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From the Editors

Why is one person, building, or book celebrated while another is neglected? This question arises in every article in this issue. Susie Barstow was a successful painter and teacher whose art, as well as her travels, were celebrated by the press in her lifetime, but she and many of her female peers were left out of the exhibitions and histories resulting from the resurgence of the Hudson River School. In the 1930s and '40s, when the men, women, and children employed in America's factories were granted protections by the law, those laboring in its fields were not. In fact, in New York State it took until 2022 — after compelling testimony delivered by farm workers — for them to receive the promise of a fair workweek. Many readers of this journal will recognize the names A.J. Downing, Calvert Vaux, and Frederick Clarke Withers. But what about George E. Harney? This architect continued Downing's legacy in the mid-Hudson through the 1870s and even published a revised edition of his book, *Cottage Residences*. Sometimes, an omission is more easily explained. The steamship- and barge-canal adventure of Dutch pastor G.B. Bosch that appears here had never before been translated into English. Finally, Edith Wharton needs no introduction, but how many know that her first commercially successful book was a co-authored treatise on home design and interior decorating? Wharton's home The Mount, just across the border in Massachusetts, is now a museum that celebrates all of her endeavors, including the design of its house and gardens. We hope these articles and book reviews continue to inspire you to learn more about The Hudson River Valley — and to wonder what other "forgotten" stories are out there to be rediscovered.

On the cover: Susie M. Barstow, *Untitled,* (c.1880). Oil on unstretched canvas, 21 x 13 in. Albany Institute of History & Art. Gift of Gerald G. Barstow DDS and Janet Kay Barstow

THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

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From Theory to Practice: Edith Wharton's Creation of The Mount

Heather Millman

The Mount seen from the Flower Garden,
photo by David Dashiell courtesy of The Mount, Edith Wharton's Home

Although she had previously published short stories, Edith Wharton's first commercial and literary success was *The Decoration of Houses*, a design manual. Soon after its publication, she worked with the book's co-author, the architect and designer Ogden Codman, Jr., on the interior design of her estate, The Mount, located in the western Berkshires on the eastern edge of the Hudson River Valley. Wharton only resided there for ten years, but the experience forever changed her life and writing.

Edith Newbold Jones Wharton

Edith Newbold Jones was born on January 24, 1862, into a high-society New York City family. She was raised in a house where her parents refused to use contractions — they considered them improper — and would reprimand their daughter if she used them. Notably, the reprimands usually came from her mother. While Edith never

received a formal education, she learned much from her family and her numerous governesses as they traveled through Europe in her early years. By the time her family returned to America, Wharton could speak English, French, Italian, and German.

Back in New York, ten-year-old Edith was granted full access to her father's library. However, her mother wanted to be sure that she read only "good literature" and insisted on approving each book before Edith was allowed to read it. While this may have included religion, mythology, science, and even literature which had become a part of the canon at that point, it certainly excluded the books of "popular fiction" that were read for pleasure or distraction.

Edith's mother was her first critic — of her writing, among other things — and a harsh one. The Joneses' social circle did not include artists and writers. Wharton herself reported that the only other writer in the family was an outcast unwelcome at family gatherings. Later in her life, even after her reputation was well established, one of her cousins was the sole family member who deigned to mention that she was an author. Wharton never blamed her family for ignoring her career, as it was a time when women still faced barriers in society as well as in the arts. Despite such societal pressure and her lack of formal education, her parents helped her to publish a series of poems, titled *Verses*, when she was sixteen.

In 1881, Edith's father became sick and the family decided to travel again in hopes of improving his health. Accompanying them was Edith's fiancé, Harry Stevens, but when her father died in 1882, the engagement fell through. The passing of her father marked the end of Edith's childhood. Her mother pushed for her to marry, and in 1885 she wed Edward "Teddy" Robbins Wharton. This marriage was arranged: Edith and Teddy were both beyond the typical age for marriage—she twenty-three, he thirty-five—and neither family wanted them to remain unwed. Initially, Edith was quite pleased, but the marriage became rocky over time. She and Teddy didn't have much in common except for a love of dogs, of which they had many during their marriage. They also shared an interest in travel, though she was the more adventurous of the two. In 1888, they embarked on a cruise that they couldn't afford, deciding to put off worrying about that until after their return. Back in New York, Edith received news that she had come into some money, which was used to pay for their travels.

Even in her youth, Edith had strong opinions on house decorating and design. In *A Backward Glance*, she recalls visiting the Hudson River Valley home of her aunt, Elizabeth Schermerhorn Jones, a place she describes as having an "intolerable ugliness." She remembers realizing the house was part of the Hudson River Gothic style. Ironically, this style now is widely referred to as "Hudson River Bracketed," based on Edith's use of that term for the title of a book that includes an account of a visit to her aunt's house.

The gardens, photo by Lynne M. Anstett Imagery Art Works courtesy of The Mount, Edith Wharton's Home

Edith and Teddy moved into their first house together in Newport, Rhode Island. She described it as being "incurably ugly," but did her best to make improvements with the help of Odgen Codman, Jr., who shared her views on decoration. This eventually inspired them to collaborate on writing *The Decoration of Houses*. They hoped it would reverse the trends in design and decoration of which they disapproved and give readers a model for how to properly construct and decorate a house. But as Edith reveals in *A Backward Glance,* neither knew how to write such a book. (Her close friend, Walter Berry, provided feedback and assistance in its preparation.) However, it flew off the shelves, surprising Edith then and years later, when people recognized her as the author of *The Decoration of Houses*. After its publication, several guests to her home reported how much they appreciated the designs in her book, but were surprised to see that her house didn't follow them.

Wharton at The Mount

In 1901, Edith bought 113 acres of land in Lenox, Massachusetts, and had a home built in fifteen months. She designed the house and gardens herself, but with help from professionals. Ogden Codman, Jr., was the initial architect, although Wharton fired him at one point due to an argument and replaced him with Francis L.V. Hoppin. Eventually, she rehired Codman to help with the interior design. Wharton named the estate The Mount in honor of her great grandfather, Ebenezer Stevens, whom she described as a model citizen in *A Backward Glance.* His house on Long Island was called Mount Napoleon, Mount Bonaparte, or sometimes simply The Mount.[1]

1 http://digitalarchives.queenslibrary.org/browse/general-ebenezer-stevens-house-1

Edith Wharton's bedroom,
courtesy of The Mount, Edith Wharton's Home

Beatrix Farrand, Wharton's niece and cousin and well-known landscape architect, helped with the landscaping, but it was a collaboration. In fact, Edith even wrote to Morton Fullerton, her singular confirmed lover, that "I am amazed at the success of my efforts. Decidedly, I'm a better landscape gardener than novelist, and this place, every line of which is my own work, far surpasses *The House of Mirth*…."

The Mount was a writing retreat where Wharton could get work done while enjoying nature. While there, she maintained a strict work routine. Most days she awoke with the sun to write in bed, with her dogs and a cup of tea beside her. By midmorning she would be finished for the day and the maid or secretary would gather the pages she had written to be typed. (Edith wrote longhand and let the pages fall to the floor, presumably to let them dry.) She then edited the typed pages when they were brought back to her, and the edits would be entered into the manuscript by her secretary, Anna Catherine Bahlmann. (Originally Edith's governess, the two maintained a close relationship until Bahlmann's death in 1916.) After everything had been edited and reviewed a final time, the manuscript was mailed to the publisher.

Edith made it a point of treating her staff well, which was somewhat exceptional at the time. Women who worked at The Mount resided on its top floor, while the male staff lived above the stables. She also allowed a family of one of the staff she was fond of to live in an apartment in the stable building. Employees were fairly compensated for their work, and some received pensions after retiring. Edith gave them holiday gifts and would picnic outside with her staff for lunch. She presented her chauffeur, Charles Cook, with a copy of *Fighting France* as a thank you for his help in driving her to all the battlefronts visited while writing the book.

The gardener, Thomas Reynolds, was also well acquainted with the family and remained with the Whartons until The Mount was sold. Reynolds came from a line of gardeners (father and grandfather) and had emigrated from England alone. He was twenty-nine years old when he was hired and had seven years of experience prior to The Mount. The previous gardener had been fired shortly after he began because of his lack of attention during the winter. Edith noted: "Our good gardener has failed us, we know not why, whether from drink or some other demoralization, but after spending a great deal of money on the place all winter there are no results, and we have been obligated to get a new man."

In contrast, she and Reynolds bonded over their love of gardens. She admired his skills, along with his creativity and dedication, while he admired her love and knowledge of the natural world. When Edith won awards for her flowers, Reynolds also received credit (which was rare at the time).

During her years at The Mount, Wharton published many works, in a self-proclaimed golden age of her writing and life. The region became an ideal subject; even after leaving the estate, she continued to write works focused on the area. She published *The House of Mirth* in 1905; it was set in high society and subtly explored its underlying layers and limitations (especially for women). She widened her gaze in *Ethan Frome*. Published in 1911, it was written about the poorer, rural society not far outside Lenox. Her works published after leaving The Mount that took place relatively close to Lenox include some of her short stories and *Summer*, which again depicts the poorer community in that area. Just as she cared for her staff, she cared for the people living around her and wanted to tell their stories.

Edith was known to be difficult to befriend, but once established, her friendships lasted for life. She would keep in touch regularly with those she cared about. While best known for her novels, she also wrote short stories, poetry, and non-fiction, and continued to write about her interests in design. *Italian Villas and Their Gardens*, published during her time at The Mount, was inspired by her visits to the estates described in the book.

Visiting The Mount

A tour of The Mount begins at the front of the house, in a courtyard where the Whartons' guests would arrive in horse-drawn carriages or (later) cars. The tour guide noted the apparent symmetries of the building, specifically pointing to the rows of windows and sharing that those with closed shutters were fake. These and other details prove that symmetry was important to Wharton; however, the house itself is not symmetrical on account of geography. The service wing on the right is somewhat balanced by a terrace on the left, a compromise made by Edith after encountering bedrock there. The service wing is also set back slightly from the main façade, so it appears smaller and allows a greater illusion of symmetry.

Behind the house, the gardens reflect the French and Italian designs that inspired Edith's *Italian Villas and their Gardens*. Seen from the terrace, there is a sunken Italian garden to the right and a flower garden with English and French elements to the left. They are connected by an allée of linden trees. A hillside garden between the flower garden and terrace contains native plants and flowers and a unique grass staircase. Each of the formal gardens includes water as a focal point; the importance of such features is described in *Italian Villas and their Gardens*. The sunken garden contains two stone plaques laid in the ground. One is inscribed with a quote from the first page of *A Backward Glance*. It reads:

> In spite of illness, in spite even of the arch-enemy sorrow, one CAN remain alive long past the usual date of disintegration if one is unafraid of change, insatiable in intellectual curiosity, interested in big things and happy in small ways.

The other plaque commemorates the efforts of Foxhollow headmistress Aileen Farrell to preserve The Mount. A bench at the center of the allée looks across the grounds toward Laurel Lake. Beyond the formal gardens, there are several walking trails leading to chairs set near the lakeshore. There is also a small and peaceful pet cemetery on a hill.

In traditional European fashion, visitors enter The Mount on the ground floor (considered floor zero) before the first floor. The front door opens into a grotto, one of many Italian features. This small, rectangular space with terracotta floor tiles and a fountain at its center is where the Whartons' guests were greeted. The plaster walls are sculpted to look as though they are covered in vines, while mirrored doors and windows running the length of the room might have been functional or placed for dramatic effect.

The elegant main stairs are lined with a thick red carpet. Beyond a door that would have remained closed in Edith's time are the servants' stairs. They are wooden, painted brown, and a bit steep as they rise and wrap around the luggage elevator. The open-cage elevator contains a stack of vintage luggage with "E.W." monogrammed on the front.

The main stairs ascend to a hallway, similar in layout to the grotto below, that features more mirrors and doors and a white terrazzo floor made from locally sourced marble and lined with imported stone.

Teddy had his own den, with connected bathroom, at the far end of the hall. It served as his office as well as a sort of refuge. The room's fireplace mantel and baseboards are made of stone imported from Europe. Today, the room is sparsely furnished with period furniture (many of the chairs, couches, and tables on display throughout The Mount are reproductions or antiques on loan from The Preservation Society of Newport County), but it does contain two paintings original to the house.

The library, photo by Eric Limon Photography, courtesy of The Mount, Edith Wharton's Home

Also on display is an exhibit about Edith's earnings that explains how she financed The Mount. The budget includes a line about blackmail: Edith helped out Morton Fullerton, her estranged lover and lifelong friend, when his landlord threatened to reveal his relationship with another man.

Entering the library, not surprisingly loaded with bookshelves, the tone becomes imbued with an aura of sacredness. Two large images of Edith adorn the nearest bookcases, along with a painting of Francis Hoppin, the architect on record for The Mount's facade. The walls are paneled with quarter-sawn American Oak, and the room smells like the old books that fill its shelves and are piled on a desk. Built into the wall — a design element that Wharton encouraged — the shelves make an impression similar to tapestries. Wharton did not write here, but sometimes entertained guests. (I believe that Henry James would have appreciated this environment.) The library today includes Edith's own books, some she gave to others, and a portion of her father's library.

Nynke Dorhout, the librarian in charge of The Mount's book collection, discussed how the library is constantly evolving as they continue to locate Edith's books. In her will, she gave half of her library to William Royall Tyler, whose mother, Elisina Tyler, was a close friend of Wharton's from the charitable work she did in World War I. (Elisina Tyler was one of Wharton's executors after she passed away in 1937.) These books were destroyed when London was bombed during World War II. The other half of the library was bequeathed to Colin Clark, Edith's six-year-old godson. Over time, these books were dispersed and are now the focus of efforts to reassemble the collection. There is no catalog detailing the books Edith owned, but each contains

a special library bookplate, of which there are three different versions, one for each of her residences. English antiquarian bookseller George Ramsden dedicated much of his life to locating these books.

A glimpse inside some of the books reveals how Edith interacted with her world. For example, the Bible she received at her confirmation includes notes in the margins that express her personality. The library also includes Edith's beloved and much-used copy of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* and the copy of Dante's *Inferno* that she wrote about in *A Backward Glance*. (She and a friend climbed onto the roof of her parents' New York City townhouse and shouted lines from it.) I even got to see a book given to Edith by Theodore Roosevelt and inscribed in elegant handwriting "From an American-American."

Wharton's preferences, or patience, can also be seen in what pages had or had not been cut. In her day, the pages of books were folded and bound and needed to be opened, as you would a sealed envelope. (This explains why page edges in many books are uneven.) Some of the books in the library are uncut, or only partly cut, which reveal what books Edith finished and what books she read partially or not at all. Besides seeing the books themselves, I got a glimpse of Nynke's work and what goes into the collection's preservation and use.

Currently, The Mount is working to make Edith's library more accessible. It still functions much as it did in her day, when she used it as a place of refuge and reference, where she could find medical and botanical information. The Mount is scanning all the books so they can be put online and therefore accessed by researchers all over the world. Currently, scholars who want off-site access to them must send a request to Dorhout, who marks and shares relevant pages. When complete, the scanning will allow the librarian and staff to devote their energies elsewhere, and will have an added preservation benefit by reducing the number of times the books are handled.

From the library, we entered the drawing room, like Teddy's den containing replica furniture, allowing visitors to sit and enjoy the space as the Whartons and their guests would have. The long room has a sculpted plaster ceiling and sets of French doors that open onto a terrace, where Edith enjoyed stargazing through a telescope and having long talks with her friends.

Rather than visiting the terrace (now the site of a café), I walked into the dining room, which provides an interesting glimpse into the site's preservation and interpretation. The walls are now a light pink with white trim; originally, they were an off-white color that obscured their accents and carved plaster details. During renovations, a decision was made to change the color to better show them off. A small round dining table in the room's center would provide seating for six, underscoring the fact that the house was private and the Whartons received few guests. Edith sat where she could cue the staff to bring in the next course. Dog treats on the table and a pillow by one of the chairs illustrate the Whartons' love for their pets.

The boudoir, courtesy of The Mount, Edith Wharton's Home

In the servants' wing, the ground level contains the kitchen and scullery and a space converted into a museum shop. The kitchen includes a stove in the style of the period and several pieces of kitchen equipment, along with recipe books. In the scullery, there is a book with orders for food items bought for the household, as well as a dumbwaiter.

I walk up the servants' stairs to the second floor. After passing through temporary exhibits occupying The Mount's guest bedrooms, including one where Henry James frequently stayed, the tour reaches Edith's four-room suite (including a bathroom).

The boudoir is notable because one can see several instances where Edith breaks her own design rules. In her writing, she expressed a dislike for anything excessive or unnecessary, but this room includes many different patterns on its walls, curtains, and rugs.

Seeing this cozy space where several of Edith's books grew to fruition humanized her even more for me. The informality of writing in bed also felt like a rebellion: She knew she could do her best work while being comfortable and didn't care what others thought of her process.

After Wharton

In 1911, The Mount was sold due to the Whartons' disintegrating marriage and Teddy's declining mental health. Edith divorced him in 1913 — keeping her name, her sole request — and permanently resided in France, where she had moved in 1911. She continued writing, received the French Legion of Honor for her efforts during World War I, and became the first woman to receive the Pulitzer Prize for fiction in 1921. (Teddy moved in with his sister, who took care of him until his passing in 1928.)

Albert and Mary Shattuck bought The Mount in 1911 and spent a lot of time preserving the house and gardens during the twenty-seven years they lived there. Next, Carr and Louise Van Anda lived at the estate seasonally for four years. In 1942, the property became the location of Foxhollow School for Girls. Its headmistress, Aileen M. Farrell, appreciated the estate's history and treated it with the utmost respect. Only certain students were allowed into the library, and book use was regulated so as not to cause any damage. Farrell turned Edith's kitchen into a chemistry lab, while the stables were used for horseback riding. However, the gardens fell into disrepair, and the school eventually closed due to lack of funds.

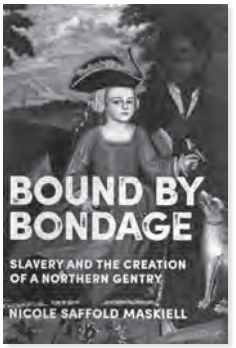
Subsequently, Edith Wharton Restoration, Inc., was formed in 1978 and purchased The Mount (with funds from the National Trust for Preservation) two years later. The theater group Shakespeare & Company rented the property during the 1980s and '90s, and put on performances there. Throughout all the changes of ownership, one thing remained the same — the library, which was regarded as a sacred space. Later, this allowed for the return of all the books George Ramsden had collected.

In 1997, Edith Wharton Restoration, Inc., began restoring The Mount. (Shakespeare & Company continued performing there until 2001.) Since then, the property has undergone structural repairs and the gardens have been largely restored to their former glory. The kitchen is a kitchen again. The restoration also has allowed The Mount to add technological improvements, such as climate control in the library, and improve accessibility, including an elevator. The group's goal is to keep the estate looking historic while continuing to enhance accessibility and preserve the house and its artifacts.

The Mount is accessible in a way that allows guests to interact directly with the house. Visitors may sit on much of the furniture (one of the tour guides joked that children can jump on the bed in Edith's bedroom), and many of the exhibits are interactive. There is even a small reading nook where one can peruse some of Wharton's works and magazines from her time. In addition, The Mount offers a variety of seasonal programs, including ghost tours and walking tours of the grounds with dramatic lighting. It also provides fellowships and classes that continue Wharton's artistic legacy. And as noted previously, it is making books in the library more accessible by placing them online. This will allow scholars as well as the general public greater opportunity to discover the story of Edith Wharton and The Mount, a story that is constantly evolving.

Heather Millman, Marist '23

Book Reviews



Bound by Bondage:
Slavery and the Creation of a Northern Gentry
By Nicole Saffold Maskiell
(Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2022) 306 pp.

Isabel and Alida were both young girls living in Boston. Isabel was born to enslaved parents, Diana and Ben, on Robert Livingston's Hudson Valley manor. Alida was Robert's young granddaughter, an heir to two powerful, white merchant families. Slaving ships owned by the Livingstons brought human cargo to the shores of the Hudson River. Enslaved servants, such as Isabel's parents, served Alida's grandparents on fine china brought over on the same ships. Isabel tended to the every need of Alida while a network of Black servants and laborers maintained the extended Livingston family's vast estates and manor houses across the Northeast. Both communities — the wealthy, White merchant class and the countless people of African descent they enslaved — were financially, socially, and politically connected since the earliest days of New Netherland. In *Bound by Bondage*, historian Nicole Saffold Maskiell presents readers with a thoroughly researched and groundbreaking narrative that reveals a wider Hudson Valley world interconnected through slavery.

At Staatsburgh State Historic Site, the Livingston-family estate where I serve as historic site assistant, we are exploring our own history of enslavement. Over the past three years, I have been researching the names and experiences of Belinda, Stephen, Mary, William, Dinah, and the countless others enslaved by Morgan Lewis, Staatsburgh's founder. Acknowledging our site's history of enslavement and telling the human stories of Black men, women, and children is central for understanding the whole history of Staatsburgh, the Livingston family, and the Hudson Valley. The mission of uncovering the historically marginalized names and stories of those enslaved is a great challenge for any historian, but it is important work toward understanding the foundation and growth of today's society and culture.

It was the early European colonizers who not only implanted their Dutch society onto the Hudson Valley, but indeed their culture of enslavement, too. This culture of bondage, Maskiell argues, was foundational to the development of a distinct elite White identity that lasted long past Dutch control of New Netherland. In *Bound by Bondage*, the worsening condition of enslaved peoples in the eighteenth century is not seen as an effect of the British seizure of New York—the common image for

modern historians — but rather a continuation of the seventeenth-century Dutch manner of slavery. As many residents of New York's Hudson River Valley are coming to realize the central role slavery played in the development of the region, our view that it was a by-product of the British Empire needs to shift as well. The colonial system of slavery, rather, was borne from a culture of fear and control wielded first by the Dutch colonizers. New Netherland slavery was seen by past generations as exceptional — yet, *Bound by Bondage* argues that generations of Dutch familial and business networks, stretched across the Atlantic world from Canada to Curaçao, are the overlooked foundation for slavery in New York to come.

Not only does Maskiell's thesis refocus traditional arguments related to Anglo-Dutch enslavement, but it inverts the very language surrounding both the enslaved and enslaver. Those enslaved — Isabel, Ben, Diana, and countless others — did not have family names. Thus, throughout the book, Maskiell purposefully refers to enslavers such as Robert Livingston and Petrus Stuyvesant by their first name as well — a break from traditional academic writing. In addition, underscoring the "Dutch-ness" of men like Robert and Petrus, Maskiell quotes extensively in the original Dutch. Readers see Robert Livingston, the first Lord of Livingston Manor, discuss purchasing another enslaved ladies' maid for his wife in the original Dutch. These seemingly small acts symbolize a powerful equalizing of individuals and a reaction against the power imbalance central to the system of slavery. *Bound by Bondage* forces us not only to reconsider the legacy of powerful family patriarchs but to refocus our view on the foundational role of the elite Dutch and Dutch-speaking families in New York slavery.

The Dutch built an Atlantic empire — connected through familial, religious, and financial bonds — that strengthened their bottom lines while simultaneously controlling those they enslaved. As Maskiell demonstrates, slavery was central to the Dutch world economy that connected Rensselaerswijck and New Amsterdam with Brazil and Curaçao, and home bases in Holland. Thus, the first three chapters of *Bound by Bondage*, covering the span of Dutch control of New Netherland, are titled with the Dutch words for Negro (*neger*), colonist (*kolonist*), and name (*naam*). Slavery — the exertion of power over another human being — became an identity for these early Dutch-speaking families. Dutch women, Maskiell presents, are exerting great agency over their lives and the lives of those they enslave. Alida Schuyler, for example, brought business connections to her foreign-born husband, Robert Livingston. Dutch women had inherent rights in New Netherland that further bonded them together as high-status members of the new enslaver class. Enslaved people brought "meaning to their constructed social identities," according to Maskiell (55). Black people were diminished to terms like *neger* and viewed as commodities to be traded and bartered to bolster the financial sheets of the rising New Netherland elites,

such as the Stuyvesants and Livingstons. The Dutch *kolonists* viewed slavery as a constant through their strategic marriages, religious practices, and business dealings.

In parallel, readers are introduced to the first generations of Africans on the shores of Manhattan Island. *Bound by Bondage* recenters Black people in the New World as actors with their own agency. As enslavers are interconnected through marriage, religion, and business, so are the people enslaved. Reading "against the grain," Maskiell reconnects the lost strands of Black networks working against the Dutch *kolonists* for their own benefit. Black men, women, and children, to quote Maskiell, created their own "shadow networks" for their own gain (164). I was struck by the details that the author uncovered about the often-marginalized lives of Black people in the eighteenth century. While she outlines some of the challenges for readers unfamiliar with this process, as someone grappling with a similar history at Staatsburgh I found the narrative details and biographical notes throughout the book unmatched. Maskiell has crafted a caring, compassionate narrative from the cold, archival records of enslavers that returns to those enslaved some measure of their humanity. Court records, she says, meant to "criminalize their [the Black community] actions and monetize their lives" are one window into learning more about Symon, Mary, Pey, and others whose names and actions might otherwise be lost to modern readers (57). *Bound by Bondage* traces the obscured networks that were employed by enslaved people to survive slavery and, ultimately, to escape bondage.

As our modern understanding of Dutch enslaver culture is turned upside down, the enslaved community also turned the networks keeping them in bondage upside down, to their own benefit. The multicultural and social networks eked out by enslaved people were a benefit not only for selling home-grown goods but in their daily survival and ultimate flight to freedom. "Networks," Maskiell argues "was a language that both enslaver and enslaved held in common" (145). The business networks connecting Robert Livingston to the wider Atlantic world also connected Tom to other Black people friendly to his escape from Manor Livingston. In fact, the various manorial estates stretched across the region — mini societies of Europeans, Natives, and Black people in various stations — were hubs for Black communities in the Hudson River Valley. White fear of violent attacks from those they enslaved were fueled as Black men and women pushed the limits of their bondage within and outside the manor system. In my view, Maskiell's most impactful writing comes out of her focus on these Black and enslaved networks. Her exploration of the interconnected networks of free and enslaved Black people across the Hudson Valley presents a new picture of what it meant to be Black in the region.

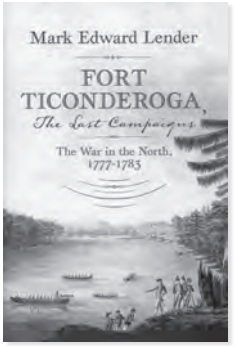
The final chapter titles of *Bound by Bondage* — Bond, Family, Market, and Identity — signal the British period of occupation of New York. Maskiell argues that the earlier Dutch period was not the "calm before the storm," as past historians have viewed it. Instead, the violence and trauma of the later British Empire was born out

of the culture and worldview of the Dutch Empire before them (50). Dutch networks sustained this British worldview. The Dutch language still appears in her cited sources and the control exercised by Dutch families is still practiced by Dutch-descended New York families. Legal frameworks created under the Dutch still survived and expanded the control held by the most powerful enslaver families — such as the Livingstons — with business and familial ties from Canada to Curaçao. The elite members of New York society were simultaneously increasing their power in the new colony while restricting the humanity of those they enslaved. The cultivation of Dutch-era political networks and the maintenance of Dutch-descended policy makers underscores the author's idea that the horrific culture of enslavement under the British was a direct descendant of the Dutch culture.

This heritage of Dutch enslavement has been overshadowed in the historical record and public memory. Rather than focus on the British system of slavery and its harsh realities, Maskiell demonstrates the central role that Dutch settlement not only had on enslavement, but indeed the whole culture of New York's Hudson Valley. Enslavement was an identity for these New York elites, bolstered by their interconnected familial, religious, and financial networks. At times, the entangled networks of Bayards and Livingstons and Stuyvesants can become dizzying to follow on the page, yet it goes to underscore just how dense and reliant the various merchants' families were on these networks. In the introduction to *Bound by Bondage*, Maskiell speaks in the first person — such as "When I first became interested in Northern slavery" (6) — to draw the audience in and bring them along with her through this journey of discovery. This personal connection between author and reader was engaging, and I wish these little personal anecdotes had continued throughout the narrative. The author spoke of conversations with descendant communities of those enslaved during this period, including her own family's history, yet their stories do not seem to have made the final draft. While languages changed, domestic practices came and went, and governments fell, it was slavery that remained a constant until the nineteenth century. It can be difficult to craft a book so engaging for the general reader yet so resourceful for seasoned public historians, yet in *Bound by Bondage* Maskiell has struck that balance.

Anyone interested in learning this side of New York's foundational history, at any level, will be well rewarded by engaging with her powerful narrative and groundbreaking research. As more and more towns, communities, historic sites, and individuals start to reckon with their own history of enslavement, *Bound by Bondage* will be a guiding light to understanding how we are living with the legacy of those bound together in bondage.

Zachary Veith, Historic Site Assistant at Staatsburgh State Historic Site



Fort Ticonderoga: The Last Campaigns, The War in the North, 1777–1783
By Mark Edward Lender
(Yardley, PA: Westholme Publishing, LLC, 2022) 235 pp.

As a rising ninth grader from Georgia in the summer of 1962, I visited Fort Ticonderoga with my parents on our trip home from Canada, joining thousands of visitors that year. Ticonderoga remains one of the most famous forts in America almost 270 years after it was built. While searching for its significance in his book *Fort Ticonderoga: The Last Campaigns, The War in the North*, 1777–1783, author Mark Edward Lender serves as a pathologist conducting a post-mortem of the demise of the colonial and Revolutionary "Gibraltar of North America." Professor emeritus of history at Kean University in Union, N.J., Lender has chosen to call Fort Ticonderoga in its prime (it occupied the site of the former French Fort Carillon on the southwestern shore of Lake Champlain) the "key to the continent." Until May 1775, when Colonels Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold and fewer than 100 Green Mountain Boys and Connecticut militiamen bloodlessly captured it from its small garrison of one lieutenant and forty-three rank and file of the British 26th Regiment of Foot, most colonials would have considered it the most formidable British fortification in the Crown's colonies—not knowing its dilapidated state. As late as 1777, Connecticut Governor Jonathan Trumbull would call it "the most important fortress on the continent." General George Washington, however, had decided by 1783 in his "Sentiments on a Peace Establishment" that Fortress West Point had surpassed it in strategic value as the "key of America." Continental Army Chief Engineer Louis Duportail wrote that the West Point was "the Key of the North [Hudson] River." Since it never had to withstand a major assault to test its defensive strength, one is left to conclude that Fortress West Point's mystique was its major attribute. After the British withdrew from the diminished Ticonderoga for good in November 1777, the two forts would have served as bookends for that strategically critical estuary had the Americans chosen to occupy the northern post.

Fort Ticonderoga tested the leadership and logistical acumen of a host of American commanders. They not only had to deal with overwhelming logistical obstacles at a post distant from the seat of the war to their south but had to find ways to motivate the soldiers in a garrison insufficient to guard, construct, and maintain. Colonel Anthony Wayne, for example, bridled at the administrative challenges inherent in command of Fort Ticonderoga. As a fighter, he was relieved when he was reassigned from Lake Champlain to a Pennsylvania brigade in 1777, allowing him to play a crucial role in holding off German General Wilhelm Knyphausen's forces at the Battle of Brandywine. Colonel Arnold would sacrifice most of his lake

fleet in October 1776 at the battle of Valcour Island to save it from Major General Guy Carleton's joint force. Major General Philip Schuyler, as the commander of the Northern Theater, would vie for control against the future victor of the Battles of Saratoga, Major General Horatio Gates, in what Lender called "political football" (68). Schuyler and Major General Arthur St. Clair would be court-martialed for the loss of the fort to the army of British Lieutenant General John Burgoyne in July 1777.

The battle for Fort Ticonderoga never really materialized as Lender aptly points out. He analyzes the weaknesses of the American defenses and the reasons for their loss. Once British Major General William Phillips' artillerymen hauled two twelve-pounder cannons to the top of Mount Defiance on 5 July, 1777, the British effectively commanded the fort, supporting the imminent ground attacks on it and the works on Mount Independence across the lake. General St. Clair, supported by his subordinate commanders in a council of war, decided that the only recourse was to abandon the post to save its garrison, which made up "the greater part of the Northern Army" (96). The American withdrawal would be completed in a matter of hours.

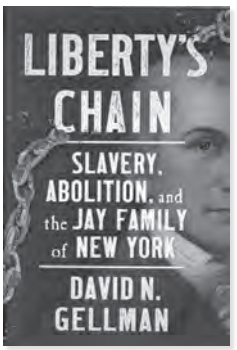
Two insights stand out about the loss of Fort Ticonderoga: The Americans knew as early as 1776 that cannons emplaced on Mount Defiance would be devastating to a successful defense and that the bridge linking Forts Ticonderoga and Independence needed to be protected by artillery. St. Clair and his two predecessors failed to act on the former by constructing a defensive work there, and chance intervened to allow the seizure of the bridge. Mythology blamed four drunken artillerymen manning cannons for the failure to stop Brigadier General Simon Fraser's attack on the bridge. Lender questions that myth with a firsthand British observation that there were no cannons in place; in fact, testimony in the court-martial of St. Clair reported that cannons in the "old French redoubt," "which commanded the bridge," had been mistakenly spiked (rendered inoperable) before its artillerymen withdrew. Lender concludes that the main failure was that "the garrison's paltry numbers and the frequent rotation of militia and Continental units [not to mention post commanders] inhibited timely completion of Ticonderoga's extensive defensive works" (68). In sum, "It was all a numbers game, and the Americans lost it." By withdrawing, St. Clair "made the only reasonable choice available to him" (111). Courts-martial acquitted both St. Clair and Schuyler "with the highest honor" for any "neglect of duty." Nonetheless, not only were these two American generals "swept away" in the "virulent public tide," but Burgoyne would face the reality that his victory at Fort Ticonderoga was the "high tide" for his Saratoga campaign (103, 109).

After St. Clair's departure, Lender found that Fort Ticonderoga mainly served as a staging area and depot subject to occasional raids until it was finally abandoned by both armies in 1781. There would be a brief flurry of activity in September 1777 as Colonel John Brown conducted a raid against Mount Defiance and even demanded,

to no avail, the surrender of the fort's British garrison. The three-pronged attack had even greater potential, but only Brown's operation succeeded; he took Fort Defiance, freed over 100 Americans, and captured some 300 prisoners and 217 bateaux and gunboats before withdrawing. This raid had operational ramifications: it limited Burgoyne's options by proving that his base and line of communication were "anything but secure and a retreat north was a dangerously risky option" (136, 178, 180). The rest of the book follows raids around the North Country ordered by Canadian Governors Guy Carlton and Frederick Haldimand to gain intelligence and burn houses, settlements, and supplies along the frontier to keep American leaders guessing and settlers fearing for their lives and property.

From his post-mortem, Lender makes clear that Fort Ticonderoga always had to be taken into account during operations around Lakes Champlain and George. A major contribution with Crown Point was supplying fifty-nine cannons and mortars to the Continental artillery corps that Colonel Henry Knox would transport to Cambridge, Massachusetts, in early 1776. This artillery would help to prod the British to leave Boston on 17 March 1776. So, what does this all mean? Fort Ticonderoga was a potential asset to the Americans and British because of its location, but it could have met that potential only if fully manned and maintained. It never was during the American Revolution, and at war's end it was "an abandoned and picturesque landmark in a prosaic and tranquil landscape," without "military significance" (176, 180). It awaited the largesse of the Pell family to bring it back to life in the twentieth century.

James M. Johnson, Military Historian of the Hudson River Valley,
Professor Emeritus, Marist College



David N. Gellman, Liberty's Chain: Slavery, Abolition, and the Jay Family of New York
(Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2022).

John Jay achieved considerable fame during his life. He helped author New York's first constitution, served as president of the Continental Congress during the Revolutionary War, and U.S. minister to Spain. Jay, John Adams, and Benjamin Franklin negotiated the Treaty of Paris of 1783. Upon his return, Jay served as U.S. Secretary of Foreign Affairs and co-authored the Federalist Papers. President George Washington appointed Jay the first chief justice of the United States Supreme Court. Jay capped his career of public service with two terms as governor of New York and he approved a law to gradually abolish slavery in New York. For generations, scholars lionized the founders. More recently, they have dedicated far more attention to the founders and slavery. Washington, Jefferson,

and Madison owned hundreds of enslaved people. Slavery existed throughout all thirteen of the British mainland North American colonies. Benjamin Franklin owned enslaved people and so did John Jay.

David N. Gellman, currently A.W. Crandall Professor of History at DePauw University and author of *Emancipating New York: The Politics of Slavery and Freedom, 1770–1827* (Louisiana State University Press, 2006), offers a multi-generational account of the Jay family and their relationships with slavery, freedom, and the founding. After John Jay died, his son, William Jay, and William's son John Jay II "embraced the new movement for immediate abolition in the 1830s, promoted the cause of Black freedom for decades, and challenged the North's racial caste system" (3). John Jay had taken antislavery stances during his life, but nothing akin to immediate abolition. Thus, after his death, due to the activism of his descendants, the Jay family name became both synonymous with abolitionism as well as associated with the founding of the U.S. Most intriguingly, William and John Jay II did not see their antislavery activities as a repudiation of John Jay. Rather, some of their writings sought to safeguard his historical reputation and prove how he would have approved of their work. The Jay family story, Gellman asserts, "invites, even demands, that Americans treat the founders as a part of, rather than set apart from, subsequent conflicts over slavery" (4).

The book is divided into three sections. "Slavery and Revolution" begins with the journey of Huguenot Auguste Jay (he later changed his name to Augustus) in the 1680s, first to Charles Town, South Carolina, and then to New York. Augustus believed that New York "was the kind of place where a well-connected Huguenot merchant with an English education might succeed" (14), and his family did indeed flourish. Augustus was probably involved to some degree with the transatlantic slave trade, and the growing trade with the West Indies certainly gave him opportunities to import enslaved people from the Caribbean. Augustus's son, Peter Jay, moved out of New York City to a farm in Rye, Westchester County. Peter owned at least eight enslaved people, three men and five women, and possibly several children. Peter's son, John Jay, embarked on a decisive path toward revolution between 1774 and 1776. Like many people during this period, he frequently invoked the image of slavery to frame the contest between the colonies and Great Britain. However, unlike many of his contemporaries, he also thought human bondage was wrong and applauded Pennsylvania's Gradual Abolition Act of 1780. That said, John Jay did not free any of the enslaved people he owned in the 1780s. As a diplomat in Europe, he "encountered the paradoxes of human bondage in uncomfortably direct ways" (51). While the Jay family lived in France, Abbe, an enslaved woman in their household, ran away. She was likely entitled to her freedom under French law, but Benjamin Franklin had Abbe seized and placed in jail. While in prison,

Abbe became sick and died shortly thereafter. Gellman notes that Jay seemed more focused on comforting his wife than thinking about the trauma suffered by Abbe.

After returning to the U.S., Jay joined the New-York Manumission Society in 1785 and accepted a leadership role. During the 1780s and 1790s, he played an important role in the ratification of the Constitution as co-author of the Federalist Papers, became the first chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, and went to London in 1794 to negotiate the treaty that bears his name. During the negotiations, Jay did not press very hard the issue of British compensation for runaway slaves. This stood in dramatic contrast to his behavior in 1783, when the U.S. negotiators in Paris emphasized this issue, and it illustrates how his view on slavery and international law had evolved since 1783. In 1795, Jay was elected governor of New York and approved New York's gradual abolition law in 1799. In retirement, he spent his last decades at his farm in Bedford. During this time, he manumitted Zilpah when she turned twenty-five. Critically, Zilpah was born before July 4, 1799, and thus was not subject to New York's gradual abolition law. However, as Gellman comments, the fact that Jay manumitted her underscored his eagerness to follow the gradual abolition law's formula. During the Missouri Crisis, Jay wrote a letter explaining why he did not support the introduction of slavery into Missouri, and his critique lent firepower to opponents of slavery's extension there. Throughout his life, Gellman concludes, John Jay "found ways to oppose slavery and to ignore it, to conduct himself meanly and magnanimously, without ever doubting that the developing society in which he took a leading role would be better off without slavery and without the misguidance of prejudice" (75).

The second section of the book, "Abolitionism," examines how William Jay and John Jay II embraced immediate abolitionism. Several years after John Jay's death on May 14, 1829, William announced his support for immediate abolitionism. William's abolitionism "drew strength and substance from his precocious son John Jay II" (166). William wrote extensively about his father, colonization, and slavery. Much of the contest between William and his political opponents centered on the legacy of John Jay. William and John Jay II sought to "enlist" him on their side, and many people protested this approach, arguing that they mischaracterized or distorted John Jay's beliefs and ideas. For instance, David M. Reese deplored William's assault against the American Colonization Society and argued that he had "twisted and distorted John Jay's ideas about abolition to support 'the scheme of immediate abolition' " (182). Charges that William misrepresented his father clearly stung, but he and John Jay II did their level best to "make the Jay name synonymous not only with the founding of the nation but with national abolition" (187). Although he embraced immediate abolitionism, William remained suspicious of the Garrisonians and eventually left the American Anti-Slavery Society due to the Garrisonian position on the "woman question" (i.e., their stance on sexual equality). Nevertheless, despite this break with

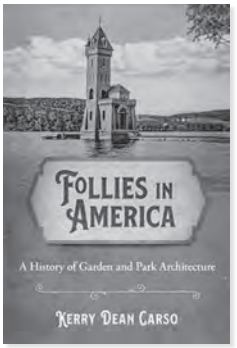
the Garrisonians, William's "growing sense of obligation to combat racism vitally informed his attitudes and fueled his abolitionism for the next two decades" (237). He also raised his voice against slavery and racism in the Episcopal Church.

The final section, "Emancipation," examines the Decade of Crisis, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. Both William and John Jay II continued their antislavery activism. John Jay II played a "frontline role in battles provoked by fugitive slaves" (285). When William died on October 14, 1858, some of his friends and social peers, who found his embrace of immediate abolitionism either irritating or embarrassing, attempted to reframe his life and deemphasize his support for abolition. On the other hand, Frederick Douglass delivered a powerful eulogy that delighted John Jay II and cast William as "a moral titan in the history of abolitionism" (334). The Civil War offered John Jay II a powerful opportunity to "fuse the two strands of his family's narrative—the founding of a great nation and the fight against slavery—that over the previous several decades had often perilously diverged" (337). He also wanted to serve his country and worked to secure a diplomatic appointment. However, although his ideals triumphed, he was destined to be disappointed in his pursuit of "office and influence" (338) until President Grant appointed him minister to Austria-Hungary in 1869. Furthermore, John Jay II changed during the war and Reconstruction. For example, in an oration commemorating the centennial of the Battle of Harlem Heights, he "shunted slavery aside even as he sought to connect the Civil War to the Revolutionary War" (383). Thus, he gradually abandoned the great issues of the Civil War and Reconstruction, paralleling to a certain extent the transformation of the postbellum Republican Party. John Jay II spent the last decades of his life fighting corruption, fulminating against the Catholic Church, and struggling to "find the appropriate way to record the family's abolitionist story even as he worked to further secure a central place for the Jay name in the history of the nation's founding" (392). Liberty's Chain concludes with the 1911 lynching of Zachariah Walker is Coatesville, Pennsylvania, and the impassioned reaction of John Jay Chapman, another complex member of the Jay family.

The story of the Jay family, Gellman argues, "reveals much about some of the most critical issues in American history—slavery, race, and freedom, of course, as well as such perpetually charged concepts as patriotism, conservatism, and radicalism" (8). He is quite correct. John Jay, William Jay, and John Jay II all had different attitudes toward abolitionism. These attitudes existed alongside their family's participation in slavery. Furthermore, as with many other slaveholders, enslaved people helped make their intellectual labors possible. All three Jays embraced patrician ideas and often acted like patriarchs. The strands of elitism and conservatism that ran through the family coexisted, sometimes uneasily, with John Jay's rather limited antislavery activism, which nonetheless entailed political risks, and the full-throated abolitionist beliefs of his son and grandson. The Jays also illustrate another example of the

thorny relationship the founders had with slavery, as well as how people were just as anxious to enlist the memory of John Jay in service of particular causes as they were the memory of Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson. Liberty's Chain, a deeply researched and engagingly written book, has a great deal to tell readers about a bevy of critical issues in U.S. history. At a time when interest in the founders and slavery is higher than ever, this book will interest scholars as well as general audiences.

Evan C. Rothera, University of Arkansas — Fort Smith



Follies in America: A History of Garden and Park Architecture
By Kerry Dean Carso
(Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021) 216 pp.

Architectural historians have long considered follies in the United States as seemingly useless, ornamental structures. In *Follies in America: A History of Garden and Park Architecture*, art and architectural historian Kerry Dean Carso argues that studying follies can offer a greater understanding of the cultural and social history of early American architecture. Carso investigates numerous follies for how their style, form, and location reveal a greater narrative of nationalism and the building of American culture. These narratives were often expressed through symbols and iconography informed by well-known literature or mythology. Although Carso traces the roots of follies to Europe, the building of follies in America took on newfound ideologies relevant to growing facets of American culture.

This book roots its conversation on follies from America's founding to America's centennial in 1876. Taking this time period into account, the majority of follies discussed are located in the area of the Thirteen Colonies, including the Hudson River Valley (such as John Church Cruger's folly on Cruger's Island near Barrytown, Washington Irving's Sunnyside in Tarrytown, and Matthew Vassar's Stonehenge replica at Springside in Poughkeepsie). Follies erected during this period are reflective of how Americans "shaped the land while shaping the nation." American follies were inspired by European styles, forms, and symbolic ornamentation. The practice of such referencing was meant to validate American citizens and the adorned land.

The first chapter introduces readers to the origins of follies in garden spaces. Carso takes readers along Thomas Jefferson's tours of private gardens throughout England, and references Jefferson's notes and observations during this exploration. Jefferson's enthusiasm toward designing gardens in America and preference for English gardens lead to tracing how Jefferson introduced follies into his own gardens at Monticello. (Many were planned, but only one was built.) Nonetheless, Carso uses

this chapter to ground readers in the European-American connection that follies represent, beginning with Jefferson. His influence in the history of gardens and folly architecture in America is clear: Jefferson is a constant figure underpinning the entirety of the book, the American folly's historical bedrock.

Follies in America follows an orderly structure in both time and form. The following four chapters begin with temples and evolve to include summerhouses, towers, and ruins, with each chapter dedicated to one particular form. Carso's examples demonstrate the variability in form, design, site, function, meaning, and social contexts associated with follies. Each folly examined is unique, but jointly Carso's curation points to the larger signification that follies "embodied complex ideas of national identity." Take for instance, Charles Willson Peale's didactic temple at Belfield in Germantown, Pennsylvania, which was duplicated in the form of a parade float for Philadelphia's Grand Federal Procession on July 4, 1788. From its columns to its star-studded frieze, every element of the float was inundated with national symbolism that complemented the parade's celebration of the newly ratified U.S. Constitution. In this instance, not only was the temple itself Americanized stylistically, but the temple as a folly was recognized as an American structure.

One of Carso's more intriguing examples showcases how, to a certain extent, follies were prevalent across the economic classes. In chapter three, summerhouses constructed using varying materials, from marble to tree branches, are shown to have been built by those living within modest means, including farmers. Many summerhouses took on rustic forms that were meant to improve properties and act as symbols of gentility and taste. Modest summerhouses are juxtaposed with highly ornamented structures, such as the Lewis family's Gothic Revival summerhouse in Philadelphia. This chapter establishes (along with public park follies) that they were not only fantastic structures for a privileged few, but were constructed by those of varying means and championed as desirable structures within America overall.

Carso's investigation into follies is inherently interdisciplinary, which you would expect from an author with an American Studies background (Ph.D. and M.A.). She places herself in conversation with historians, art historians, and architectural historians, often incorporating arguments pertaining to individual figures or artworks to support their analysis of specific follies. Carso references paintings, drawings, patterns, buildings, and maps, among other sources, which produce analyses that blur the boundaries of defining a rigid methodology associated with a singular academic field. This interdisciplinarity is complementary to Carso's argument, which is inclusive of cultural, social, and architectural histories.

Albeit a brief book—just 128 pages—Carso's discussions in each chapter are heavily researched. This is especially evident considering that the notes and bibliography comprise fifty-six pages alone. Primary sources abound with each folly, largely depending on notes, letters, and contemporaneous publications for direct

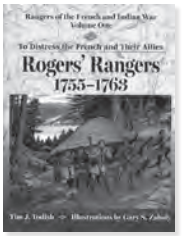
quotations. Carso also relies on such documentation to provide first-person accounts of follies, gardens, and various sites. Visual analyses are also bolstered by first-person descriptions; this is especially important when certain follies are no longer extant or lack visual evidence. The source work of *Follies in America* is extensive and proves, in addition to Carso's actual argument, that follies are prevalent in American architectural history and are worthy of further comprehensive study.

Follies in America should be considered an act of historical redemption for the long-disregarded follies across the country. This book establishes a fruitful niche for historical inquiry to continue, one that has the potential to expand our understanding of early American architecture and cultural history. Similarly, this book functions as an example of how research on follies in America can be undertaken. The interdisciplinary nature of this investigation opens the study of follies to fields beyond architectural history, broadening the folly's appeal as an intriguing historical subject.

All in all, *Follies in America* is an engaging, well-written book, flourishing with historically valuable examples. Carso succeeds in proving that structures once used in private gardens or public parks are now surviving or remembered as emblems of early American culture and society. Carso reminds us that the next seemingly ornamental, functionless building we encounter should instead be viewed as a site of historical significance that can be read for its culturally informed narrative and likely association with the early formation of an American identity.

Jenna Bennett, Boston University

New & Noteworthy Books

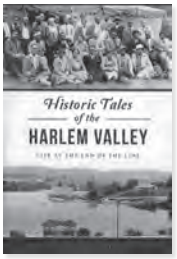


To Distress the French and Their Allies: Rogers' Rangers, 1755–1763
By Tim Todish, Illustrations by Gary S. Zaboly
(Catskill: Black Dome Press, 2023) 296 pp. $39.95 (softcover)
https://shop.blackdomepress.com/

Major Robert Rogers and his Rangers played an important role in the French and Indian War (that portion of the Seven Years' War fought in North America), though he may be best known as the hero of Kenneth Roberts' novel, *Northwest Passage*, and the movie it inspired. (Spencer Tracy played Rogers.) Todish and Zaboly have each researched and written about Rogers before; they have worked collaboratively on this book, the first of two volumes, to present a more complete and accurate account of the Rangers' wartime exploits. The chapters present a year-by-year history of the company, from its creation in 1755 through its action in Pontiac's Revolt of 1763.

The Eight: The Lemmon Slave Case and the Fight for Freedom
By Albert M. Rosenblatt
(Albany: SUNY Press Excelsior Editions, 2023) 248 pp. $32.95 (softcover)
https://sunypress.edu/

Initiated in 1852, the Lemmon Slave Case would last eight years and rise to the state's highest court before being definitively settled as a civil rights win resulting in the emancipation of eight enslaved people (including six children) brought into New York by their enslavers, Jonathan and Juliet Lemmon. It is not surprising that Rosenblatt — a former member of the state Court of Appeals, which ultimately granted "the Eight's" freedom — superbly lays out the legal aspects of the case, but he never loses sight of the people whose fate rested on the decision: Emeline, Lewis, Edward, Lewis, and Robert Wright, Robert Wright, Amanda Thompson, and Nancy and Ann Johnson. In his quest to understand the case, Rosenblatt examines the "American system of slavery" and balances his legal and scholarly insights with meditations on how such details affected the lives of the enslaved. The result is a human, humanizing, and timely work.



Historic Tales of the Harlem Valley; Life At The End of the Line
By Tonia Shoumatoff
(Charleston: The History Press, 2023) 204 pp. $23.99 (softcover)
https://www.arcadiapublishing.com/

Who knows — really knows — their town better than a reporter for the local newspaper? Shoumatoff originally wrote many of this book's short chapters for *Dutchess* and *The Millbrook Independent* after her arrival in Amenia in the late 1980s. She has added more recent material to cover the arc of the Harlem Valley — located at the terminus of Metro-North's Harlem Line — throughout the remainder of the twentieth century and well into the twenty-first. Throughout its history, the valley has been populated by farmers, miners, artists, architects, and spiritual, social, and environmental visionaries — everyone from psychedelic pioneer Timothy Leary to Borden Milk's Elsie the Cow. The book's text and ample photographs, drawings, and paintings bring alive this varied cast of characters.

Women Reframe American Landscape: Susie Barstow & Her Circle, Contemporary Practices
Nancy Siegel, Kate Menconeri, and Amanda Malmstrom
(Munich: Hirmer Publishers, 2023) 128 pp. $39.95 (hardcover)
https://www.hirmerverlag.de/us/

The Thomas Cole National Historic Site continues to chart new territory with its investigation of the land on which it is located and the people — mostly women — who have ensured its survival. One product of the site's *Women, Land, + Art* initiative is this combined catalog of two recent exhibitions. It includes Nancy Siegel's essay on Barstow, her art, and six fellow women artists who were part of her circle, as well as Menconeri and Malmstrom's essay on the thirteen artists whose work was featured in "Contemporary Practices." Amply illustrated (in full color), the book also contains a conversation between Indigenous curators/writers Candice Hopkins and Jolene Rickard about Native women, land, and landscape in art.

Correspondence

Letter to the Editor:
When a Fresh Look is Old Hat: A Comment on Kostiw's "Hudson's Journal and Voyage"

The "fresh look" claim by Scott Kostiw about the voyage of Henry Hudson and the crew of the *Halve Maen* is unfulfilled and misleading.[1] Setting aside popular accounts, there is more than a score of works published over the last century where scholars, exercising methodological rigor, insight, and understanding, have studied not only Hudson's sail into the river that bears his name, but also the history of New Netherland and the Native people of the region. The list begins with Franklin Jameson's *Narratives of New Netherland* (1909), followed by Allen Trelease's *Indian Affairs* (1960), Oliver Rink's *Holland on the Hudson* (1986), Jaap Jacobs's *New Netherland* (2005), Robert Grumet's *Munsee Indians* (2009), and William Starna's *From Homeland to New Land* (2013). Other important contributions are by Jack Campisi, James Bradley, Charles Gehring, Ives Goddard, Tom Arne Midtrød, Paul Otto, and others. All of these works should be familiar to readers interested in the seventeenth-century history of the Hudson Valley and the exploits of Henry Hudson. Other than Campisi and Goddard, Kostiw cites none of these. As a set, they provide an authentic and comprehensive history of Hudson's voyage and the events surrounding it, from which Kostiw might have benefitted. At a minimum, light could have been shed on the unnamed researchers who, he maintains, had overlooked journal entries or were simply confused. As it stands, Kostiw's essay is no more than a reporting of what he learned for himself about Hudson's voyage. It does not represent an original or convincing contribution to the literature. There is much more known about the early seventeenth-century Hudson Valley than Kostiw acknowledges. And there are miscues.[2]

Written in English, Samuel Purchas's *Pilgrimes* did not require translation (4). Kostiw judges the word "savage" in Juet and elsewhere as "disgraceful," apparently unaware of the complexity of its use and the perspectives of the time. And in spite of Kostiw's twisted and implausible effort to argue for multiple authors based on alleged "narrative styles," it was Robert Juet who kept the journal of Hudson's voyage (5).[3] If by "compound pipes" (7) Kostiw means pipes with a bowl and separate detachable stem, these date to at least the Middle Woodland period, centuries before contact. The red metal items Kostiw mentions are, indeed, copper, but the yellow (9–10) are brass. Both materials were acquired in the first half of the sixteenth century from Basque traders in the form of kettles and sheet metal, then exchanged by Indians along the

1 Scott F. Kostiw, "A Fresh Look at Henry Hudson's Journal and Voyage of 1609," *Hudson River Valley Review* 39, 1 (2022): 4–18.

2 The parenthetical numbers in the text that follows refer to the pages in Kostiw's essay where his points of view are found.

3 William T. Reynolds, "Henry Hudson: New World, New World View," in *Exploreres, Fortunes, and Love Letters: A Window on New Netherland*, ed. Martha Dickinson Shattuck (Albany: New Netherland Institute and Mount Ida Press, 2009), 10–26, see especially 23n1; J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609–1664* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 13–15.

coast and inland. Copper pieces dating to this period have also been recovered from Iroquoian town sites in the adjacent Mohawk Valley.[4]

That Hudson's crew intended to take Indians they had captured to Europe to show that "slaves could be obtained in this part of the New World" is unwarranted speculation. As for Verrazzano: "We took [an eight-year old] boy from the old woman to carry back to France."[5] There is nothing to suggest this child's capture had anything to do with enslavement. Campisi's mention of slaves Kostiw cites (12) is in reference to the Portuguese explorer Estêvão Gomes (Esteban Gómez), who, like Verrazzano, sailed the North Atlantic in 1524. On the attempt to determine Manhattan Island's location, Kostiw wrongly reports that Goddard identified the landmark "Castle Point in Hoboken." What Goddard writes is that it "has been identified" by others. Neither does he refer to a "Manhattan Nation," as Kostiw claims. Moreover, there is no confusion (16) about where the Munsee-speaking Manhattans lived.[6] What can be concluded from reading Goddard is that Hudson did not land on Manhattan Island and knew nothing of its existence.

The country of the Wecquaesgeeks (Wiechquaeskecks) was not in the Bronx or upper Manhattan (16). Home was the southern portion of Westchester County in and around Tarrytown and Dobbs Ferry.[7] Although Kostiw is correct in stating that Indians in the Hudson Valley, including Greater New York, spoke Eastern Algonquian, he might have been more precise. Mahican was the language spoken from the mid-to-upper valley and into the northern Housatonic, and Munsee from the mid-Hudson south to New York Harbor.[8] As for sociopolitical organization, Indians along the full length of the valley resided in egalitarian, lineage-based communities with blood ties to maternal kin and marriage links to paternal relatives. There has been some discussion about whether clans were present. Communities were led by headmen who held their positions through merit or achievement, while decisions were reached by village councils through consensus. Kostiw's claims (17) to a "hereditary ruling class" and "chiefdomships" are off course.[9] Finally, Kostiw's remarks on clay vessels and ethnology (18) are simplistic and incomplete.

William A. Starna, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology, SUNY Oneonta
Jack Campisi, Independent Scholar

4 See James W. Bradley, *Before Albany: An Archaeology of Native-Dutch Relations in the Capital Region, 1600–1664*, New York State Museum Bulletin 509 (2007): 22–27 and *Onondaga and Empire: An Iroquoian People in an Imperial Era,* New York State Museum Bulletin 514 (2020): 101–105; Wayne Lenig, personal communication 2023.

5 Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 136.

6 See Robert S. Grumet, *The Munsee Indians: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2009), 49–52.

7 Ibid., 51; William A. Starna, *From Homeland to New Land: A History of the Mahican Indians, 1600–1830* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 53; Ives Goddard, "Delaware," in *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 15, *Northeast*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 213–14.

8 Ives Goddard, "The 'Loup' Languages of Western Massachusetts: The Dialectal Diversity of Southern New England Algonquian," in *Papers of the 44th Algonquian Conference*, eds. Monica Macaulay, Margaret Noodin, and J. Randolph Valentine (Albany: SUNY Press, 2016), 104–138.

9 See Grumet, *Munsee Indians,* 17–23; Starna, *Homeland to New Land*, 65–68, 72–74.

Mr. Kostiw's Reply:

These readers missed many of the principal elements of my report or rejected them outright. For those who haven't read my report, here are some highlights of the NEW information that I presented:

1. I have solved the mystery of Hudson's three rivers.
2. I identified the Arthur Kill as Hudson's failed attempt to navigate north before ascending the Hudson River.
3. I identify the exact date, time, and position Hudson anchored in what was to become Lower New York Bay.
4. I identified Robbins Reef as the place in which Hudson's ship grounded.
5. I have identified the location where crewman John Colman was killed and where he was buried.
6. I have shown that two different people contributed to the journal.
7. I provide a proper explanation for the copper pipes and other copper objects in possession of the Native Americans.
8. I am the only researcher to recognize that the two Native people kidnapped by Hudson escaped through a porthole and were obviously held below deck during their six-day internment.
9. I put the relationship of Hudson and his crew with the Native Americans in its proper perspective.

There is nothing "old hat" about the new information listed above. In fact, I have provided more insights and new information about Hudson's voyage since researchers first began investigating Hudson's failed attempt to find a northwest passage in this region.

I agree there is a vast array of sources describing Hudson's voyage. I chose to confine my report to the daily and oft-regarded main account.

In regard to metals, the journal only mentions that copper was possessed by the Native Americans. I would not speculate that yellow copper was brass. Sailors in the seventeenth century were experts at identifying metal types and I trust their attributions. Brass could have been present. But either copper or brass, the source for these metals would be European.

Compound pipes were in use by Native Americans before European contact, possibly as early as the Middle Woodland period, as mentioned by these readers. However, native copper was not used for pre-contact pipes. Naturally occurring copper, even when rolled, could not produce an airtight tube or a proper bowl for a pipe. A hollow reed or bone was used as the tube part of compound pipes. After 1600, copper of European origin began being used as pipe bowls, tube sections, and even complete pipes. The copper tubing the Native Americans possessed along the coast would have been acquired after 1600, when European contact was occurring.[10]

10 For a description of compound pipes before European contact see James S. Rutsch, *Smoking Technology of the Aborigines of the Iroquois Area of New York State*, (Associated University Presses, Inc., 1973) 80–91. For a description of compound pipes after 1600, see James W. Bradley, *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change 1500–1655*, (Syracuse University Press, 1987) 132–134.

Verrazzano kidnapped a small boy and attempted to take a young woman.[11] I speculated that the nature of the captures by Verrazzano and Hudson was to show that enslaved people could be taken in the New World. There may have been other motivations for these captures.

I disagree with these readers that "savages" is a complex term. Native American nations in existence today would also disagree. In the seventeenth century, Dutch citizens, such as Cornelis Melijn[12], would have certainly found the term disgraceful.

It is proper to regard the Manhattan as a nation. The word tribe, or other description, is no longer in use. In the seventeenth century: "Melijn identified the natives on and around the island [Staten Island] as nations."[13]

The Wiechquaesgeck territory included the Bronx.[14]

Bragdon[15] has summarized that there was a hereditary ruling class among coastal Native Americans and Grumet[16] cites numerous examples of blood lineages among Native American rulers.

I am troubled by the resistance to new ideas by these readers. Other concerns expressed by them will be addressed in a larger treatise that I am preparing about Hudson and the Dutch colonial period.

Scott F. Kostiw

11 Jack Campisi, "The Hudson Valley Through Dutch Eyes," *Neighbors and Intruders: An Ethnohistorical Exploration of the Indians of Hudson's River,* edited by Laurence M. Hauptman and Jack Campisi. (National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Ottawa, 1978) 164.

12 Cornelis Melijn was a Dutch land owner on Staten Island and a defender of Native American rights. He called attention to atrocities against Native Americans by the Dutch in a pamphlet attributed to him (see Donna Merwick, *The Shame and the Sorrow: Dutch-Amerindian Encounters in New Netherland*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006) 152. One scholar sees: "similarities between Melijn and Las Casas" (ibid: 166). Bartolome de Las Casas was a well-known humanitarian and defender of human rights of Native Americans in the sixteenth century. He called attention to atrocities committed against Native Americans in Spanish possessions in the New World.

13 Merwick, 161.

14 Robert S. Grumet, *The Munsee Indians: A History*, (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2009) 310.

15 Kathleen J. Bragdon, *Native People of southern New England 1500–1650*, (University of Oklahoma Press, 1996) 46, 48, 158.

16 Grumet, 299, 314, 316.

Letter to the Editor:

Sailing on Speculation: Misconceptions in Kostiw's "A Fresh Look at Henry Hudson's Journal"

In the interest of improving scholarship on the topic, I want to alert you to some of the errors and misconceptions in the article by Scott F. Kostiw. I applaud Mr. Kostiw's efforts on this challenging subject. He astutely reports that the journal lacks any evidence that Hudson's crew found the Mohawk River, and recognizes that shallower depths prevented the *Halve Maen* from reaching the vicinity of present-day Albany. Although Mr. Kostiw avoids these common mistakes, his article runs aground on others.

Evidently, Mr. Kostiw relied on Robert Juet's journal without consulting two other important historical sources for the voyage, namely Emanuel Van Meteren's *Historie Der Nederlanden* and Johan De Laet's *Nieuwe Werelt*.[1] Some of his errors could have been avoided by cross-referencing Juet's journal with these early Dutch accounts. For instance, Van Meteren identified the "master's mate" as a Dutchman, not Juet, as Mr. Kostiw assumes for his notion of multiple authorship.

Mr. Kostiw's hypothesis of multiple authorship is intriguing. For evidence of multiple authorship, he points to the use of the different terms "people of the country" and "savages," but he does not acknowledge or explain the occurrence of the two terms together in the journal entry for September 22: "The people of the Country came not aboard till noon: but when they came, and saw the Savages well, they were glad." Mr. Kostiw's characterization of journal entries as "haphazard" also does not necessarily prove multiple authors. Preoccupied with the ship's navigation, Juet would have prioritized piloting information and inserted other observations and events after the fact.

More to the point, relying upon the hypothesis of multiple authorship, Mr. Kostiw speculates that the word "great" in the phrase "three great rivers" was mistranslated to bolster his own interpretation. Presuming "Robert Juet of Limehouse" wrote in his native tongue, no translations would be necessary. Yes, "the three great rivers" is a source of confusion. However, Mr. Kostiw is too quick to toss aside the modifier "great," failing to acknowledge that Juet reemphasized this description again when departing New York Harbor on October 4: "we weighed and came out of the River, into which we had run so far. Within a while after, we came out also of *The great mouth of the great River*, that runneth up to the Northwest." Here is a contextual clue of the word's intended meaning. Obviously, "the River" in this passage referred to what we now call the Hudson. "[T]he great River" was most likely the voluminous tidal flow exiting the Narrows, which must be one of the "three great rivers" under discussion. This contradicts Mr. Kostiw's hypothesis for their location.

Mr. Kostiw is also dismissive of Juet's description of the northernmost of the "three great rivers" as having "a shoald barre before it." However, a river can be

1 "Hudson's Third Voyage (1609) from Van Meteren's Historie Der Nederlanden" and "Extracts Relating to Hudson's Third Voyage (1609) from John de Laet's Nieuwe Werelt," *Henry Hudson the Navigator: The Original Documents in which His Career is Recorded, Collected, Partly Translated, and Annotated*, edited by George Asher (London:Hakluyt Society,1860), 147–153 and 154–163.

large and voluminous and still have a shallow bar at its mouth. In the case of the Lower Bay of New York Harbor, a large shoal known as the East Bank obstructed seventy-five percent of the distance between Coney Island and Sandy Hook with a narrow channel on its southern side near the tip of Sandy Hook.[2] By taking frequent soundings, Hudson and his crew found their way around the East Bank and into the channel when entering the estuary on September 3. Historians often overlook the East Bank as an obstacle when preoccupied with finding the "three great rivers."

Mr. Kostiw misconstrues the word "riding," which means "anchoring," not "sailing."[3] When interpreting the phrase "the wind blew hard at the northwest," Mr. Kostiw contradicts the convention of naming wind direction according to the direction it is coming *from*, not toward. For example, on September 25 and 26, while the *Halve Maen* was trying to proceed south (downriver), Juet reported "the wind at South a stiffe gale," an opposing wind for sailing, so the ship remained at anchor until the morning of September 27 brought "much wind at the North," which was favorable for continuing downriver.

Mr. Kostiw hypothesized that the *Halve Maen* sailed through the Narrows on September 4. However, this is contradicted by the reported depth soundings. On September 11, Juet reported up to fourteen fathoms while underway. The only area in the harbor or lower river with that depth is at the Narrows, indicating that the *Halve Maen* took this route into the Upper Bay on that date, not September 4.[4]

To put these errors in perspective, many published biographies of Hudson and histories of New York include misinterpretations of the voyage. To his credit, Mr. Kostiw identified three likely locations: sailing past Stony Point on September 14, reaching Albany with the boat (not the ship) on September 22, and anchoring in Weehawken Cove on October 2nd. If he is not overly attached to his original interpretation, he may yet steer a proper course for the voyage.

Patrick Landewe, keeper of the Saugerties Lighthouse

Mr. Kostiw's Response:

I appreciate the comments made by this reader, as well as his open-mindedness to new ideas about Henry Hudson's voyage.

In regard to my not using documentation by Van Meteren: "His narrative was written in London, soon after the voyager's (Hudson's) return to England, apparently in the early part of 1610, and probably from the journal of Hudson's Dutch mate."[5] DeLaet's account was published in 1625 under the title *The New World*, and "The Nieuwe Wereldt is chiefly a work of geographical description."[6] My primary focus

2 See soundings in fathoms on Edward Blunt's 1827 chart *The harbour of New York* (New York: E. & G.W. Blunt, 1827), Map, https://www.loc.gov/item/2004629240/.

3 "Now the Ship is said to *Ride*, so long as the Anchors do hold and comes not home." John Smith, *The sea-mans grammar and dictionary... in two parts*, (London:Randal Taylor, [1691]), 44.

4 See soundings in fathoms for "Narrows" on Blunt's chart.

5 Jameson, Franklin, 1909, editor: *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609–1664*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 5.

6 Ibid, 33.

was on Hudson's relationships with the Native Americans and to present locations that other researchers did not realize.

I am pleased that this reader found my analysis of multiple authors of the journal intriguing. The fact that one entry (Sept. 22) contained evidence of authorship from two different contributors could be explained by one author making his entry first, followed by the second contributor. I would also like to mention that Juet may have only been recording entries, and may not have made any of his own observations. This is a thought that I had many years ago but then abandoned, believing it would be too radical for members of the academic community to consider.

We are in agreement that reference to "three great rivers" is confusing. The word "great" has many interpretative connotations. Dropping this ambiguous term provides a completely different perspective. We are then left with figuring out the three rivers that lie at latitude 40 degrees, 30 minutes. Yes, a river can be wide and shoaled. This does not matter because the journal states that they did not go up this shoaled river, which I have identified as the Arthur Kill. The Arthur Kill is also the "northernmost" of the three in my identification.

Many researchers have speculated that the Hudson River is one of the three great rivers mentioned. These researchers, including the reader commenting on my report, then offer an amazing array of speculations about the other possible rivers. My explanation showing three actual rivers is self-evident.

I abandoned any consideration of coordinating depths of rivers and bays recorded in the journal 400 years ago with later maps. We don't have Hudson's precise locations at the depths he recorded, which is critical for comparisons. If it were possible to correlate locations and depths accurately, I would have done so years ago.

In regard to the September 4 phrase "the wind blew hard at the northwest," the wind wouldn't only blow in this direction. Winds shift all the time, and when they do, anchors tend to get pulled, as occurred with Hudson's ship.

Most scholars claim that the journal was written in English. I don't have any evidence to the contrary and will acquiesce and not challenge that it was written in English.

I appreciate the constructive comments and criticisms made by this reader in regard to my report. I also appreciate the comment that I "may yet steer a proper course for the voyage." I see smooth sailing ahead as I explore these waters.

Scott F. Kostiw