Point in 1778 at his Sterling Forge foundry. Diamant, Lincoln. *Chaining the Hudson* (New York: Carol Publishing Co., 1989) pp. 141–56.

guarding the Hudson on that tragic day in October 1777 when the British overwhelmed the earthwork defenses, killing, wounding, or capturing half the 600 Patriots. Lewis and Jesse escaped, along with Governor/General George Clinton and his brother James, but Zachary spent the rest of the war on a rotting prison ship.[11]

Jesse's nephew, Maj. Nathaniel Strong, lived along Satterly Creek on Prospect Road, two miles from the church. Maj. Strong is remembered as the murder victim of notorious Tory outlaw Claudius Smith out of Smith's Clove, now called Monroe. The victim's brother, Captain Nathan, encamped at Valley Forge, wrote to Washington for permission to return home to care for his brother's widow. Permission was granted. Smith was hanged for the crime in January 1779 in Goshen. For years afterward, parents scared disobedient children into good behavior by invoking the specter of Claudius Smith.[12]

Another probable parishioner of this church was destined to become famous after the war before fading out of public view. Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur settled on a nearby farm in 1769 with wife Mehetable Tippet, from a distinguished Westchester family. Now calling himself Hector St. John, he prospered and became close friends with Jesse Woodhull, future militia general Elihu Marvin, and future county clerk Thomas Moffat. But when war broke out St. John fled to France, only to return miraculously in 1783 as the first French Consul to New York after publishing a best-selling book about America. St. John helped establish the first legal Catholic church in New York, St. Peter's, and his friend Ethan Allen had the Vermont Assembly name the town of St. Johnsbury in his honor.[13]

By deed dated May 5, 1785, St. John conveyed his Pine Hill farm to Thomas Moffat.[14] Moffat was by then Orange County Clerk and it was Moffat, along with Judge and Gen. Elihu Marvin, who had persuaded a reluctant Governor Clinton to give St. John a safe conduct to leave war-torn Orange County in 1779.[15] Moffat and Marvin are buried at the Greycourt cemetery near Roe's Orchards, just west of the church, and their surnames appear on church records. Thomas' son, also named Thomas, supplied the mortar lime

11 Ruttenber, *op. cit.* ,pp. 56–57, 631–632; Headley, *op. cit*., pp. 132–137. One of Huguenot Louis DuBois' many illustrious descendants was Gen. George S. Patton. Patton, Robert H. *The Pattons: a Personal History of an American Family* (Crown Pub., New York, 1994) pp. 3–7.

12 Ruttenber, *op. cit.,* pp. 71–72, 631, 649–651; Samuel Eager. *An Outline History of Orange County* (Newburgh: S.T. Callahan 1846–47) pp. 550–564. *See also* Hastings, Hugh. *Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, 1777–1795, 1801–1804* (New York and Albany: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1899) vol. 4 pp. 145–149. Capt. Strong's letter to Washington dated March 30, 1779 can be read at http:// www.founders.archives.gov/ documents/Washington.

13 Robert St. John de Crèvecœur, *Saint-John de Crèvecœur, sa Vie et ses Œuvrages* (Paris: 1883)(archives.org) pp. 6–8; 14–15; Emily Post Mitchell, *St. Jean de Crèvecœur* (New York: Columbia University Press 1916). *See also* Michael J. Matsler, "Pine Hill Farm, Lost Paradise of a French Gentleman Farmer," *Hudson River Valley Review* (Spring 2018) pp. 36–56. St. John's book *Letters from an American Farmer* is available in most libraries. His later French editions are on line. He describes his life in Blooming Grove in *Voyage dans la Haute Pennsylvanie et dans l'État de New York* (books.google.org) in vol. I, chapters 1, and 5 through 9.

14 A copy of the deed can be viewed via the website of Hudson River Valley Heritage (hrvh. org) ("James Nesbitt deed to J. Hector St. John/Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur") and at the Chester, New York Historical Society.

15 *Public Papers of George Clinton,* op. cit., vol. III, pp. 148–152, Moffat letter to Clinton April 9, 1779; Marvin letter April 7, 1779.

for the present building in 1823, as shown by the ledger book on display in the church. The builder, Joseph Cromwell of Wallkill, was paid the grand sum of $1,500.[16]

Thomas Moffat's great-great nephew, David H. Moffat, Jr., became a wealthy banker and railroad tycoon in Denver, Colorado. He donated the funds to build Moffat Library in Washingtonville, completed in 1887 with Queen Ann hipped roofs and Tiffany windows. David also bought the grand gothic pipe organ in the church, installed in 1902. David's father had been the choirmaster in the church for many years.[17]

If Blooming Grove Church was the spiritual heart, Moffat Library became the civic and social center of the village and town. The village had only a few shops and houses, most along North Street and Main Street above the Erie train depot along Murderers' Creek, renamed Moodna by poet Nathanial Willis. It was a farming community: the village in 1910 had barely 600 residents; Blooming Grove town only 2,000. But they had a patriotic tradition going back 150 years. When President Wilson had Congress declare war on April 6, 1917, the town's young men answered the nation's call to arms.[18]

The resplendent Patriotism Window was dedicated on Saturday, June 29, 1918, not quite fifteen months after America's entry into the Great War. There was a proud parade from Moffat Library to the church featuring Gov. Charles Whitman and Civil War veterans of the Grand Army of the Republic, Boy Scouts, Home Defense companies, and Red Cross volunteers. Leading the militia was Capt. Isaac Nicholl[19], descended from the earliest Orange County pioneers, founders of the nearby Bethlehem Presbyterian Church in 1739**,** whose members served with distinction in the Revolutionary War and the Civil War.[20]

Nicholl's great uncle, also named Isaac Nicholl, had been a captain in the Civil War. His Company G belonged to the 124th Regiment of Volunteers, the famous Orange Blossoms, fighting in every major campaign after the first Bull Run, from Fredericksburg to Gettysburg and beyond. He was killed at Gettysburg on July 2, 1863, during desperate fighting near the infamous Devil's Den. Two hundred and eighty-three Orange Blossoms

16 The contract terms and specifications are recited in the registration, available at Moffat Library. Samuel Moffat, father of Thomas, came from Ireland to settle in Blagg's Clove around 1730 at the same time Colonel Clinton, noted surveyor and father of George and James Clinton, bought land to the north, naming it Little Britain. They attended Bethlehem Presbyterian Church at today's Route 94. Samuel and wife Anne Gregg Moffat are buried there. Thomas' nephew Samuel III founded Little York, the future Washingtonville, in 1811. Edward J. McLoughlin III, *The Library & Empire of David H. Moffat, Jr.* (Washingtonville: Historic Blooming Grove Association, 1987) pp. 8–18. *See also* Edward J. McLoughlin III, *Around The Watering Trough, A History of Washingtonville, N.Y.* (Washingtonville: Spear Printing Co., Inc., 1994) at Moffat Library.

17 A railroad tunnel through the Rockies is named after David as well as Moffat County, Colorado. He donated funds for constructing Moffat Library in Washingtonville and the Hook-Hastings pipe organ in the Blooming Grove Church in 1902. McLoughlin, *The Library & Empire*, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–50, 107–111.

18 McLoughlin, *Around the Watering Trough, op. cit.*, pp. 57, 134–141; Addendum.

19 Corning, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–79; Document entitled "*Dedication of Memorial Window, Saturday, June 29, 1918, Pastorate of Rev. Jos. J. Gunther*" [sic] in the archives of Town Historian Jeanne Versweyveld; original pamphlet entitled "Dedication of Service Window" (Moffat Library Archives).

20 Marion M. Mahler and Janet Dempsey. *18th Century Homes in New Windsor and its Vicinity* (Cornwall, New York: The Courier-Local Press 1969), pp. 35–38.

charged down Houck's Ridge that day to confront Gen. John Bell Hood's Confederates; 183 were killed, wounded, or captured.[21]

One can only wonder about the feelings of Isaac's father, John Nicholl, when, a month later, he received a package in the mail at his farmhouse alongside Murderer's Creek. It contained a precious memento of his son—his Bible. Confederate soldiers had found it in Isaac's pocket before entrusting it to a farm couple named Hoover. On the flyleaf was Isaac's request to return the Bible to his father John Nicholl, Blooming Grove, New York, in the event of his death.[22] The bereaved father brought his son's remains for burial in the Washingtonville cemetery. After the war, the survivors of Company G erected a granite memorial to Isaac and his men in nearby Salisbury Mills.[23]

If you visit Gettysburg you will see on display in the splendid national museum a dark blue Union dress coat and red sash with brilliant saber, and a photograph of a slender young officer with neatly trimmed moustache, sword resting on his lap. The photo is of Isaac Nicholl. The objects on display belonged to him.

Now, fifty-five years later on a sunny June Saturday in 1918, in the midst of another terrible war, another Isaac Nicholl had the honor to escort New York's governor to the Blooming Grove Church to dedicate the Patriotism Window. Gov. Whitman had thrown his full support behind the war effort, among other things sponsoring the formation of the first all-black regiment, the 369th, destined to become famous as the Harlem Hell-fighters. Several Blooming Grove men served in the Hell-fighters; some are buried in the Washingtonville cemetery. None of these brave men, however, appear on the Patriotism Window.[24]

After opening prayers and the National Hymn "America," John Young Gerow, civic leader, farmer, and church member, gave the welcoming speech, reciting the history of

21 Charles H. Weygant, *History of the 124th New York Volunteers* (Newburgh, New York: Journal Printing House, 1877), pp. 16, 27, 176–179. A statue honors the Orange Blossoms near Devil's Den, depicting Goshen's Col. Van Horn Ellis, their commander who was killed along with Capt. Nicholl, and Maj. David Cromwell of Cornwall. There is a monument to them in Goshen as well; Cromwell's gravestone can be seen at today's Jones Farm on Angola Road, formerly the Cromwell family farm.

22 Ronald Coddington, "An Orange Blossom in Devil's Den," N.Y. Times July 6, 2013.

23 During the Revolutionary War his ancestor—also Capt. Isaac Nicholl—was head of a militia company from New Windsor and fought at the Battles of Long Island and White Plains in August and October 1776 during Washington's desperate retreat from New York City. Ruttenber, *op. cit.*; Henry Phelps Johnston, "The Campaign of the 1776 Around New York and Brooklyn," *Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society,* vol. III, pp. 109–110.

24 *See* Richard Slotkin. *Lost Battalions, The Great War and the Crisis of American Nationality* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005), pp. 1–11, 41–44; 399. Moffat Library historian Matthew Thorenz has a file on the town's unsung black soldiers William Baldwin, James Chambers, and Hector and James Lewis.

the church and the military service of its members from the Revolutionary War to the present.[25] John's first cousin Joseph Gerow's son Chadwick was a soldier in the New York National Guard and part of the American Expeditionary Force fighting in France. Chadwick Gerow was one of the twelve whose names we see today embossed on the Patriotism Window.[26] The Middletown newspapers reported that it was the first stained glass window in the nation to be dedicated to our servicemen.[27]

The Gerow family had come to Blooming Grove shortly after the Revolutionary War. Their great ancestor was Étienne Giraud, a Protestant Calvinist from La Rochelle on the French Atlantic coast.[28] Louis XIV's 1685 revocation of Henry IV's decree of tolerance, the 1598 Edict of Nantes, prompted a mass migration of French Calvinists to the British American colonies. Étienne Giraud's son Daniel settled in New Rochelle in 1688. His great-grandson, Elias, born in 1765, moved to Ulster County just after the Revolutionary War. The Friends Cemetery in Plattekill is full of Gerows.[29]

Elias' son Gilbert bought a farm in Blooming Grove where his grandson Chadwick was born March 11, 1890.[30] Chadwick's maternal grandfather, Rev. Warren Hathaway, served as pastor of the Blooming Grove Church for thirty-five years until his death in 1909. Chadwick likely went to the one-room schoolhouse, still standing next to the church, before enrolling in the Washingtonville High School. On June 22, 1908— a stifling hot evening— Chadwick and the three other graduates received their high school diplomas at a ceremony in Moffat Library.[31]

Chadwick took a job with a dairy trade journal in Oswego County, coming home to serve as best man at younger brother Warren's marriage in 1915. After war was declared in April 1917, Chadwick enlisted in the New York National Guard out of Middletown, New York. But first he spent what must have been a bittersweet few weeks with his beloved family in Blooming Grove. For it was a joyous time in the Gerow family: the marriage of older brother Percy to his cousin Mary Louise Gerow. The wedding, reported in the *Middletown Times-Press*, took place on Thursday evening, June 15, 1917, with "around 70 guests…at the newly furnished home in Blooming Grove recently purchased by the bridegroom…. The bride was charmingly gowned in white satin, with pearl and silver trimmings and a

25 *See* "Dedication of Memorial Window," *op.cit.* Not least of John's accomplishments was his membership in the Horse Thief Detection Society. McLoughlin, *Around the Watering Trough, op. cit.*, pp. 136–137.

26 Joseph's farmhouse still stands, near the site of the old Brewster Tavern. The 1875 Beers Map shows Elias Gerow owning the site later owned by Joseph. F.W. Beers, *Atlas of Orange, New York* (Andreas, Baskin & Burr, 1875). Joseph's biography is in Russell Headley's *The History of Orange County, New York* (Middletown: Van Deusen and Elms, 1908) (onlinebiographies.info, "Biography of Joseph C. Gerow").

27 "Dedication of Memorial Window, Saturday, June 29, 1918," *Middletown Times-Press* (Moffat Library Archives).

28 The Huguenot Historical Society library in New Paltz has documents pertaining to the Giraud family genealogy including "The Giraud-Gerow Family in America" (New Paltz 1981: Gerow Family Association, Huguenot Historical Society) 929.GER.

29 *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 29; vol. III, pp. 30, 125–126 tracing the genealogy for Nathanial Chadwick Gerow.

30 Chadwick's birthdate appears in his obituary, in an undated newspaper article in his sister Jennie Gerow Sears' family scrapbook at the Moffat Library. Highly decorated Lt. Gen. Leonard Gerow, Commander of U.S. Army V Corps in WW II, was Chadwick's second cousin, both having Gilbert as great-grandfather.

31 McLoughlin, *Around the Watering Trough, op. cit.*, pp. 62, 64.

court train. She wore a veil, and the bridal wreath of orange blossoms worn by her mother at her wedding, 51 years ago." Percy's best man was his brother Chadwick.[32]

Private Gerow was assigned to Company B, 71st New York Infantry, later merged into the 105th. He was promoted to corporal on December 13, 1917, then supply sergeant on May 6, 1918.[33]

On May 17, 1918, Chadwick's regiment sailed for France from Newport News, Virginia, on the liner *President Grant* in a large convoy harassed by German submarines. Unharmed, they steamed into Brest on May 31, 1918. On June 6, they were loaded like cattle onto boxcars for a thirty-three-hour ride to a British camp north of Rouen, in Picardie. We can only imagine the awe Chadwick must have felt to be in the land from where his ancestors had set sail for America 230 years earlier.[34]

When John Gerow addressed the townsfolk and dignitaries assembled in the Blooming Grove Church on that June day in 1918, he could not have known that his young soldier relative was encamped with his company on the outskirts of Doullens, a small village near the River Somme, swapping jokes with their British and Canadian comrades-in-arms while dodging the occasional German shell. In Robert Sutliffe's 1922 book about Chadwick's regiment, there is a grainy photo of the 105th Infantry marching along the main street of Doullens, village children and shopkeepers looking on. One of those young men is Chadwick.[35]

On September 28, 1918, in the midst of the carnage known as the Second Battle of the Somme, Chadwick's company received their orders for the next morning: to assault the German defenses on a hill called "the Knoll." The Germans foresaw the attack. In the early pre-dawn hours of September 29, they launched a massive bombardment of the trenches at the precise moment Chadwick's company went over the top.[36]

On January 7, 1919, an officer of Company B wrote a letter to Joseph and Jennie Gerow from "somewhere in France":

> Dear Mr. and Mrs. Gerow—No doubt you have been notified by this time by the Government of the death of your beloved son…I will try and give you what information I have at my command. On the morning of the 29th of September while waiting for morning to come to go over the top the Huns made several

32 Percy's wedding was reported in the 6/18/1917 *Middletown Times-Press*.

33 U.S. War Dept. form 724–6 *Statement of Service* dated Nov. 22, 1919 for Chadwick Gerow, at www.fold3.com and Moffat Library archives.

34 Robert Stewart Sutliffe. *Seventy-First New York in the World War* (1922) (available at the Adriance Memorial Library, Poughkeepsie, New York at 940.4 Sut), pp. 63–65, 108–110.

35 Sutliffe, *ibid.*, pp. 114–117, 151.

36 Sutliffe, *ibid.*, p. 322; O'Ryan, John F. *The Story of the 27th Division, New York* (New York: Winkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1921).

direct hits on our trench which practically wiped out our whole company. There were forty-two of us left to go over the top. Unfortunately Chadwick was hit. He was given the best of care and attention but it was no use because the Lord was calling him where he now rests in His peaceful Heaven… You don't know how it grieved me to write this letter. Chadwick was such a good soldier with a congenial disposition, loved by everyone in the company or that he came in contact with. He was always there to do his duty or ready to help a comrade in distress.

Yours in sorrow,
(Signed) CHARLES B. PLUMLEY,
1st Lieut., Co. B., 105 Infantry, USA

Chadwick died only six weeks before the Armistice.[37]

Sgt. Gerow made his final earthly voyage on the liner *Cambrai,* crossing the Atlantic from France with over 1,000 other fallen comrades "to be at rest in the land they loved." On the ship's arrival in Brooklyn on Sunday April 2, 1919, a service was held with military honors. Chadwick arrived home in Blooming Grove on April 4 and was laid to rest two days later in the Washingtonville cemetery.[38]

Little did Étienne Giraud's son Daniel know, when he fled the despotism of Louis XIV's reign in 1688, that his great-grandson five times removed would be destined to give up his life to save France from another kind of tyranny. Looking at the 1918 Patriotism Window today, you can sense, if not see, the spirits of the patriots and veterans who once attended this church, the memory of their heroism and sacrifice faded but not forgotten. The principles for which they fought, the core values in which they believed, live on today.

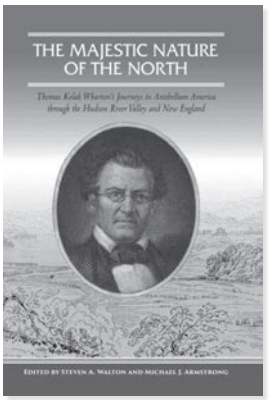
Each town, each village has its old houses and churches with stories to tell. That old, weather-beaten building down the road might have amazing connections to famous people, places, and momentous events at home or around the world. What half-hidden gems does your community offer?

Michael J. Matsler is a partner at a local law firm of long standing. He has written numerous law articles and legal papers, as well as articles and lectures on local history, in particular the colonial and post-Revolutionary War period up to the Civil War.

37 Lt. Plumley's letter is in the family scrapbook kept by Chadwick's sister Jennie, donated to the Moffat Library. Chadwick's death was reported in the Middletown Times-Press, Nov. 25, 1918, p. 2, col. 2, available at the Thrall Library in Middletown, N.Y.

38 The article is from an unidentified newspaper in Jennie Gerow's scrapbook.

Book Reviews



The Majestic Nature of the North: Thomas Kelah Wharton's Journeys in Antebellum America through the Hudson River Valley and New England, **eds. Steven A. Walton and Michael J. Armstrong (Albany: SUNY Press, 2019), 353 pp.**

Scholars of Antebellum America have no shortage of travelogues and other primary works offering sweeping adjudications of a young nation awkwardly grasping for democracy and industry while tripping over a recurring failure to master its own sprawling geography, social inelegance, and philosophical contradictions. This unique offering from SUNY Press does something different. The journal of Thomas Kelah Wharton provides subtle observations on life in the 1830s and 1850s from the perspective not of an analyst, but of someone simply experiencing Antebellum life. Wharton's artistic sensibilities add an element of beauty to his writings, while his appreciation for the natural world reminds readers of the close connection between Americans and their environment as well as of the centrality of the American landscape to the young nation's cultural self-definition. This interesting volume, generously illustrated with Wharton's own renderings of his travels, will be of use to historians of Antebellum America, while its second chapter will be of special interest to scholars of the Hudson River Valley.

Thomas Kelah Wharton was a young English immigrant with a gift for art when, in 1833, he designed a Greek revival chapel overlooking the Hudson in Cold Spring, New York. The chapel would be lauded upon its opening for its "classical" beauty, but the artist behind this "elegant little building" remained unacknowledged (xiii). This was to be Wharton's fate in much of his creative life, and for a time his contributions would be lost to history. Fortunately, Michael J. Armstrong, former president of the Chapel Restoration, and Steven A. Walton, a historian from Michigan Technological University's Industrial Archaeology program, were directed by Putnam County historians to Wharton's journal, which had endured over a century of obscurity at the New York Public Library. Upon investigation, Walton and Armstrong discovered "a fascinating picture of social and intellectual life in antebellum America" (2), and it is in this regard that the journal makes its greatest contribution. Indeed, as the editors acknowledge, Wharton has almost nothing to say on most of the major controversies of his day: there are no insights into slavery and abolition, sectionalism, or politics more broadly, while views of industrialization are at best

impressionistic and superficial. Part of this may be self-censorship: Walton notes in his introduction that Wharton *may* have been a slaveholder in New Orleans in the 1850s, that he attacked the "Black Republican Party" in 1860 and supported the Confederacy during the Civil War; yet his diary, as revised in 1853, "was filtered for his toddler son's later eyes" and may have simply expunged such materials (18). It is just as likely that in the early 1850s these were simply not Wharton's primary concerns—something that may shock historians looking back at the great events of the moment but which makes Wharton fairly representative. Indeed, while Wharton's perspective is one of privilege (he was well-educated, artistic, connected, bourgeois), his focus throughout the journal on the immediate and the mundane is what gives this book its special value.

The volume begins with a fine introduction by Professor Walton, which narrates Wharton's life and contextualizes his journal within Antebellum American history. The journal itself follows Wharton's adventures in different periods. Chapter one summarizes the twenty-year gap between his detailed diaries, from 1834 to 1853, including travels from New York to Ohio, his 1844 marriage in Cincinnati, and his relocation to New Orleans, where in the late 1840s he supervised construction of the Custom House (34–36). The second chapter presents Wharton's diary from his years in New York, traveling between his duties teaching at the Flushing Institute on Long Island and his adventures in the lower Hudson Valley. The third chapter picks up Wharton's adventures twenty years later, as he traces his journey from New Orleans to Boston and back again.

Of greatest interest to readers of this journal will be the second chapter, "New York and the Hudson Valley, 1832–1834." After his arrival in New York, Wharton quickly fled northward in the summer of 1832, escaping the city's cholera outbreak, and his entries from this period provide useful insights into the terror contemporaries must have felt at this creeping epidemic. On Sunday, June 17, Wharton overlooked his customary analysis of sabbath observances (a central theme throughout the journal), to announce that "More terrible than the landing of the fierce Dane, the dreaded cholera has crossed the Atlantic and the journals of today contain fearful accounts of its first ravages of Canada." He notes the "universal" fear in New York, the desperation "for the latest intelligence" and an unprecedented "general and wide-spread excitement" (43). Wharton chronicled the city's "preparation . . . for the expected pestilence"; by Independence Day municipal authorities had "dispensed" with "much of the uproar and parade which distinguish this day . . . so that there was far less excitement than usual" (43–44). After this initial alarmism, the slow-moving disease is juxtaposed with Wharton's standard priorities, including weather and theology, to show a very practical and human view of the epidemic: "July 6: Beautiful weather with a refreshing breeze. The Cholera Report of today gives 37 cases, 20 deaths, in various parts of the city" (45). Later, he notes that "the Cholera is now at Poughkeepsie, 7 miles below here" (55).

Wharton's trembling references to cholera, peppered throughout his daily entries in the summer of 1832, evoke the terror of the moment, but also remind historians that for most contemporaries, life went on in the midst of such looming catastrophe. Wharton continues his keen interest in art and church life, in his professional acquaintances, and, in particular, on his Hudson Valley environs. The scintillating passages on the region's natural splendor will be especially welcomed by readers of this journal. A representative reflection from July 10—"Heavy rains, with a pleasant interval at noon which I spent rambling over the ground. In the afternoon, the sun broke thro' suddenly and the clouds rolled away from the Catskills, revealing to me for the first time their grand, shadowy outlines. Thin silvery mists still crept around their base giving additional majesty to the peaks above, the whole forming a background to the scene up The Hudson"—reads like a narration of one of the works of Thomas Cole (whom Wharton would meet that December) (47, 86). Such observations demonstrate Wharton's artistic eye for the Hudson Valley, but also reveal the intimate connection between Americans of his period and the natural elements—which could mean joy over a "fine mild day" (64) or gloom over "dreary rainy weather . . . so cold that we had to call in the aid of anthracite" (66). Indeed, as a teaching tool, Wharton's vacillating between beautiful, grateful praise of pleasant nature—"soft dreamy Indian summer weather"—and concerns over basic comforts in the face of nature's capricious wrath—"a fierce northern blast swept over the plain but the Colonel's famous Lehigh fires . . . made it very pleasant within doors"—may help modern readers better appreciate the quotidian concerns of Antebellum New Yorkers (71, 72).

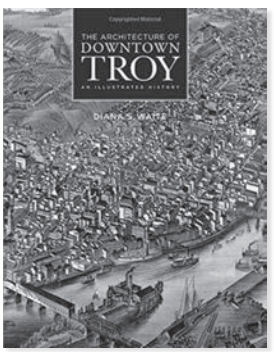
During his time in the Hudson Valley in 1832 to 1834, Wharton interacted, usually fleetingly, with better-known Antebellum artists, including Cole, S.F.B. Morse, Thomas Sully, and Robert Weir (106, 116). Readers will likely be frustrated that there is no real insight provided into such cultural icons. The exception is Washington Irving, whom Wharton met in August 1834. Wharton repeatedly reflected on the author's "manly gentleness . . . unaffected simplicity that is perfectly charming" and his "universally agreeable" disposition (117, 122). We meet a cheerful Irving who "plays with the little ones on the grass-plots and enters into their amusements with the same ease and perfect adaptation that marks his intercourse with all around him," but who also offers trenchant critiques of contemporary literature as "far too hasty and negligent" (117, 118).

Along with notable public figures, the diary provides glimpses, usually frustrating in their brevity, of some of the major technological and economic trends of the period. For instance, there is a passage exploring several manufacturing concerns in Saugerties, with brief descriptions of the machinery and water wheel of a paper mill and foundry (110). There is more satisfying and consistent discussion of the ongoing transportation revolution. At times this is subtle—as when readers begin simply taking for granted that the writer

can travel with ease between Hyde Park or West Point and New York, or when Wharton describes the vibrant commercial competition between Hudson steamboat lines (115). Indeed, while the third chapter, "Return to the Northeast," which charts Wharton's 1853 travels from New Orleans, up the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers and across the Northeast to Boston, is of less specific appeal to Hudson Valley scholars, it does provide excellent insights into the nation's increasingly sophisticated and integrated infrastructure—complete with reliable steamboats, railroads, and telegraphs. This section, which leaps ahead in time two decades and abandons the Hudson Valley focus of the earlier chapters, presents a United States that is more modern, confident, perhaps a bit more refined, but still elementally connected with nature. Some of Wharton's praise of the American transportation system (e.g., 141) reads almost like an antidote to the more critical analyses of writers like Charles Dickens (1842).

Walton and Armstrong freely admit that as an analysis of Antebellum life, this work is not of the caliber of Tocqueville, Trollope, or Dickens. But that is not the point. The great contribution of *The Majestic Nature of the North* is that it presents a nuanced and human perspective on the more mundane concerns of life in this period. The ways in which grander themes mingle with daily tasks—filtered through the author's priorities like art and theology—provides a uniquely insightful understanding of ordinary experiences in this period. Scholars of Antebellum America will enjoy mining the diary for anecdotes to deploy in lectures; and longer passages on cholera and on transportation networks offer valuable opportunities for primary document analysis by undergraduates. Finally, those interested in the Hudson River Valley will appreciate Wharton's stunning descriptive passages as well as the many beautiful sketches included in this volume.

Robert Chiles, University of Maryland, College Park



***The Architecture of Downtown Troy: An Illustrated History,* Diana S. Waite (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2019), 211 pp.**

Diana S. Waite has created a meticulously researched and clearly presented history of an architecturally significant section of one of the Hudson Valley's great cities. Troy flourished as an industrial and commercial center in the nineteenth century, and Waite devotes seven of the book's nine chapters to a chronological survey of the city's downtown in that century, with an introductory chapter on the "Eighteenth-Century Village" and a concluding

chapter, "Highlights from the Early Twentieth Century." While the book is not organized as a guidebook for walkers exploring downtown Troy (unlike Albany Architecture: A Guide to the City [1993], edited by Waite), an easily readable map locating extant buildings discussed in the text encourages such walks. However, many important buildings are absent from the map; sadly, they have been lost to fire (the downtown suffered four widespread, disastrous fires between 1820 and 1862) or demolition, including misguided urban renewal in the mid-twentieth century. Still, the New York Times' 2006 assessment that Troy has "one of the most perfectly preserved nineteenth-century downtowns in the United States" remains true, given the evidence provided by Waite's book.

Waite brings to light the architects responsible for the high quality of downtown buildings. Some were local men, including Marcus F. Cummings (originally from Utica) and his son, Frederick M. Cummings. Together, they had "the greatest sustained impact on the physical development of the city of Troy" between the 1860s and 1900. Marcus Cummings' prominently sited, French mansard-roofed Troy Hospital (1868–1871) adhered to the pavilion plan type promoted by Florence Nightingale. Altered and enlarged, the building serves today as Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute's West Hall. Also notable is Marcus Cummings' publication of three architectural pattern books between 1865 and 1873. The first, *Architecture: Designs for Street Fronts, Suburban Houses, and Cottages*, was published in eight editions and attracted architects, carpenters, and builders across the United States. In 1890, Marcus Cummings formed a partnership with his son Frederick, trained at RPI as a civil engineer. Designs by the new partnership, including three buildings for the Troy Female Seminary (now Russell Sage College), clearly exhibit the influence of weighty Romanesque Revival structures by the great Boston architect Henry Hobson Richardson.

While not diminishing the role of designers from Troy and the Capital Region, the author places some emphasis on "out of town architects," usually highly regarded practitioners from New York City, apparently to demonstrate that Troy attracted major talents and so should not be dismissed as a provincial backwater. We live in an era when skyscraper developers and museum officials seek out "starchitects"—architects who have attained celebrity status—and the germ of the concept was clearly present in the nineteenth century.

Cannon Place, a block of stores, was designed by the well-known New York firm of Town, Davis and Dakin about 1832. Waite's thorough research leads her to conclude "this may be the first Troy building that can be firmly connected to an out-of-town architect." While no document names Ithiel Town as architect of Troy's St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Waite has found that the construction contract (1826) specifies that the design was to follow closely Town's Trinity Episcopal Church (1814–1816) on the New Haven Green. Waite also believes the Rensselaer County Courthouse (1828–1831; demolished), similar

to Town's Connecticut Statehouse also on the New Haven Green, may have been planned by the architect.

Town's sometime partner, Alexander Jackson Davis, today better known than Town thanks to his Gothic Revival residences (including the grand Lyndhurst in Tarrytown), designed hilltop Ida Cottage (1838–1840) overlooking Troy. The cottage was brought down by storm and fire when owned by the city in the early twentieth century, but its abundant Gothic details are known from Davis' charming watercolor, reproduced in the book.

While not designed by New York City architects, Washington Park, a private residential square planned in the 1830s with row houses constructed in subsequent decades, was hailed by New York modernist and celebrity architect Philip Johnson as "one of the finest squares in North America." Waite points to St. John's Park and Gramercy Park in Manhattan, Louisburg Square in Boston, as well as private parks in English cities as precedents likely known by the Troy investors behind Washington Park.

George B. Post, a leading New York architect after the Civil War, designed two of Troy's best-known and happily surviving landmarks, the polychrome Gothic-style Hall (or Rice) Building (1870–1872), featured in Martin Scorsese's 1992 film *The Age of Innocence*, and the classically inspired Troy Savings Bank (1871–1875), whose music hall was hailed by New York Times music critic Harold C. Schonberg as "the best acoustic installation in America and possibly in the world."

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Tiffany Glass and Decorating Company, the New York firm renowned for its stained glass, convinced the leaders of St. Paul's Episcopal Church to carry out a thorough redesign of its interior. The golden radiance of the sanctuary, captured in a recent photo, is a rare example of a well-preserved ecclesiastical interior by the firm. Hart Memorial Library (1894–1897, now Troy Public Library) by New York architects Barney and Chapman following the lead of McKim, Mead and White's Boston Public Library, is another example of successful preservation of an architectural landmark.

The book's subtitle is well-chosen, as those who (mistakenly) merely flip through its pages will be delighted by some 225 illustrations, excellently reproduced (and many in color) from vintage and recent photos, historic prints and postcards, as well as architectural drawings and renderings. It is in fact a beautiful book, handsomely designed and well-printed.

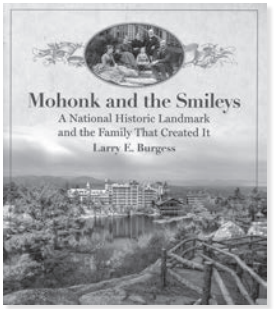
But do not mistake this for a coffee table book without scholarly apparatus. It appears that every one of the countless statements of fact can be verified by consulting the endnotes—more than fifteen pages of small type. (Historian Gertrude Himmelfarb believed those who skimped on footnotes or endnotes were guilty of "a moral lapse." [*New York Times*, Jan. 1, 2020] No such charge can be brought against Diana Waite.) In addition to original archival documents and other traditional sources, Waite has made good use of digitized newspapers, which, as she points out, have allowed her to record the names of

not only clients and architects, but also contractors, tradespeople, artisans, and suppliers of building materials, who often are not acknowledged by architectural historians. She regrets not being able to discover any women among the architects active in Troy in this period, although women were significant as clients.

It is a truism that no two authors will approach a topic with the same goals or list of questions to be answered. Waite focuses on when, how, and by whom downtown Troy's architecturally significant buildings were designed and constructed, and she carefully describes their appearance (both exterior and interior), as well as the role of clients and the use of the finished buildings. While she is alert to matters of architectural style, she is hesitant to consider the possibility that a building's style may have been intended to express particular ideas or beliefs. In the nineteenth century, the pointed arch of Gothic architecture was widely held to be an appropriate expression of Christianity. New York architect Richard Upjohn, described by Waite as "an English-born architect and high churchman," went further and considered Episcopal churches most worthy of Gothic designs, while other Protestant denominations should be satisfied with styles less distinctly allied with his favored branch of Christianity. Upjohn designed the spacious Gothic chancel of Troy's Episcopal Church of the Holy Cross, 1847–1848. Other Protestant churches, including Presbyterian and Baptist, with simpler forms of worship than the Episcopal, commonly adopted the round-arched Romanesque style as an alternative to the Gothic. This reviewer missed an analysis of the towered façades of Troy's churches with round Romanesque arches (e.g., Second Presbyterian Church, 1864–1865, and Fifth Street Baptist Church, 1862–1863, both by Marcus Cummings) and the downtown synagogue also with Romanesque arches but lacking a tower (Congregation Berith Sholom, 1870, also by Cummings with partner Thomas Birt) as expressions of their congregations' faith and practice, in contrast to those of Episcopalians.

After a decade serving as executive director of the Preservation League of New York State in the 1970s, Diana Waite has continued with a distinguished career as author, editor, and publisher of works on historic architecture and its preservation. Her research for this book began decades ago, culminating in more intense work since 2007. Clearly the time and thought given this magnificent study of downtown Troy represents a profound commitment to educating the public, both in Troy and more broadly, about that city's architectural landmarks—treasures that must be preserved as a vital part of the city in the twenty-first-century.

William B. Rhoads, State University at New Paltz



***Mohonk and the Smileys: A National Historic Landmark and the Family that Created It*, Larry E. Burgess, (Catskill: Black Dome Press, 2019), 222pp.**

Mohonk and the family that created it is a great, visionary story and this book, filled with pictures from the past, tells of the succession of family members to carry forward the founding vision of living simply and with the land. Last year marked the 150th anniversary of the Mohonk Mountain House, under the stewardship of five generations of the Smiley family. An expanded edition of an earlier account, *Mohonk and the Smileys* brings this visionary story up to date and includes additional images, which make up about a third of the book.

Though the update contains good information, the most inspiring part of the story remains the earliest history—that of identical twins Albert and Alfred Smiley, who at age forty-one shifted their careers from school teachers to embark in a business for which, Alfred said, "above all things in the world, I had a distaste, and no experience."

At the time, Alfred was living on a farm in Poughkeepsie with his wife and six children. The family often took long walks and picnics on weekends; one outing led them to Pfalz Point (now Sky Top). What lay before them: Mohonk Lake, the Wallkill Valley, the Rondout Valley, and the Catskills. Alfred understood this was a place he needed to preserve. He sent word for his brother to come and see the land. Lucky for them, the owner of the tavern by Lake Mohonk was in financial trouble. Alfred and Albert were able to buy it and 300 surrounding acres for $28,000.

By June 1, 1870, they had remodeled the tavern for forty guests and, following their Quaker beliefs of a simple life, gotten rid of the alcohol (which did not return to Mohonk until 2005). Guests could enjoy boating, hikes, horseback riding, bowling (a bowling hall was built in 1876), but not card playing or dancing. From the start, the hotel appealed to upper-class families of shared values; this created a sense of privacy and of extended family. Through word of mouth, people started to come.

The early years saw a lot of development and growth, both of buildings and of lands, including construction of one of the great features of the Mohonk property—the carriage roads that lace through miles of the forest. Workers from local communities used dynamite and steam-powered drills, picks, shovels, and wheelbarrows to construct the roads. If I had one wish, it would be to learn more about the labor behind such an effort.

The two brothers extended the acreage of their resort out to what is now Lake Minnewaska (then named Coxing Pond). On the site, Alfred opened the Minnewaska Mountain House in 1879. Guests would travel from Mohonk to Minnewaska on horseback or in carriages. Why the Minnewaska resort fell on hard times and Mohonk did not

isn't clear, but the family sold it in 1956. In 1971, New York State purchased the land and created a state park now covering 22,275 acres.

As part of expanding the Mohonk property, over 100 local farms were purchased, adding to the acreage until it reached 7,500 acres at mid-twentieth century. In 1963, the Smiley family formed the Mohonk Trust, now the Mohonk Preserve. The preserve now has its own history of land preservation, stewardship, and education and remains a mecca for East Coast rock climbers.

Though the Mohonk House catered to the privileged, the Smiley brothers had a commitment to those less privileged. This led to a series of conferences held at the Mountain House, the first being the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indians, which brought together hundreds to discuss Native American policy. In 1890, they held the First Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question. It also attracted more than 100 religious, educational, political and philanthropic leaders. From 1895 to 1916, the Smileys also held an annual conference on International Arbitration: Seeking a Peaceful World, a forerunner to American foreign policy think thanks.

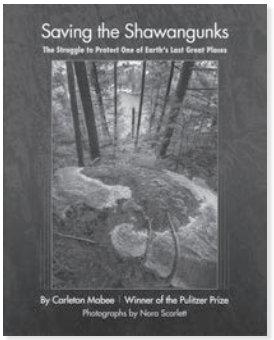
The desire to create a haven, a beautiful place where people can focus on the problems of the world, at a remove, is a great gift and continues in the present with Mohonk Consultations, which offers a range of organizations a way to come together to brainstorm on issues, both human and natural, with a sustainable focus.

Mohonk itself was wonderfully self-sufficient, particularly during times when there was financial need—during the '30s, nearly forty men worked in the more than 1,000 acres of cultivated fields on Mohonk land and harvested ice, which started in 1870 and continued until 1965! At one point, 2,000 cords of wood were used to heat the house each winter.

This is an unabashedly positive history, filled with many general statements, such as "He [Gerow Smiley] pitched in wherever needed as family members always had, bringing his problem-solving abilities and elbow grease to the operation." This might lead readers to see the story as one of a big, happy family enjoying luxury and success with ease. Aware of this, the author writes: "For those who might have the impression that owning Mohonk was, or is, all sweetness and joy, an enclave apart from life's grueling realities, they need only peruse Bert's correspondence files to correct such misimpressions."

In the end, what we have here is not a complicated history. But that is not the purpose of this book, which is to celebrate a family and a place. For that, we can be grateful, as we are for the family who has protected one of the great natural landscapes on the East Coast.

Susan Fox Rogers, Bard College



***Saving the Shawangunks: The Struggle to Protect One of Earth's Last Great Places*, Carleton Mabee, photographs by Nora Scarlett (Catskill, NY: Black Dome Press, 2017), 110 pp.**

In this, his final book, Pulitzer Prize-winning author Carleton Mabee (1914–2014) presents a less well-known episode of environmental activism in the Hudson Valley during the late twentieth century. The Shawangunk Mountain Range lies in the southern tier of New York State to the east of the Hudson River and at the foot of the Catskill Mountains. A favorite stop of rock climbers and hikers, the Shawangunks once featured grand Victorian-era resorts that drew intrepid urbanites out of New York City to experience recreation-based nature. But by the 1950s these resorts had fallen into decline. As the valleys surrounding the range experienced rapid suburbanization in the late twentieth century, new residents re-envisioned the Shawangunk landscape as one in need of preservation. When the Marriott Hotel chain sought to develop a new resort and condos on 350 acres surrounding picturesque Lake Minnewaska, atop the ridge, in 1978, it awakened an environmental activist movement.

The incident polarized local communities. Town boards and rural residents enthusiastically supported Marriott, while suburbanites—many from New Paltz—banded into the Gardiner Environmental Commission and Citizens to Save Minnewaska. These advocacy groups attacked Marriott's tax abatements, low-income jobs, and potential to increase traffic. They feared that the new resort would damage scenic views and pollute groundwater. Bolstered with the support of the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, activists successfully argued that Marriott's water plans would overdraw Peterskill Creek. When Marriott abandoned the project, the Phillips family—owners of the tract—sought an Arizona developer to build a health spa in 1985. With the help of the Sierra Club, the Friends of the Shawangunks initiated lawsuits to delay development. Tired of battle, the Phillips family sold its land to New York State, which promptly established Minnewaska State Park Preserve.

The second half of Mabee's book looks at activist crusades in lands adjacent to the Shawangunks. In 1989, the Wallkill Valley Land Trust experienced resistance from the Town of Gardiner to build and maintain a recreational rail trail. As suburbanization swallowed up fallow fields and farmland, activists sought to repurpose abandoned railroads into scenic pathways. Unlike the Shawangunks, this movement lacked legal injunctions and instead relied on non-profit land trusts. By the 2000s, these groups realized that promoting local produce and creating open space bond funds would help prevent the

closure of farms. No activists targeted suburban development, by far the greatest threat to the environment. Instead, they directed their frustrations against corporate developers.

In 2002, the Shawangunks saw the return of another resort proposal on 2,500 acres sandwiched between Minnewaska State Park and lands owned by the Open Space Institute. Awosting Reserve would cater to elite homeowners by providing multi-story luxury houses and a golf course. The plan quickly drew the ire of activists, who bemoaned the ruination of scenic views. A new organization, called Save the Ridge, sought to win support by using town hall meetings, road signs, and the media to sway local opinion. Led by teacher Patty Lee Parmalee, the publicity campaign successfully elected a new Town of Gardiner administration that halted the Awosting Preserve proposal. Landowner John Bradley blamed his developer for the negative press and eventually sold his holdings to the Trust for Public Land to be added to Minnewaska State Park. Mabee concludes with a fear that environmental activism will decline due to political polarization and a growing lack of interest.

We see that tactics and methods differed between the three environmental campaigns to save the Shawangunks. Nevertheless, they were united by their suburban demographics and grassroots support. Each movement led to the creation of new advocacy groups rather than a unified activist base. Despite occasional collaboration between those groups, Saving the Shawangunks shows us the continual fracturing of the environmental movement into numerous niche-focused non-profit organizations. It demonstrates the divisions between rural and suburban residents and the ways in which they define and interact with nature. Finally, we see that scenery, rather than ecology, offered a far more powerful unifier to draw public support for advocacy groups.

The book includes a series of outstanding color photographs by Nora Scarlett. Taken from 2010 to 2017, these images highlight the stunning ecology and geology that inspired the preservation of the Shawangunks. Salamanders, ferns, waterfalls, mushrooms, and moss-covered rocks show the dynamism of nature. We see park visitors engaging in rock climbing and hiking while avoiding the parking lots and roadways that permit their entrance. The photographs capture crumbling rock cliffs abraded by the elements and the roots of pitch pines. Overall, Scarlett captures a world in a constant cycle of life, death, and rebirth throughout various seasons. Hardly static, they depict an environment that appears untouched by human hands.

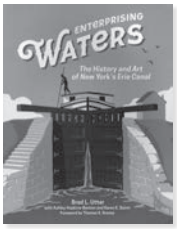
Some notions of the work and environmental movement are perplexing. Mabee suggests that the Victorian-era hotels, such as the Botsford Mountain House or Minnewaska Resort, "were seen as devoted to protecting the mountains for the sake of their guests, in effect practicing environmentalism" during the early twentieth century. Yet later he presents the Marriott Hotel as a conservation threat. One might argue that Marriott was merely continuing an older form of environmental recreation. Local activists, largely

new homeowners from the urban metropolis, had redefined recreational lodges as a form of environmental degradation, something unknown in the early twentieth century. It is important to note that the Shawangunks, despite their preservation, still enable the tourist-based recreation that made them famous during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. What shifted, then, was the type and duration of that visit.

One might question, too, if the Shawangunks truly resemble "wilderness," as Mabee posits. By starting the book's narrative in the 1970s with environmental activism, the reader loses the longer history of the mountains, one that enabled extractive, recreational, and hospitality industries to thrive for over a century. Thus, the real environmental victory is not so much the preservation of a primordial wilderness but the re-colonization and resurrection of local forest ecology and the creation of a day-use-only state park.

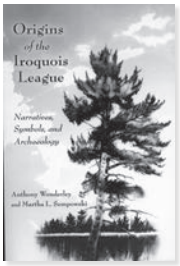
Michael Conrad, Clarkson University's Beacon Institute for Rivers and Estuaries

New & Noteworthy Books



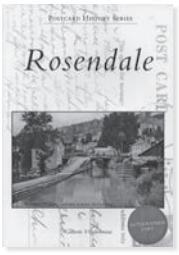
Enterprising Waters: The History and Art of New York's Erie Canal
By Brad L. Utter with Ashley Hopkins-Benton and Karen E. Quinn
(Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2020)
432 pp. $39.95 (softcover) *www.sunypress.edu*

At the time of its completion in 1825, the Erie Canal was the most impressive engineering feat in United States history. As a companion to exhibitions at the New York State Museum, *Enterprising Waters* packs an impressive amount of history into its 400-plus pages filled with images of artifacts and documents as well as photographs and paintings. Beginning with the history of the canal route prior to construction, the book highlights each major expansion of the waterway, and continues up to the present. The authors provide a captioned visual history covering the full range of the canal's impact and importance—from culture to commerce and everything in between.



Origins of the Iroquois League: Narratives, Symbols, and Archaeology
By Anthony Wonderly and Martha L. Sempowski
(Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2019)
288 pp. $29.95 (softcover) *press.syr.edu*

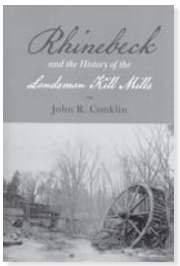
Before there was any recorded history of the Hudson River Valley, Native Americans maintained an oral tradition that provides clues to the various allegiances and alliances that existed between tribes. In *Origins of the Iroquois League*, Wonderly and Sempowski, both anthropological archaeologists, combine this oral tradition with their own individual work to trace various steps in the formation of the League of the Iroquois. The authors study a wide variety of artifacts and demographics while also incorporating an extensive list of existing works to draw new conclusions about how and when the five-nation confederation began.



Rosendale (Postcard History Series)
By Gilberto Villahermosa
(Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2019)
127 pp. $21.99 (softcover) *www.arcadiapublishing.com*

The Town of Rosendale, in Ulster County, has a varied history of industry, commerce, and tourism. The discovery of natural cement, combined with the construction of the D & H Canal, gave the picturesque town both a desired product and a way to ship it. Part of Arcadia's Postcard History

Series, the book offers an excellent format for presenting the impressive visual juxtaposition of Rosendale's quaint village of churches and businesses with the mines, canal boats, and nearby trains. It also highlights the natural beauty of the town, which attracted many tourists from its early days until construction of the New York State Thruway. While the legacy of Rosendale's cement lives on in projects like the Brooklyn Bridge and Statue of Liberty, the book's many images also shed light on the local people behind that legacy.



Rhinebeck and the History of the Landsman Kill Mills
By John R. Conklin
(Rhinebeck, NY: Epigraph Books, 2019)
90 pp. $12.95 (softcover) *www.epigraphps.com*

The Landsman Kill and the many mills that existed on it served as the lifeblood of Rhinebeck, in Dutchess County, during the 1700s. With construction supported by wealthy investors with significant local names like Beekman and Livingston, the Landsman Kill supported over a dozen different mills in industries such as paper, textiles, and grain. Through modern photographs and historic documents, Conklin profiles each industry along the creek as well as their owners and operators who made up much of Rhinebeck's working population in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Susceptible to fire, little remains of Rhinebeck's mills, but millstones continue to be an important part of local culture and a visible reminder of the town's past.

The Color of the Moon: Lunar Painting in American Art
By The Hudson River Museum, James A. Michener Art Museum
(New York, NY: Fordham University Press, 2019)
200 pp. $44.95 (softcover) *www.fordhampress.com*

Regardless of the style of painting, one feature of the landscape—the moon—can reliably be counted on to evoke a certain feeling. This companion to an exhibition held at the Hudson River Museum in Yonkers and the James A. Michener Art Museum in Pennsylvania captures the ways in which artists from various eras, including the Hudson River School, incorporated the moon into their works. Complete with color photographs and written descriptions of each painting in the exhibition, *The Color of the Moon* offers a new perspective, fifty years after man's first visit.

Andrew Villani, Marist College

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 review.

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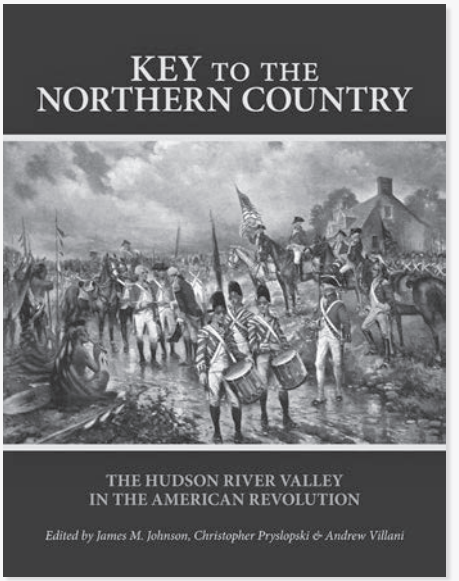

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