

**NEW
YORK
HISTORY**

WINTER 2022-2023

EDITORIAL BOARD

Robert Chiles, *Senior Lecturer, Department of History, University of Maryland*

Devin R. Lander, *New York State Historian*

Jennifer Lemak, *Chief Curator of History, New York State Museum*

Michael J. McGandy, *Senior Editor, Cornell University Press (ex officio)*

Aaron Noble, *Senior Historian and Curator, New York State Museum*

GRADUATE INTERN

Zachary Deibel, *Binghamton University*

ADVISORY BOARD

Paula Baker, *Ohio State University*

Marsha E. Barrett, *University of Illinois,
Urbana-Champaign*

Thomas D. Beal, *SUNY Oneonta*

Patricia Bonomi, *New York University*

Jennifer Burns, *University at Albany*

Kelly Yacobucci Farquhar, *Montgomery County
Department of History and Archives*

Leslie E. Fishbein, *Rutgers University–New
Brunswick*

James D. Folts, *New York State Archives*

Michael Galban, *Ganondagan State Historic Site*

Timothy Gilfoyle, *Loyola University Chicago*

Susan Goodier, *SUNY Oneonta*

Georgette Grier-Key, *Eastville Community
Historical Society*

Kenneth T. Jackson, *Columbia University*

Lisa Keller, *Purchase College SUNY*

D.L. Noorlander, *SUNY Oneonta*

Timothy J. Shannon, *Gettysburg College*

Robert W. Snyder, *Rutgers University–Newark*

Ivan D. Steen, *University at Albany*

Thomas S. Wermuth, *Marist College*

The New York State Museum is a program of The University of the State of New York | The State Education Department | Office of Cultural Education

New York History (ISSN 0146-437x) is a peer reviewed journal published two times a year by Cornell University Press in partnership with The New York State Museum. Postage is paid at Ithaca, NY 14850 and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send all address changes to Cornell University Press, 512 East State Street, Ithaca NY 14850.

New York History is available in print and electronically Project Muse (<http://muse.jhu.edu>). Cornell University Press does not assume responsibility for statements of fact or opinions made by contributors. Unlicensed distribution of all materials (including figures, tables, and other content) is prohibited. Communications about subscriptions, back issues, reproductions and permissions, and other business matters should be sent to Cornell University Press (nyhj@cornell.edu). Digital and print subscriptions, for individuals and institutions, may be ordered via Project Muse (<https://www.press.jhu.edu/cart/for-sale?oc=3729>). Single print copies and print back issues are available for \$20.00 and check should be made out to Cornell University Press. For subscriptions and individual issues, inquiries and orders may be made by email, nyhj@cornell.edu, or by mail: *New York History* Journal, Cornell University Press, 512 East State Street, Ithaca NY 14850.

Submitted articles should address, in an original fashion, some aspect of New York State history. Articles that deal with the history of other areas or with general American history must have a direct bearing on New York State history. It is assumed that the article will have some new, previously unexploited material to offer or will present new insights or new interpretations. Editorial communications, including article submissions, should be sent to the Editorial Board via email (NYHJ@nysed.gov) Suggested length is 20-30 double spaced pages (or between 6,000 and 9,000 words), including footnotes. All submitted articles must include a 100-word abstract summarizing the article and providing keywords (no more than 10). Authors must submit articles electronically, with all text in Word and all tables, figures, and images in formats supported by Microsoft Windows. Provision of images in proper resolution (no less than 300 dpi at 5" x 7"), securing requisite permissions, and the payment of any fees associated with images for articles are all the responsibility of the author. *New York History* employs, with some modification, footnote forms suggested in the *Chicago Manual of Style*. More detailed submissions guidelines are to be found on the research and collections page of the New York State Museum: <http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/research-collections/state-history/resources/new-york-history-journal>

Cover art: *Front*: Workers from Shreve Harmon and Lamb Company building the Empire State Building, 34th Street and Fifth Avenue, 1930. Photograph by Irving Browning. *Back*: Manhattan Skyline and Brooklyn Bridge at night, ca. 1929. Photograph by Irving Browning. Both photographs are courtesy of the New York State Museum, donation in memory of Paul and Gertrude Meistrich and Sue Ben-Dor.

CONTENTS

Volume 103, Number 2

- vii Letter from the Editors
- ix Contributors
- ARTICLES
- 229 Dutch *Ladinos/as*? An Iberian Perspective on the Social and Religious Behavior of New Netherland's Black Population
JEROEN DEWULF
- 246 Fear and Betrayal: Smallpox and the Turning Point of the French and Indian War
JOHN BOOSS
- 270 Supplanted Sovereignties: Gateways, Commerce, and Dispossession in Postrevolutionary New York
NOLAN M. COOL
- 295 Roebling's Niagara Railway Suspension Bridge
PAUL C. KING
- 326 Goodbye Old 1910: Encounters with the Market in the 1910 Diary of a Rural New York Woman
HAMILTON CRAIG
- 339 War Comes to Westchester: The Killing of William Lounsbury
DILLON STREIFENEDER
- 361 Working-Class Germans in the Salt City: Syracuse, New York, 1860–1916
DANIEL KOCH
- FEATURES
- 377 Artifact NY: Marion Weeber's Flatware of the Future
JENNIFER LEMAK
- 381 Teach NY: Engaging with the NYS Regents Exam's Civic Engagement Essay
ZACHARY DEIBEL

BOOK REVIEWS

- 389 Richard V. Barbuto's *New York's War of 1812: Politics, Society, and Combat*
HARVEY STRUM
- 391 Robert D. Binnewies's *Palisades: The People's Park*
JACKIE GONZALES
- 393 Seth C. Bruggeman's *Commemoration: The American Association for State and Local History Guide*
DEVIN R. LANDER
- 395 Nuala McGann Drescher, William E. Scheuerman, and Ivan D. Steen's *United University Professions: Pioneering in Higher Education Unionism*
WILLIAM KAYATIN
- 401 Rebecca Erbelding's *Rescue Board: The Untold Story of America's Efforts to Save the Jews of Europe*
AARON NOBLE
- 403 Ernest Freeberg's *A Traitor to His Species: Henry Bergh and the Birth of the Animal Rights Movement*
ROBERT CHILES
- 408 Elena Gonzales's *Exhibitions for Social Justice*
SARAH SEIDMAN
- 411 Jonathan Daniel Wells's *The Kidnapping Club: Wall Street, Slavery, and Resistance on the Eve of the Civil War* and John Harris's *The Last Slave Ships: New York and the End of the Middle Passage*
THOMAS B. BLAKESLEE
- 414 Rachel B. Herrmann's *No Useless Mouth: Waging War and Fighting Hunger in the American Revolution*
LAUREN LYONS
- 416 Brad A. Jones's *Resisting Independence: Popular Loyalism in the Revolutionary British Atlantic*
NICHOLAS TRUAX
- 418 Janet Dorothy Larkin's *Overcoming Niagara: Canals, Commerce and Tourism in the Niagara-Great Lakes Borderland Region, 1792–1837*
TERRY HAMBLIN

- 420 **John Loughery's *Dagger John: Archbishop John Hughes and the Making of Irish America***
ELIZABETH STACK
- 422 **Chris Pearson's *Dogopolis: How Dogs and Humans Made Modern New York, London, and Paris***
ERIC CIMINO
- 425 **H. Daniel Peck's *Thomas Cole's Refrain: The Paintings of Catskill Creek***
ANTHONY ANADIO
- 427 **Susan M. Reverby's *Co-conspirator for Justice: The Revolutionary Life of Dr. Alan Berkman***
JEFF JONES

EXHIBIT REVIEWS

- 431 **Saratoga County History Center's *Black Experience in Saratoga County 1750–1950***
JENNIFER J. THOMPSON BURNS
- 434 **Schenectady County Historical Society's *Crafted in Schenectady: The Building of a Community***
ASHLEY HOPKINS-BENTON

LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

Robert Chiles, Devin R. Lander, Jennifer Lemak, and Aaron Noble

One charming yet challenging element of studying New York is the centrality of its history to the broader sweep of American life. This prominence leaves many episodes in New York's past well-known and intensely studied. However, this issue of *New York History* reminds us that innovative methodologies and new documentary evidence ceaselessly open opportunities for fresh insights into the Empire State's rich past—from the social history of New Netherland to mid-twentieth-century design.

In “Dutch *Ladinos/as?*: An Iberian Perspective on the Social and Religious Behavior of New Netherland's Black Population,” Jeroen Dewulf adopts a transatlantic perspective on Manhattan's first Black community, revealing that while many of the religious practices of New Netherland's enslaved population appear exceptional in a North American context, numerous elements correspond to patterns found in slave societies of the Iberian world. Considering the diplomatic vicissitudes of the Seven Years' War through the unique lens of epidemiology, John Booss argues in “Fear and Betrayal: Smallpox and the Turning Point of the French and Indian War” that the conflict

actually pivoted on the smallpox epidemic that devastated the tribes in the Pays d'en Haut, elevated Indigenous suspicions of the French, and frayed the crucial Franco-Native alliance by 1758. Reassessing the role of Revolutionary-era committees of safety by analyzing their wartime activities in Westchester County, Dillon Streifeneder argues in “War Comes to Westchester: The Killing of William Lounsbury” that under the stress of British invasion such committees transformed from political organizations into the first war-making institutions of a nascent state

Nineteenth-century New York offers similarly fertile ground for revision. In “Supplanted Sovereignities: Gateways, Commerce, and Dispossession in Postrevolutionary New York,” Nolan M. Cool reinterprets Utica's emergence as a commercial center by 1800 as a revealing example of westward-facing commercial ambitions overthrowing a more nuanced, earlier system of diplomacy, accommodation, and Native American sovereignty. Exploring New York's history a half-century later and half a state to the west, Paul C. King's “Roebbling's Niagara Railway Suspension Bridge” contextualizes the visually familiar bridges of John A. Roebling through comparison of his methods with those of contemporaries like Charles Ellet Jr., marking Roebling's Niagara triumph as a turning point in his rise to prominence.

This issue's articles also show how new evidence and assiduous, granular analysis can be employed to challenge old assumptions about the lives and experiences of New Yorkers at the grassroots level. Daniel Koch meticulously reconstructs the urban geography of turn-of-the-century Syracuse in "Working-Class Germans in the Salt City: Syracuse, New York, 1860–1916," enriching our understanding of immigrant lives by recovering neglected features of the laboring community that were intentionally ignored in laudatory narratives centered on the success of "model" German immigrants. In "Goodbye Old 1910: Encounters with the Market in the 1910 Diary of a Rural New York Woman," Hamilton Craig explores the diary of Mary Brainard, a farm woman from Wilton, to reveal through her day-to-day reflections how some rural New Yorkers resisted centralizing market forces by relying on existing networks and resources while adapting some traditions to survive in the face of economic change.

Our two features in this issue also offer new angles on recognizable materials. Zachary Deibel's Teach NY feature curates a set of documents on the development of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal within New York State. The documents are accompanied by a series of

analytical prompts that can be used to prepare students for the Regents Exam's civic engagement essay. Jennifer Lemak's Artifact NY feature uses modern flatware as an entry point for exploring the innovative career of the Albany-born artist and industrial designer Marion Weeber and analyzing how her stainless-steel utensils reflect the historic intersection of technology, consumerism, and aesthetics in the twentieth century.

We are pleased to present this issue of *New York History*, which once again reminds us of the diverse opportunities to tell new, vibrant, inclusive, and enlightening stories about our state's past.

Excelsior!
The Editors

CONTRIBUTORS



JOHN BOOSS

John Booss has had a long-standing interest in viruses. With Margaret M. Esiri he published *Viral Encephalitis in Humans* (1986; and ASM Press, 2003). In *To Catch a Virus*, he examined with Marilyn J. August how viral infections are recognized and diagnosed (ASM Press, 2013). A second edition of this book, with Marie Louise Landry, was published in October 2022. His articles examine the ways in which epidemics among Native Americans have changed history: "Survival of the Pilgrims: A Reevaluation of the Lethal epidemic among the Wampanoag," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 47, no. 1 (Winter 2019); and with Melanie J. Norton, "Missionaries, Measles, and Manuscripts: Revisiting the Whitman Tragedy," *Journal of the Medical Library Association* 107, no. 1 (January 2019). Booss is Professor Emeritus at Yale University and former National Program Director, Neurology Service, with the Department of Veterans Affairs.



NOLAN M. COOL

Nolan M. Cool is Educational Programs Director at Adirondack Architectural Heritage (AARCH), the nonprofit historic preservation organization for New York's Adirondack region. As a public historian, Nolan is passionate about exploring how communities preserve, remember, and use history and historic places to connect past and present. He completed his graduate work in the Public History Program at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, and he holds an undergraduate degree from Utica College (now Utica University). Nolan's scholarly work focuses largely on the socioeconomic material culture of eighteenth-century New York. Visit <https://aarch.org/> to learn more about Adirondack Architectural Heritage's work.



HAMILTON CRAIG

Hamilton Craig is a PhD student in American history at the City University of New York Graduate Center. His research is focused on rural attitudes toward the free market in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His article, "Close Community: Rural Working-Class Culture in the 1910 Hudson River Mill Strike," was published in *Tufts Historical Review* 13 (Spring 2021).



ZACHARY DEIBEL

Zachary Deibel is a doctoral candidate in history at Binghamton University, where he studies the history of learning, state formation, and education in eighteenth-century New York. He has taught high school and college history courses for the past ten years, and he is a graduate student intern at *New York History*.



JEROEN DEWULF

Jeroen Dewulf is Queen Beatrix Professor in Dutch Studies in the Department of German at UC Berkeley. He is also director of UC Berkeley's Institute of European Studies and its Center for Portuguese Studies. His most recent book publications include: *The Pinkster King and the King of Kongo* (, 2017) and *From the Kingdom of Kongo to Congo Square* (University of Louisiana at Lafayette Press, 2017). His latest book, *Afro-Atlantic Catholics*, was published in August 2022 by Notre Dame University Press.



PAUL C. KING

Paul C. King, Professor of Architectural Technology at New York City College of Technology, is a licensed architect with degrees in architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design. In demand as a presenter, his research focus is on the early work of John A. Roebling, the most influential American engineer of the nineteenth century. Accepted for publication, his manuscript titled "Roebling: Before the Bridge" focuses on the evolution of Roebling's technical innovations present in his early work and embodied in the design of his final work, the Brooklyn Bridge.



DANIEL KOCH

Daniel Koch is Headmaster of Loughborough Grammar School, founded in 1495, in Leicestershire, England. He is originally from central New York and studied History and Modern Languages at the State University of New York at Albany before completing his doctoral studies at the University of Oxford. He is the author of *Ralph Waldo Emerson in Europe: Class, Race, and Revolution in the Making of an American Thinker* (I. B. Tauris, 2012). His second book, *Land of the Oneidas*, a history of central New York from its prehistory to the present, will be published by SUNY Press later this year.



JENNIFER LEMAK

Jennifer Lemak is the chief curator of history at the New York State Museum. Prior to this appointment, she served there as senior historian/curator of social history. Major exhibition and publication projects include *Votes for Women: Celebrating New York's Suffrage Centennial* (2017) and *An Irrepressible Conflict: The Empire State in the Civil War* (2012). Lemak is the author of *Southern Life, Northern City: The History of Albany's Rapp Road* (SUNY Press, 2008) and several articles on the Great Migration to Upstate New York.



DILLON STREIFENEDER

Dillon Streifeneder is a historian of colonial America and the early American republic. His current project focuses on state formation and governance in New York during the era of the American Revolution. Streifeneder recently completed his PhD in early American history at the Ohio State University.