The Doubleday Corridor

An Exploration in Long Term Planning

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INTRODUCTION

In a world where profits are measured annually and policies in election cycles, it is rare to plan for the longer term. Long term planning involves a deep knowledge of the past and risky extrapolations into the future. In contrast to shorter term plans that often measure change in five, ten, or sometimes twenty year increments, long term planning offers the possibility of understanding industrial cycles—typically decades or even centuries in duration—affect a community or region. Such an approach can potentially reveal long-lost strengths in a region, such as the potential for water power, which can be utilized in the future. As it is most effective at providing a framework for policy rather than specific policies themselves, it is rare that studies such as this extend beyond academic researchers. As such the present report is rather unique.

This report is meant to examine long-range planning issues for Otsego County within the wider context of the Mohawk Valley Regional Economic Development Council (MVREDC). The MVREDC consists of six counties, Oneida, Herkimer, Fulton, Montgomery, Schoharie, and Otsego, in central and eastern New York State that were settled in relation to the Mohawk River gateway from the Hudson Valley and East Coast to the Great Lakes plain. This common history continues to be felt today as the region is roughly divided between the Albany and Utica metropolitan areas and adjacent hinterlands. Otsego County, particularly the northern half, historically functioned as an agricultural and early industrial hinterland of Metropolitan Utica, and there is today some promise in developing a corridor of economic and community development between Utica and Oneonta in the south.

This report draws upon several years of research pursued primarily for academic reasons but nonetheless potentially useful for public policy. Some of this research examined statewide trends, but in other cases examined the area as part of a wider nine-county "Headwaters Region" as defined by scholars affiliated with the Center for Small Cities and Rural Studies at Utica College (Thomas 2013). In addition to the six counties in the MVREDC, the Headwaters also includes Madison, Chenango, and Delaware Counties. The report reviews recent social science perspectives relevant to understanding the development of the region, discusses the history of the region, and proceeds to discuss potential long-term development initiatives.

NEW APPROACHES TO UNDERSTANDING REGIONAL SYSTEMS

During the 1980s and 1990s, urban sociology and aligned disciplines (e.g., urban economics, urban planning) underwent a paradigm shift in understanding how communities develop. The former paradigm, generally known as the Human Ecology School, understood individual communities as growing in place more or less independently from their neighbors. Although linkages to other communities and "mass society" was generally assumed, the actual analysis of community growth was focused on the settlement itself. Beginning in the 1970s, however, urban scholars began to understand a community's position in a larger network of settlements as an important factor in determining urban fortunes. This approach, today known as the Political Economy School, is today the dominant paradigm in urban and community studies. One ramification of this paradigm shift in our scientific understanding of communities is that a scholar trained during the 1980s would have had a very different education than someone educated since the 1990s.

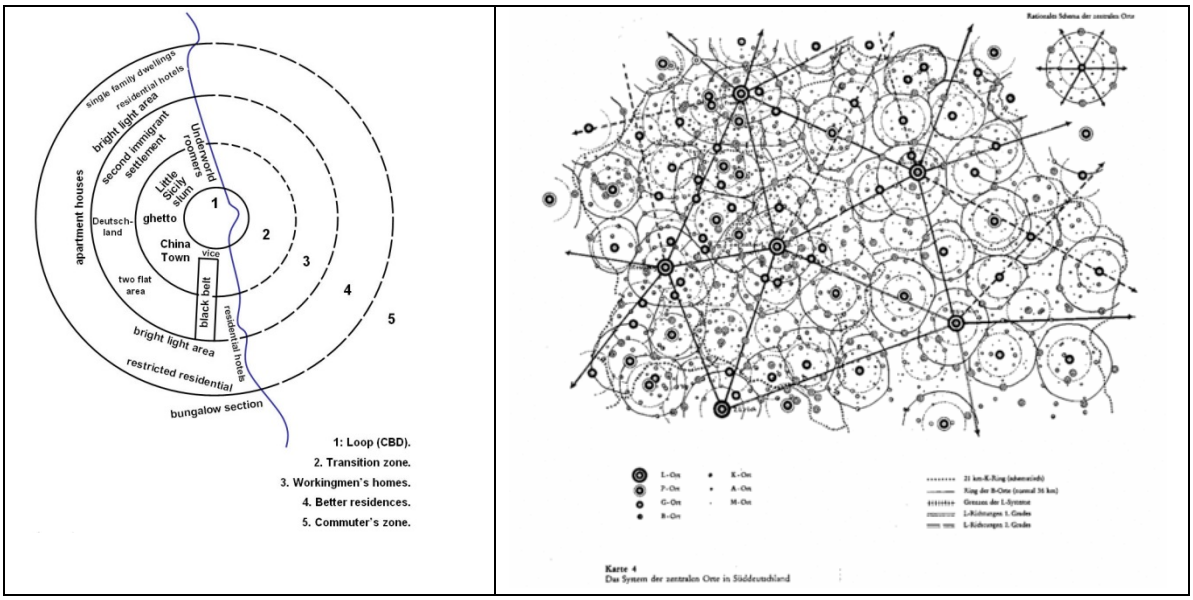


Figure 1: Two different approaches to understanding community growth. At left, a Human Ecology model dating to the 1920s explains urban growth as emanating from one central location. At right, Political Economists see urban growth as a function of what type of "node" a community occupies in a larger complex system.

Social scientists can analyze the nine-county Headwaters Region utilizing the same framework. Each community occupies a particular position in the global system (in technical terms, the world-system) that reflects the type of transit functions performed in the settlement. Large trade centers are known as "first order centers," reflecting transit functions that include major financial firms, international trade (e.g., harbors and airports), and luxury retail. In contrast, lower order centers have transit functions that are local or regional in nature. In eastern New York we see a six-tier system centered on the largest first-

First Order Cities		Global hubs of finance, commodity, and demographic flows e.g., New York
Second Order Cities		Regional hubs of commodity and demographic flows; regional retail e.g., Utica
Third Order Cities		Localized hubs of commodity and retail trade e.g., Oneonta
Fourth Order Cities		Hubs of retail and service trade serving a limited geographic area e.g., Cooperstown
Fifth Order Cities		Hubs of retail and service trade serving a narrow geographic area e.g., Hartwick
Sixth Order Cities		Hubs of services serving one particular community e.g., Mount Vision

Figure 2: The Six-Tier system of eastern New York with examples of each type of community.

order center in the United States, New York City, emanating down to sixth-order centers that typically have little more trade than a post office. Examples of each order is found in figure 2.

Most often a higher order center (e.g., Oneonta) also contains lower order transit functions. In other words, a third order center such as Oneonta not only has third-order functions such as chain specialty retail (e.g., Bed, Bath and Beyond) but also has supermarkets (a fourth-order function) and a post office (a sixth-order function). The map in figure 3 shows the distribution of second through sixth-order settlements near Utica.

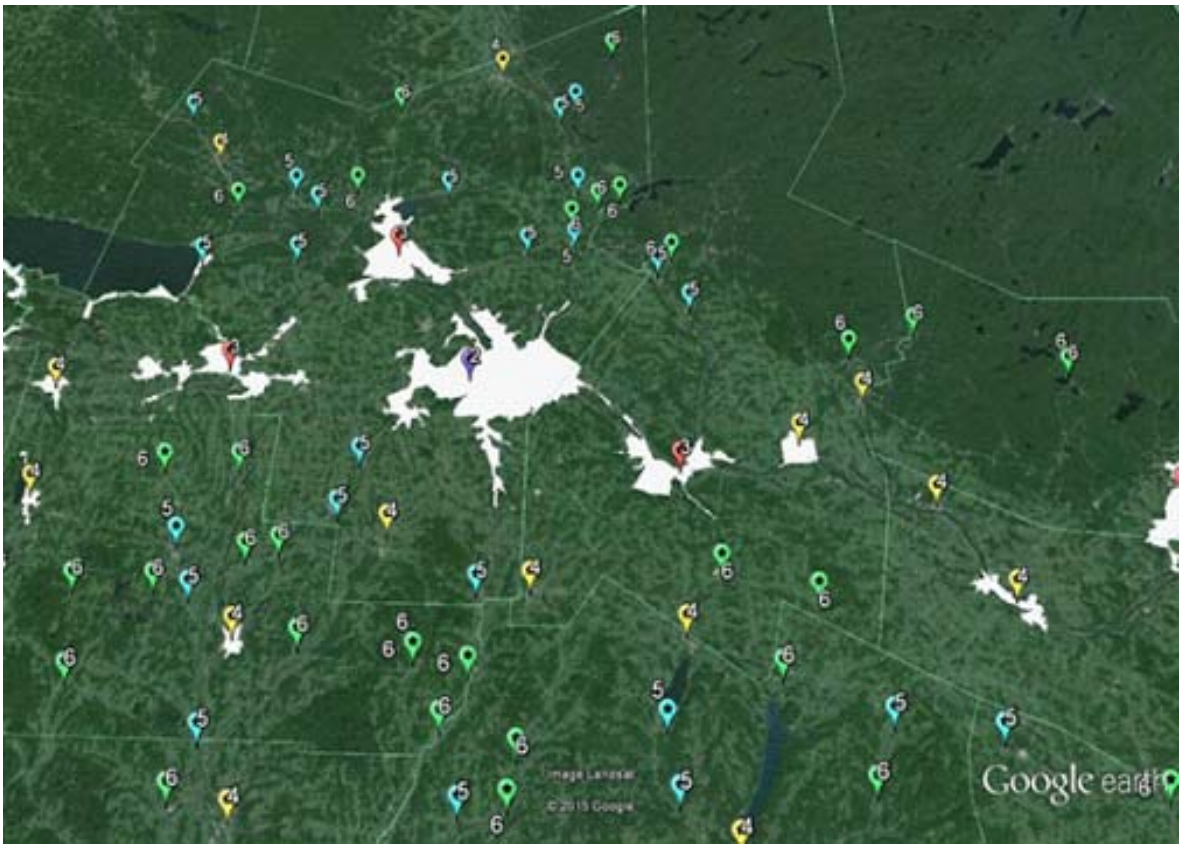
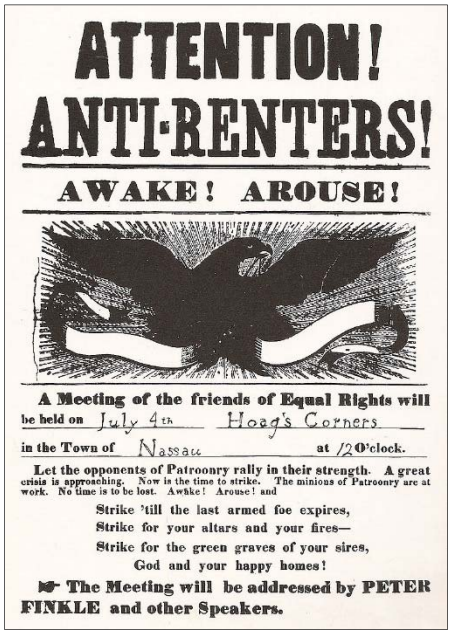


Figure 3: Second through sixth-order settlements surrounding Utica. Purple=2nd order, red=3rd order, yellow=4th order, blue=5th order, and green=6th order transit centers; shading marks congruously urbanized areas of at least 2,500 people.

The counties included in the MVREDC roughly overlap with the nine counties analyzed here. In accord with what would be expected from recent research on urbanization, the region is centered on the second-order center (Utica and the inner suburbs) with lower-ordered centers spread over the remainder of the region. The city of Rome and the strip of industrial suburbs east of Utica, collectively known as the "valley" towns, function as third-order centers for those living farther from Utica but are by-and-large outlying suburbs of Utica itself. The cluster of towns around Oneida in Madison County, included in these analyses but not part of the MVREDC, function as suburbs shared by Utica and Syracuse. At greater distances from Utica are found third-order centers that have more independence from Utica: Johnstown-Gloversville and Amsterdam in Montgomery County and Oneonta in Otsego County. North and south of the rough triangle formed by the major centers in the region are mountainous regions, the Adirondacks in the north and the Catskills in the south. This gives the region an intermontane feel through which the Mohawk Valley carves a gateway between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Coast. These features and the

economic activity fostered by them influenced the early settlement pattern of the region and continue to do so today.

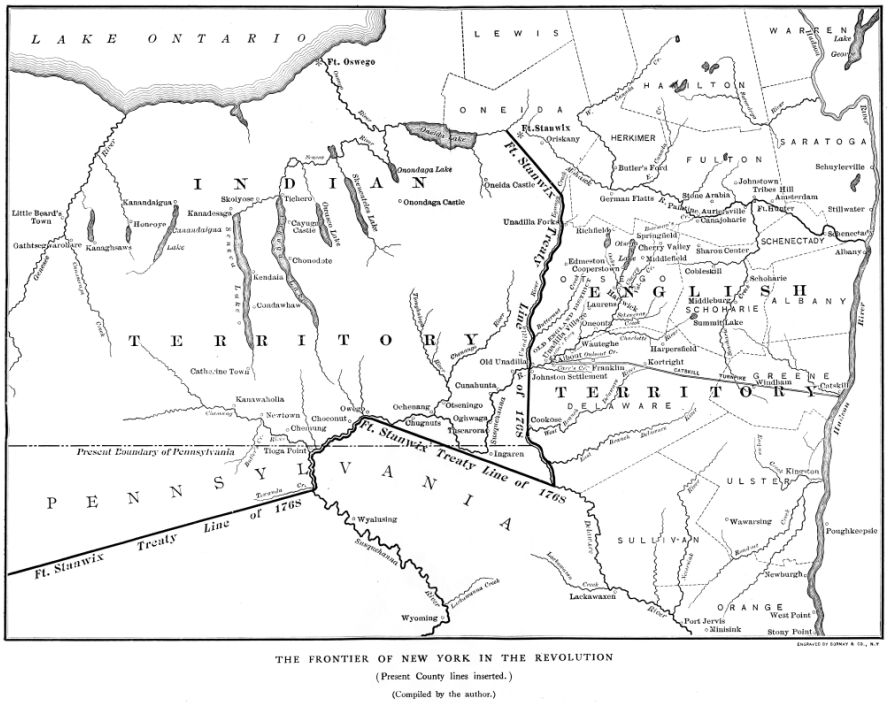
REGIONAL SYSTEM DEVELOPMENT


ATTENTION!
ANTI-RENTERS!
AWAKE! AROUSE!
A Meeting of the friends of Equal Rights will be held on July 4th Hoag's Corners in the Town of Nassau at 12 O'clock.
Let the opponents of Patroonry rally in their strength. A great crisis is approaching. Now is the time to strike. The minions of Patroonry are at work. No time is to be lost. Awake! Arouse! and
Strike 'till the last armed foe expires,
Strike for your altars and your fires—
Strike for the green graves of your sires,
God and your happy homes!
☛ The Meeting will be addressed by PETER FINKLE and other Speakers.

As New York was colonized by Europeans during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries much of the settlement remained primarily in the Hudson and Mohawk River Valleys. Early Dutch maps of New Netherland present the area around Otsego Lake as "Canomakers," but the reality of Dutch colonization never lived up to their claims. Much of the territory between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers—the colony's borders in theory (except for Canomakers immediately north of the Delaware Valley)—was already settled by indigenous cultures that severely limited Dutch control despite some alliances. The first settlement in present-day Albany was in the heart of a war zone between the Mohawks and Mohicans, and a year later the Dutch left a smaller settlement there and removed the remainder of the settlement to the tip of Manhattan Island. The Dutch never settled far beyond the Hudson, establishing patroonships (a form of feudalism) that continued under British and eventual American control until the Anti-Rent Wars of the 1840s.

The earliest attempts at settlement west of the Hudson occurred during the 18th century as Palatine Germans built settlements in the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys. This settlement was significant in that it also marked perhaps the earliest settlement in the British colonies west and north of the spine of the Appalachian Mountains. The early road network and settlement pattern of the region was established during this period, with the Mohawk Valley "filling up" first followed by pushes onto the Appalachian Plateau prior to the American Revolution. The earliest settlement in Otsego County was Cherry Valley, settled at the crest of the south rim of the Mohawk Valley in 1740. Similarly, Lutheran minister John Christopher Hartwick received a patent in 1761 for land on the Susquehanna River for which he planned to build a utopian "New Jerusalem," a foreshadowing of the "Burnt Over District" of religious revival and social activism that swept upstate New York in the early nineteenth century and fueled movements against slavery and for women's suffrage.

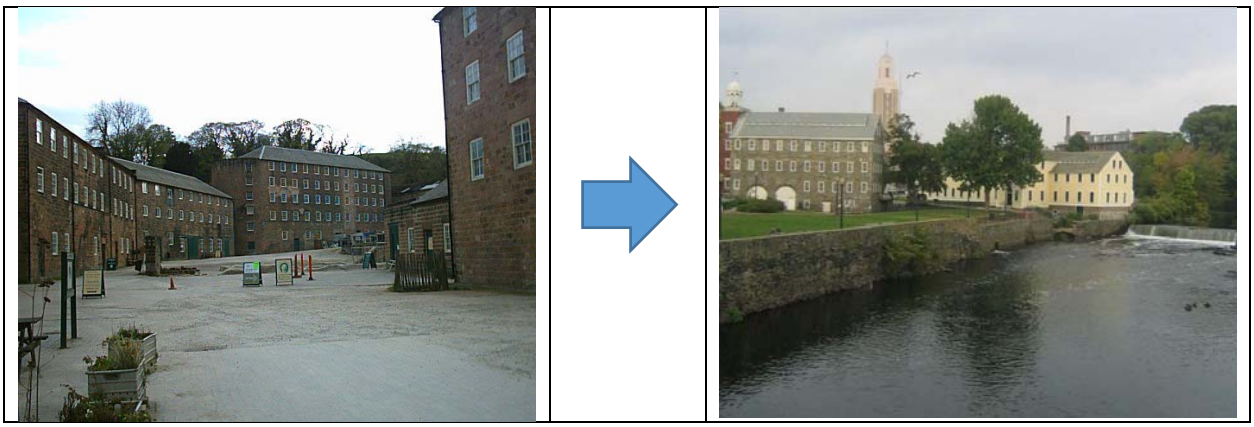
The major demographic surge in the region began after the American Revolution. In 1763 the British banned settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains, a problematic policy given the location of settlements in the Mohawk and Susquehanna Headwaters. In 1768, the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (modern Rome) established a western boundary between the British colonies and Native American tribes, locally the Iroquois Confederacy. The line continues as the western boundary for Otsego and Delaware counties today. Most historians today recognize the Proclamation of 1763 and its implementation in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix as one cause of the American Revolution: settlers in the growing portions of the British colonies wanted to push west across the Appalachians. Not surprisingly, when the Revolution ended the flood of settlers from New England—where much of the agricultural landscape had long been settled—further established the settlement pattern of the region.



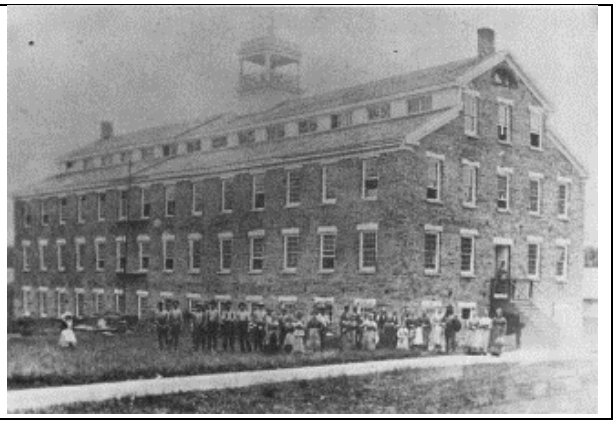
THE FRONTIER OF NEW YORK IN THE REVOLUTION
(Present County lines inserted.)
(Compiled by the author.)

Figure 4: Fort Stanwix Treaty Line.

Many of the new wave of settlers arrived from states in southeastern New England: Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. This region was not only home to aspiring farmers willing to move for the chance to work their own land, but also was the crucible for the American Industrial Revolution. In 1771, Richard Arkwright built the first water-driven cotton spinning mill in the world in Cromford, England (below, left). The technology was considered so important that it was illegal to leave England with plans, but Samuel Slater did so anyway. In 1793 Slater built the first cotton mill in the United States in Pawtucket, Rhode Island (below, right), an event historians generally mark as the beginning of the American Industrial Revolution. When settlers from the region moved west, they took this technology with them.



In a rare turn of "just desserts," one of Slater's engineers, Benjamin Walcott, built the first water-powered cotton mill in New York State, and likely the first outside of New England, along Sauquoit Creek in what is today New York Mills (below, left). One year later, the Union Mill, started as a woolen mill but a cotton mill by 1820, started along Oaks Creek in the Town of Hartwick (below, right). The pictures below represent later buildings at each site.



The period after the Revolution established the basic demographic pattern found in the region today. The fast-running streams attracted both farmers and those desiring to build grist, saw, and textile mills alike; often, a farmer would run a small mill as a side-business. The number of woolen mills during the nineteenth century led to considerable deforestation as farm fields were found on flat lands on hill tops and valley floors and sheep grazed the spaces in between. Nearly every settlement had at least one system for water power, and many had more. By 1870 there were over 2,500 water-powered industrial sites in the nine-county region, mostly serving local needs such as saw and grist mills, but many producing cotton and woolen cloth as well as the machinery required by them (see table 1 below). Most of the sites were found in rural settings, and many water systems provided power for multiple industrial facilities. As shown in table 2, such economic activity was not a purely urban phenomenon.

Table 1: Industrial Sites by Setting, ca. 1870

Settlement	Number of Settlement Types	Number of Ponds	Number of Industrial Sites
Rural	--	736 (75.6)	1,640 (64.2)
Hamlet	266 (74.1)	146 (15.0)	437 (17.1)
Village	85 (23.7)	73 (0.07)	312 (12.21)
City	8 (0.02)	19 (0.02)	165 (0.06)
Total	*359 (100)*	*974 (100)*	*2,554 (100)*

Table 2: Select Industries by Setting, ca. 1870

Settlement	Banking	Lumber	Textiles	Miscellaneous
Rural	0	968 (82.7)	37 (31.2)	41 (22.4)
Hamlet	0	122 (10.4)	38 (33.6)	24 (13.1)
Village	33 (66.0)	67 (5.7)	28 (24.1)	53 (30.1)
City	17 (33.0)	13 (0.01)	13 (11.2)	65 (35.5)
Total	*50 (100)*	*1,170 (100)*	*116 (100)*	*183 (100)*

Connecting these settlements was not only roads built along the original trails used by the local Iroquois but also a number of new roads built to make transport through the region easier. The roads themselves demonstrate the spread of population from north to south and east to west: only one major turnpike was built south of Cooperstown, the Catskill Turnpike, whereas four were found north of that village. The Mohawk Turnpike traveled by the Mohawk River along routes utilized by the Mohawks and Palatine settlers prior to the Revolution. The Western Turnpike travelled the south rim of the valley, and in Cherry Valley split into a northern route (U.S. route 20) and a southern route (N.Y. route 80 west of Cooperstown). In between the Skaneateles Turnpike split from the Western Turnpike in Richfield Springs. The road network was supplemented by local roads that are still used today.

In addition to roads, the region was home to two important transportation technologies. By 1820 the fast running streams near Utica and Cooperstown were home to multiple textile mills, many of which were processing cotton from the southern United States, and each village was becoming important as a financial center and preferred place of residence for merchants and mill owners. The budding industry in the region was one among several concerns for state policy-makers arguing for the building of the Erie Canal. Prior to the canal opening in 1825, a load of cotton made its way from the American south to Albany by ship, was transferred to a wagon for transport to the Mohawk River at Schenectady, and floated up the Mohawk to Fort Plain. At Fort Plain it was again necessary to utilize land transportation as the rapids at Little Falls along the Mohawk were compounded by large meanders along the river upstream as it snaked along the Great Lakes Plain to the falls. Fort Plain also allowed for the use of a wagon up the Otsquago Creek Valley through Van Hornesville and eventually to Springfield Landing on Otsego Lake, whereupon the cargo could again be transported to Cooperstown by water. As such, neither the Utica-area nor the Cooperstown-area mills were particularly accessible, and this proved problematic for exporting finished goods as well. The opening of the canal in 1825 addressed this issue by creating a port facility in Fort Plain—a rare structure at that time. The canal also, over the next 100 years, favored communities along its banks for industry by 1) enhancing trade, and 2) allowing for the conversion to steam-powered industry through the import of coal. In 1832, the building of the Schenectady & Utica Railroad further solidified this advantage for Mohawk Valley industry.

Figure 5: Downtown Fort Plain in 1868, with the Erie Canal crossing Otsquago Creek and spilling into a small harbor-basin.

As the regional economy became more reliant on steam power the scale of production possible grew considerably. During the 1840s massive steam-powered mills were built in Utica itself, attracting immigrants and fueling population growth that was focused on a relatively small area. The growth of the city also attracted children from rural families, and the result was a regional population heavily centralized in the metropolitan area surrounded by an increasingly agricultural hinterland.

Table 3: Population of Headwaters Counties, 1830-2010

County	Land Area	1830	1860	1890	1920	1950	1980	2010
Chenango	893.55	31,215	40,311	37,776	34,969	39,138	49,344	50,477
Delaware	1442.44	26,587	39,834	45,496	42,774	44,420	46,824	47,980
Fulton	495.47		24,162	37,650	44,927	51,021	55,153	55,531
Herkimer	1411.47	30,945	38,244	45,608	64,962	61,407	66,714	64,519
Madison	654.84	32,208	43,545	42,892	39,535	46,214	65,150	73,442
Montgomery	403.04	43,715*	30,866	45,699	57,928	59,594	53,439	50,219
Oneida	1212.43	71,326	105,202	122,922	182,833	222,855	253,466	234,878
Otsego	1001.7	51,372	50,157	50,861	46,200	50,763	59,075	62,259
Schoharie	621.82	27,902	34,469	29,164	21,303	22,703	29,710	32,749
TOTALS	**8,136.76**	**315,270**	**406,790**	**458,068**	**535,431**	**598,115**	**678,875**	**672,054**

* Population for Montgomery County also includes that of Fulton County

As a result of the growth of the metropolitan area, by 1870—when the regional and metropolitan populations were less than half what they are today—the distribution of economic activities and population had evolved in bands around the city. As shown in figure 6, in the regional map at left we see the distribution of lumber mills in the region wherein a lower number is more red and a high number is more green. In Utica, Rome, and the suburban towns there were few if any lumber mills, not only a consequence of the lack of trees in an urbanized area but also a function of a considerable amount of land under cultivation or pasture. Higher numbers of lumber mills are found further from the city in more forested towns that were still accessible to the city. Further afield there was a lower number of such mills, and in southern Delaware County a large number of lumber mills exported south to Philadelphia and, thus, were part of a different trade system. The map at right shows the distribution of cheese factories during the same period—an indicator of the dairy industry. The same “banding” pattern around Utica was evident, but dairy farms and cheese factories were closer to the city.

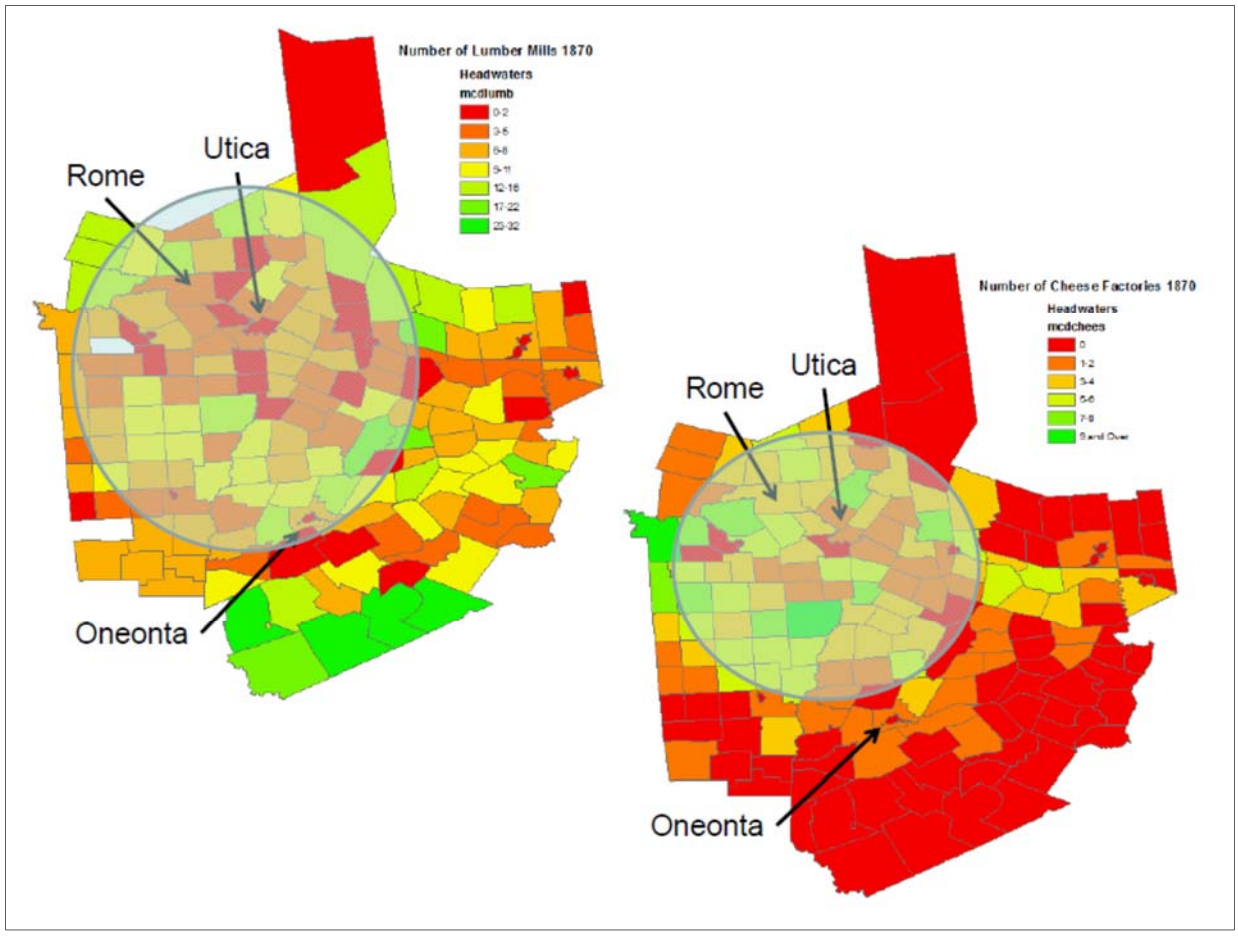


Figure 6: Bands of Economic Activity surrounding Utica, ca. 1870.

By the early twentieth century the transportation advantages in the Mohawk Valley, which also translated into fuel advantages for steam-powered mills, led to the first deindustrialization of the region. This occurred as mills in the Cooperstown area were bought by Utica-area firms (the fate of the Toddsville mill) or remained independent only to be out-competed by larger firms (such as Phoenix Mills). By 1920, there were no textile mills left in the Cooperstown area. Indeed, the growth of Oneonta after 1870 as the railroad became an important transportation corridor between Schenectady and Binghamton shifted what manufacturing remained south of the Mohawk away from the water-powered mills near Cooperstown and towards steam-powered mills in Oneonta and, eventually, Sidney. Although Cooperstown did not lose population during the fifty years after the arrival of the railroad, the growth of population in Oneonta resulted in a "relative decline" for Cooperstown as trade activities followed the population. As this occurred, the "third order" functions that had previously been conducted in Cooperstown were effectively transferred to Oneonta over approximately a fifty-year timeframe; Cooperstown is today a fourth order settlement.

By the mid twentieth century much of the manufacturing capacity of the region had become concentrated in the Utica Metropolitan Area, but the last half of the century would feature a dramatic turn of fortune for the region as the trend of deindustrialization in the countryside affected the metropolitan area itself. Combined with the effects of population moving from older settlements into

newer housing in suburbs and the rural countryside due to the availability of the automobile, the area witnessed a dramatic change in how people lived their everyday lives. Figure 7 shows municipalities (cities and townships) where between 1950 and 2010 demographic trends are related to the fortunes in the metropolitan area, classified by varying degrees of urbanization. Beginning in the 1950s the region lost most of what remained of its textile industry, replaced to some extent by new industries in the Utica area, particularly in aerospace and computers (the first commercial computer in the world was manufactured by Sperry-Rand in Utica). As such, despite the economic uncertainty, the metropolitan area continued to expand its commuting zone into the exurban regions while growing rapidly in the suburbs—older settlements generally lost population. When one examines the population trends found in the four-county region where these townships are located the wider regional pattern over time becomes evident.

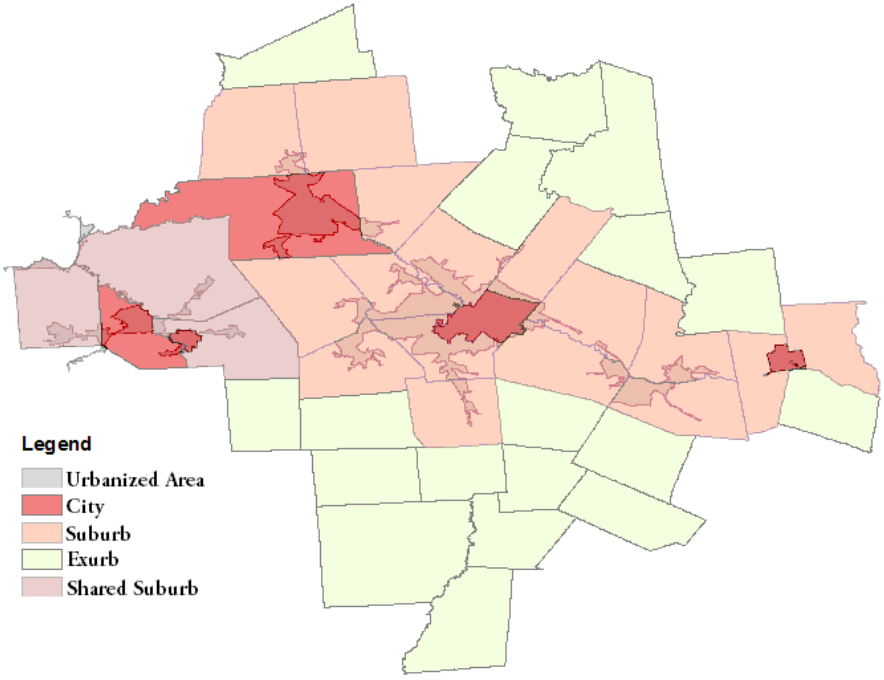


Figure 7: Map of Population Related Municipalities, 1950-2010

Figure 8 contains several maps showing the population of each municipality between 1830 and 2010. Greener color show areas of less population, and early in the region's history the population was relatively evenly spread across the four counties. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a tendency for population to centralize in larger cities was evident, and it was not until 1870 that the town of Oneonta (the city is white is it did not yet exist) appears any less rural than its neighbors. As noted above, after 1870 third-order functions in Otsego County transitioned from Cooperstown in the central part of the county to Oneonta in the south. The 1910 and 1930 maps show population heavily concentrated in the Mohawk Valley corridor east and west of the city of Utica as well as heavily concentrated in the city of Oneonta, founded in 1908. After 1970, the influence of Utica had

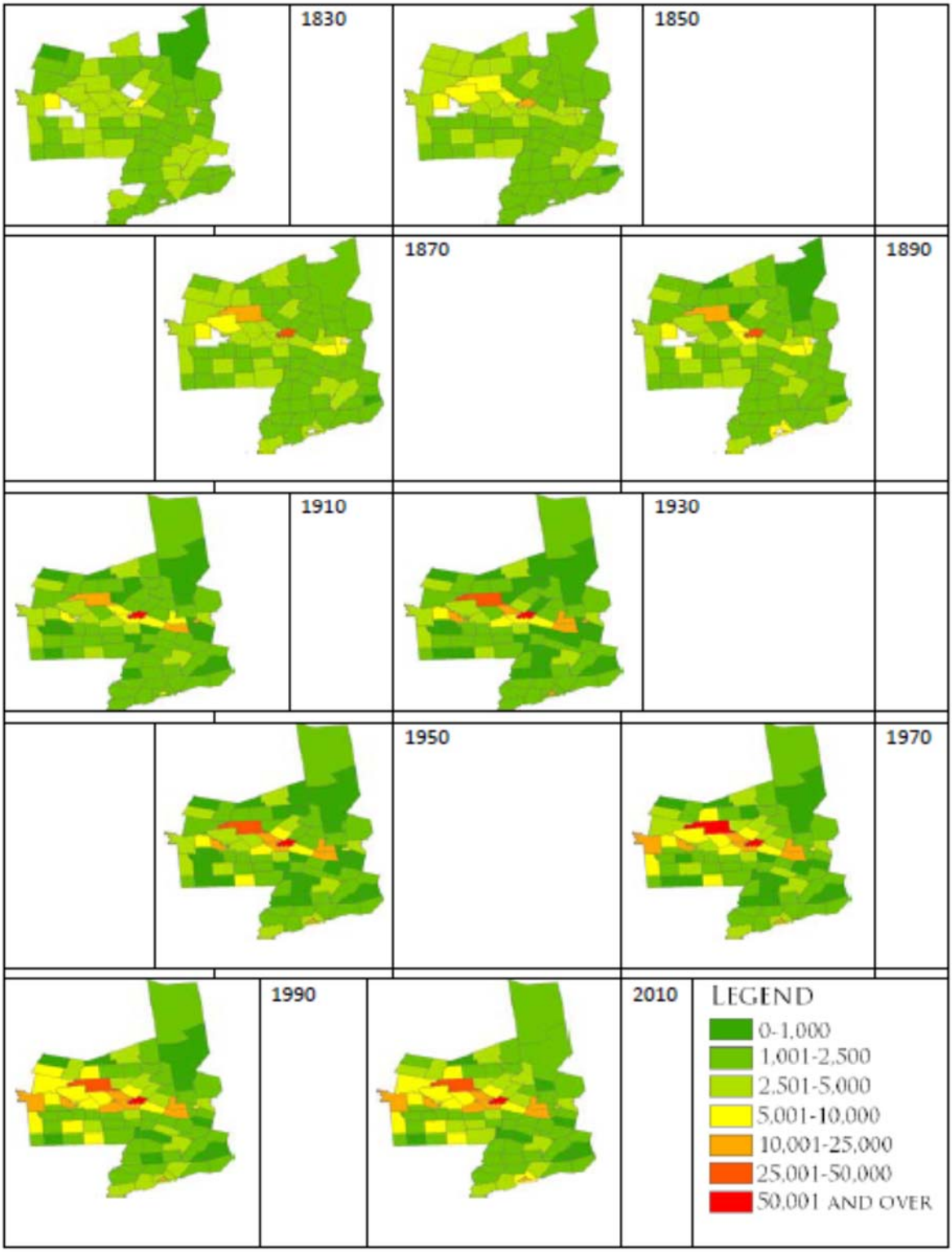


Figure 8: Population of Regional Municipalities, 1830-2010.

spread over a large region across the four-county region and Oneonta was influencing population across southern Otsego county as well as northern Delaware County (not shown here). In effect, the four

counties were divided over time between Utica and Oneonta (as well as Metropolitan Syracuse in western Madison County) with several relatively independent fourth-order centers in between (Cooperstown and affiliated towns in Otsego County, Boonville and associated towns in Oneida County, and Hamilton and associated towns in Madison County). While these smaller centers were statistically independent of the larger centers in terms of population growth they remained dependent upon larger centers for higher order trade functions. For example, a 2002 Survey of Hartwick residents found a pattern of shopping for groceries in the Cooperstown area of which it is part, but travel to Oneonta and Utica for higher order goods such as clothing.

The difference between the 1960s, when the metropolitan area was experiencing relative prosperity, and today is evident from the next two figures. Figure 9 shows population trends evident in the 1970 census for the four counties. The cities of Utica, Rome, Oneida and Little Falls all lost population, but these losses accounted for people moving from cities to suburbs. Growth in the city of Oneonta was the consequence of the growth in student population at SUNY Oneonta and Hartwick College.

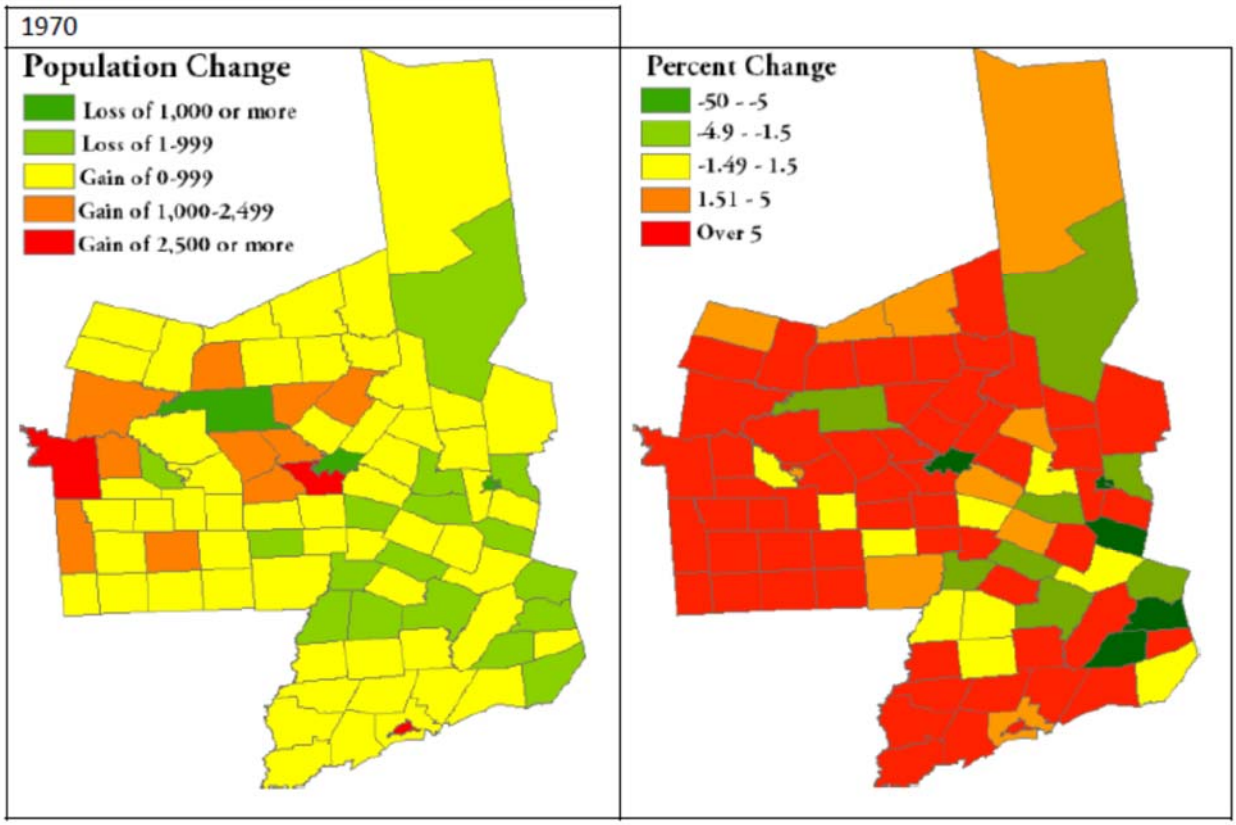


Figure 9: Population Change, 1960-1970

Table 4: Population Change in Population Related Municipalities near Utica, 1960-2010

Type	Population, 1960	Population, 1970	Change (%) 1960-1970	Population, 2010	Change (%) 1960-2010
Cities	175,590	163,794	-11,796 (-6.7)	115,370	-60,220 (-34.3)
Suburbs	114,648	128,597	13,949 (12.2)	126,618	11,970 (10.4)
Exurbs	29,472	32,250	2,778 (9.4)	35,745	6,273 (21.3)
Shared Suburbs	17,258	20,032	2,774 (16.1)	20,823	3,565 (20.7)
TOTAL	*336,968*	*344,673*	*7,705 (2.3)*	*298,556*	*-38,412 (-11.4)*

In the population-related municipalities of the Utica Metropolitan Area, the expected pattern of population decline in the cities and growth in the suburbs was evident, and this reflects a trend found nationwide. Population for the municipalities as whole peaked in 1970, with strong growth in the suburbs and suburbs shared with Syracuse. The 1970s, however, witnessed a renewed wave of deindustrialization in Utica as well as in other Great Lakes cities—the so-called "rust belt"—and after a brief reprieve during the 1980s it resumed during the 1990s as the aerospace industry further centralized and Griffiss Air Force Base in Rome was heavily realigned. By the 2010 census, the exurban ring including rural Edmeston in Otsego County and Trenton in Oneida County had posted gains over time, whereas the Utica area overall had lost 11.4 percent of its population. Nevertheless, the 2010 census did show a potential new trend of note.

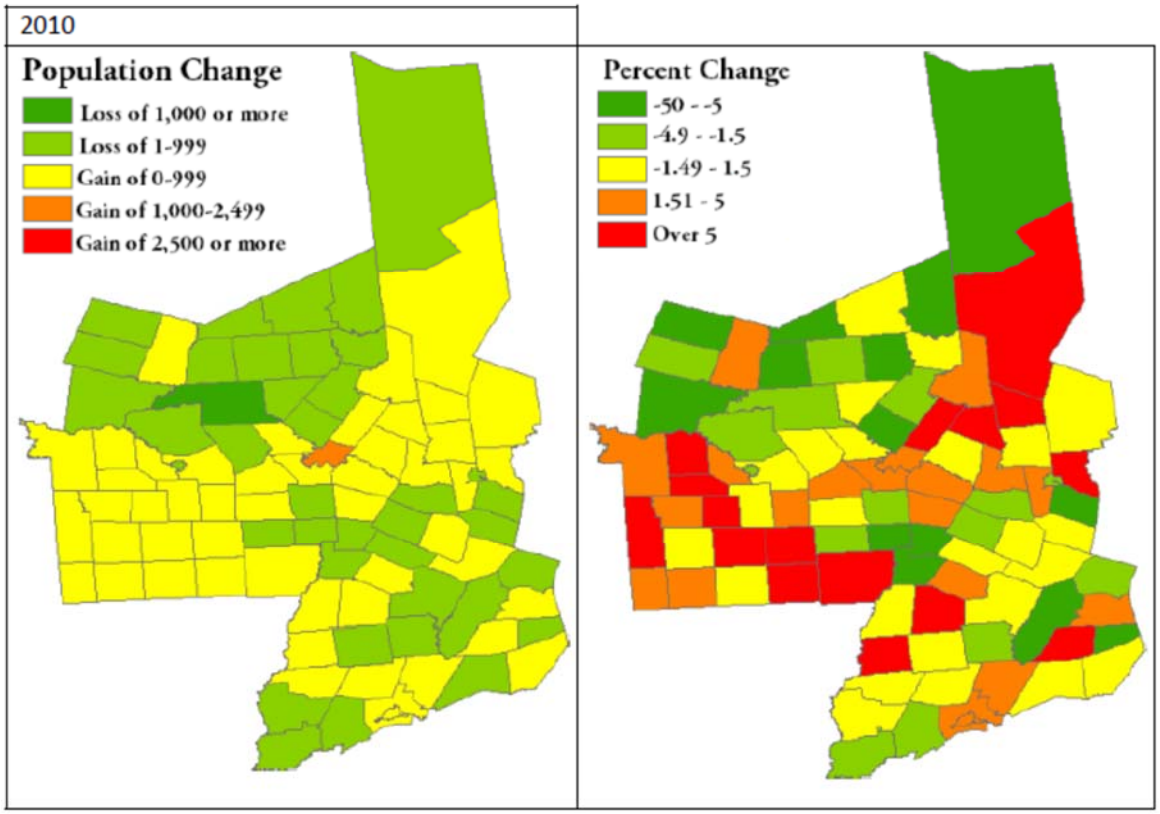


Figure 10: Population Change, 2000-2010

The 2010 census revealed growth in the city of Utica and continued population decline in the city of Rome reflective of a wider statewide phenomenon of growth in eastern New York and decline in western New York; the "line" appeared to be NY 12 in 2010. The growth in Utica was based nearly entirely on a resumption of immigration to the city: 14.7 percent of Utica's population was foreign-born in 2010, up from 11.9 percent in 2000. The remainder of the region was relatively stable in terms of population.

A 2014 study found that the impact of deindustrialization on the population-related municipalities paid a dramatic price in terms of lost population for the region as a whole. As noted:

> The damage done by the economic challenges of the 1970s and 1990s in particular is apparent when the final year of the three scenarios is examined. In scenario 1, a sustained average population growth rate equivalent to the thirty year average between 1930 and 1960 (0.87 per year) yields a population for the population related municipalities of over a half-million. Scenario 3, the metropolitan area keeping pace with the national growth rate, yields an even more grand population of 580,429. Even scenario 2, in which the metropolitan area kept pace with the state's growth rate, yields a 2010 population of 389,445. Much of this growth, however, would have occurred in suburban and exurban communities. (Thomas 2014, 23)

Had any of these scenarios for the Utica area become reality, it is likely that today Otsego County would be included as part of the official definition for the metropolitan statistical area (today just Oneida and Herkimer Counties), and quite possibly Madison County as well.

Since the mid-twentieth century the region has lost much of its manufacturing capacity, a trend that might be reversed by the development of the nanotechnology industry in the suburbs of Utica. As textiles and aerospace were restructured during the last fifty years, the region has maintained much of the infrastructure to support a growing and diverse population. Education, healthcare, and tourism are major industries in the region that can be further developed in concert with nanotechnology in the metropolitan area.

UTILIZING TRENDS TO MAXIMIZE DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL

There are two major demographic trends that can be utilized to encourage development in the Headwaters Region. The first, as discussed above, is the ascension of Oneonta as a third-order center early in the twentieth century as such transit functions were transferred from Cooperstown. Other third order centers in the region, such as Rome and Johnstown-Gloversville, are close to other centers (Utica and Amsterdam) against which they must compete for investment and other resources, and they are thus better served by coordinating activities with other centers in their respective regions. In contrast, Oneonta stands alone in the region as a third order center that is at a considerable distance from other second and third order centers, and this geographic position has allowed the community to attract investment that might not otherwise locate in a third order center. In effect, Oneonta's relative isolation in its region presents an opportunity to potentially attract transit functions that would normally be found in second order centers; for example, Oneonta is the only third order center with a shopping mall.

A second trend reflects the pattern of development in the state as a whole. The twentieth century witnessed continual growth in the New York Metropolitan Area, and much of this growth has been working north up the Hudson Valley. This has created a region of relative prosperity in the Hudson Valley that can serve as a foundation for expanding such development to the west. To a large extent Nano-Utica is a step in this direction as it is a late incarnation of the Tech Valley initiative developed over a decade ago but now focused on the Mohawk Valley as well. (Tech Valley was focused in the Hudson Valley). As population growth edges slowly toward the Catskill Mountains there is the potential for the destruction of green space in that region, but a commitment to preserving green space by "leapfrogging" development over the mountains to the Upper Susquehanna Valley could serve as a strategy for strengthening the economy of Otsego County and the Utica Metropolitan Area while also ensuring a future for the Catskill green space.

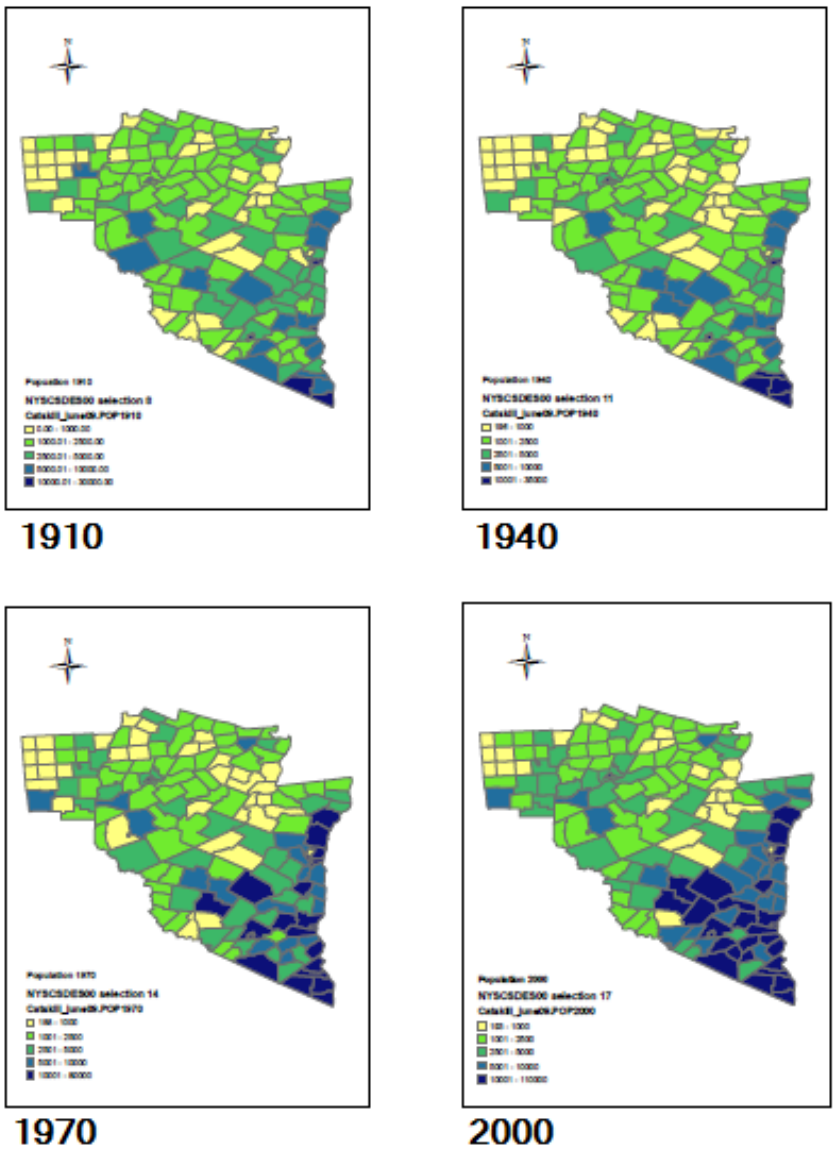


Figure 11: Population Change in Southeastern New York, 1910-2000.

These two demographic trends lend themselves to the creation of a corridor between Utica and Oneonta that can serve as a focus for economic and community development aimed at generating prosperity in a "next column" west of the Hudson Valley. As the New York Metropolitan Area has been spreading north along the Hudson Valley it has created a corridor of relative prosperity that contrasts against the backdrop of deindustrialization and population loss along the Erie Canal corridor from Utica and to the west. One goal of the Tech Valley initiative and its recent incarnation of Nano-Utica is to spread this relative prosperity west along the Mohawk Valley. Otsego County and the wider region can augment this strategy by establishing a development corridor that connects Utica and Oneonta to the north of the Catskill Mountains to the growing suburbs along the NY-17 (I-86) corridor south of the mountains. Such an effort in conjunction with efforts to control sprawl in the mountains themselves could

help preserve the Catskills from the encroachment of the suburbs as well spread development into the Utica-Oneonta corridor.

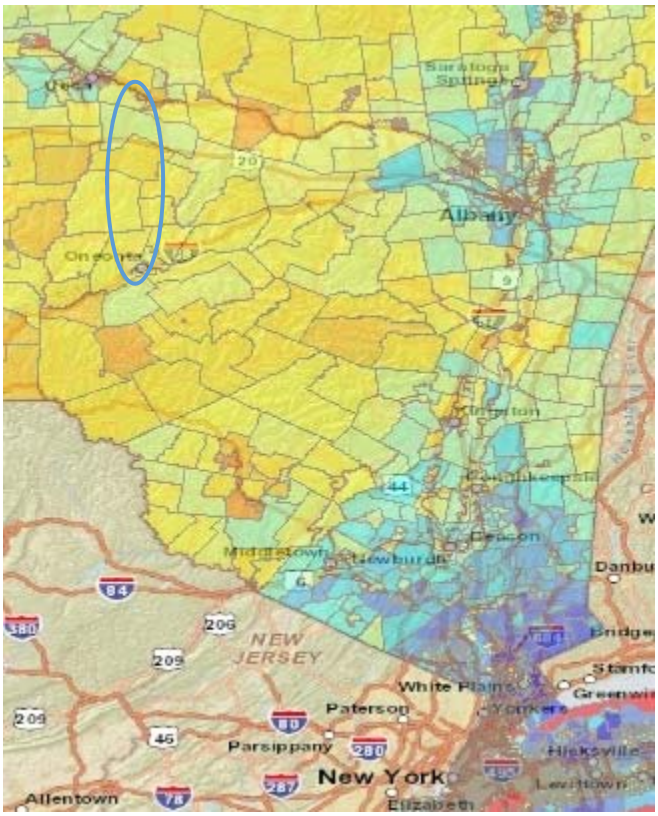


Figure 12: Median Household Income in Eastern New York and the "Next Column." Areas of blue had higher incomes.

The development of the "next column" west of the Hudson Valley should seek to enhance the strengths already present in the region. Like much of the Mohawk Valley Economic Development Region, the economic structure of the area is marked by a legacy of past industrial and agricultural development and subsequent waning. The region is home to a comparatively small but thriving tourism economy, a consequence of having over four million people within a two hour drive, as well as strengths in health services and education. In short, the economy is generated by the servicing of local and regional populations rather than on the production of goods or agricultural surplus. While enhancing agriculture and manufacturing should continue to be encouraged, it is in the area of health services, education and research, and tourism that the region is best prepared to face a future that will over the long term (30-50 years) see population growth. In addition, the favorable access to health services and the cultural events associated with higher education can be utilized to build a retirement economy.

STEPS TO A NEW CORRIDOR OF PROSPERITY

There are six key concerns in developing a "next column" west of the Hudson Valley, but within each category there are also multiple options.

1. Develop a "Doubleday Corridor" along NY 28. The Doubleday Corridor would build connections between Utica and Oneonta, enabling a set of business parks that connect the Nano-Utica development to the natural amenities of the northern Catskills.

As business parks already exist in Utica and Frankfort to the north and Oneonta in the south, this strategy would develop similar parks in the Richfield Springs area and in Hartwick Seminary. Business park development would be designed in such a way as to reduce sprawl and focus development within certain areas in order to generate economies of scale. For example, a business park in Hartwick Seminary would have a Cooperstown address and bolster lagging economies of scale in that area, thereby (in principle) reducing the possibility of sprawl continuing down NY 28 to Interstate 88. Such a park should include the creation of a special use district that would provide water, sewer, and lighting and enable an intensification of development in that area as larger developments, such as hotels, frequently have as much or more land for septic systems as the buildings themselves.

Figure 13: Two potential areas in Hartwick Seminary for a "Doubleday Business Park."

2. Improve North-South Automobile Transportation. The Doubleday Corridor is currently reached by a network of two-lane, often mountainous, state highways. Much of the corridor is marked by speed limits below 55 miles-per-hour, and summertime traffic in particular can be problematic. Three options lend themselves to improving access to the region by car.

Best: Build a toll limited-access highway. Such a road would leave Interstate 86 at Roscoe, have exits for Rockland, Downsville, Delhi, Oneonta (NY 23), Interstate 88, Cooperstown/Hartwick Seminary, NY 80, US 20, and a toll plaza before merging with the Sauquoit Valley Expressway at Clayville. The highway could be built with federal funding as Interstate 186 and connected to the New York Thruway at Whitestown. It could be named the Catskill Turnpike.

Better: Build a Catskill Parkway that utilizes existing roads, in particular NY 206, Delaware County 21, NY 357, and NY 28. The goal would be a four-lane connection similar to areas of US 20 in northern Otsego County, with occasional bypasses around villages and developed areas (e.g., Franklin and Canadarago Lake). Use signage similar to parkways found in other parts of the state.

Good: Extend NY 205 south to Roscoe, incorporating Delaware County 21 and co-numbering NY 205 and NY 206. This would create one route number for travelers to the region to follow from Interstate 86. In addition, extending NY 205 to Richfield Springs would enable a bypass around the developed areas by Schuyler Lake and Canadarago Lake.

3. Develop a Regional Airport to serve Oneonta and Cooperstown. A potential tourist in the New York Metropolitan Area can fly to Orlando in less time than a drive to Otsego County. Although a number of small airports service private airplanes, commercial service requires only one route offered regularly: to Kennedy International Airport. Commercial service to Kennedy would make the region accessible to many destinations in the United States in two flights; a second regular flight to Detroit would expand options further.

Best: Develop Oneonta-Cooperstown Regional Airport near Milford in a location with a good and comfortable approach and accessible to both communities by automobile and bus. Building an airport near the railroad could provide public transportation options in the future.

Good: Develop Oneonta Airport to be a regional airport by regionalizing its finances and improving the access road, perhaps by converting it to a state or county highway. Standardize the route to the airport by directing travelers to the airport via NY 205.

4. Develop Passenger Rail Services. A key aspect of life in the Northeast Corridor from Boston to Washington is the presence of reliable rail transport. Residents of Boston will speak of "catching a train to New York," and the ability to access this network would greatly enhance the region's desirability.

Best: Develop a high speed rail line that leaves the proposed line at the Tappan Zee Bridge, crossing to stations in Harriman, Middletown, Oneonta, Utica, and continuing to Ottawa. At even moderately high speeds Oneonta could be within commuting distance for New York suburbs and within a zone suitable for professionals to commute on a limited basis (the so-called "artist zone," Knudson et al. 2013).

Better: Develop a high speed line to the Albany-Rensselaer station where another high speed line proceeds to New York. This line corresponds to the "Finger Lakes Line" with stations in Ithaca, Binghamton, Oneonta, and Albany as discussed in *High Speed Rail in New York State* (Knudson et al. 2013). This could similarly place Oneonta in the "artist zone."

Good: Develop a "rail bus" to Albany-Rensselaer station where, ideally, a high speed line proceeds to New York. This would improve access to and from the region.

5. Develop a Regional Park System. The region between Utica and Oneonta is currently home to a variety of recreational and educational attractions that enrich life for the local population and attract visitors from around the world. Currently, there are diverse funding mechanisms for each facility and little planning and coordination between them. A Regional Park & Museum System, similar to the MetroParks system in Greater Boston, would enable regional funding for key facilities and coordination of recreational trails and parks.

Ideally, the regional system would include Oneida, Herkimer, Madison, and Otsego Counties. A fund for

Figure 14: A new beach? The north end of Canadarago Lake and Richfield Springs beyond.

museums and similar facilities would allow coordination and funding for diverse attractions throughout the region, including the Utica Zoo, Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, the Children's Museum, the National Baseball Hall of Fame, and the museums of the New York State Historical Association.

The regional system would also enable the funding of maintenance, improvement, and creation of new parks in the region. For example, a series of bike/hike (summer) and ski/snowmobile (winter) trails could utilize existing facilities and tie them together as a region-wide network. In Otsego County, a loop could be created by utilizing the rail bed of the Otego Valley Railway to Hartwick and Cooperstown and the trail by the Susquehanna River back to Oneonta. The Otego Valley Railway rail bed also proceed north to Richfield Springs and Mohawk where it would meet the Erie Canal Trail that connects Albany to Buffalo.

A diverse array of new facilities could also be facilitated through regional funding and collaboration. In Hartwick Seminary, the site of the former seminary building is currently maintained by Hartwick College as a one acre park with historical marker. The site would be appropriate for a small parking area, tourism information kiosk, and display highlighting the history of the first Lutheran Seminary in the United States, the town of Hartwick, and the founder—John Christopher Hartwick. Similarly, a new beach on the north shore of Canadarago Lake with access to downtown Richfield Springs could reinvigorate tourism in that village. An outdoor concert venue in Oneonta designed to capitalize on summer tourism would also be an option.

6. Plan for Long Term Sustainability. It is often tempting to plan for five or ten year periods, but it is advisable to consider the consequences of policies and decisions for even longer periods, such as fifty

Figure 15: Water powered mill site in Oriskany Falls. In 1870 there were thousands of water-powered industrial sites, indicating that abundant water-power could be adapted for modern technologies in the future.

years. For example, between 1870 and 1920 third order trade functions were transferred from Cooperstown to Oneonta, and the possibility of similar changes should at least be considered in making short-term decisions. For example, demographic patterns since World War II have favored the "Sun Belt," but much of that region, particularly in the West, will face serious water shortages over a five decade period. The abundance of water resources, for drinking, industry, and even power, could heavily favor the region once again. As noted above, the region was a leader in the American Industrial Revolution because of water and that condition has not changed in the last 200 years. Similarly, threats to the Ogallala Aquifer in the American Midwest could help revitalize agriculture in New York State. As such, development strategies should aim at preserving such resources for the future, and positive community effects are a likely benefit of such policies as well. In addition, however, the development of technologies that utilize such advantages that are evident locally, such as micro-hydro electricity generation, novel transportation technologies (the rail-bus noted above), and local agriculture for urban areas throughout the Northeast should be explored. Such efforts would not only help the region compete globally with technologies and industries that are favored by the local environment, but could also function to create new export options as well.

CONCLUSION

The forgoing recommendations are based on two long-term trends: continuous population expansion of metropolitan New York to the north, and expansion of the Oneonta area relative to those of other urban centers in the region. With the continuation of these conditions we can summarize the long-term goals rather simply: protect the Catskills environment and aesthetic character while establishing a focal point for development north of the mountains. The Doubleday Corridor will be the focus of development between the Catskills and Mohawk Valley, increasing density within the corridor in order to reduce sprawl across a wider region.

The development pattern in metropolitan New York is spreading up the I-87 and I-86 (NY 17) corridors producing a relative sparse hinterland along the I-84 corridor between Newburgh and Middletown. In the intermediate term it is likely that this corridor will develop, slow at first and then rapidly as economies of scale increase; there are indication that this has already started. This will result in intense population pressure in Orange County and increased environmental threats in the southern Catskills. The long-term solution to protecting the region can be seen in the green belt created by the New York City Water Supply (Croton System) on the east side of the Hudson and a string of parks centered on Bear Mountain on the west side of the river. Built over several decades during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this green corridor developed *ad hoc* at first and later became a conscious goal of public policy. Over the past several decades the metropolitan area has adapted to this corridor by jumping to the north. As it seem likely that the Catskills will be under similar pressure in the future, and indeed already is in areas near the Hudson Valley, a primary focus over the next several decades should be to create the next "green corridor." This could be accomplished in a similar manner as the first green belt by expanding lands under the control of the New York City Board of Water Supply in the Catskill and Delaware Water Systems, by expanding the Catskill Park to the Pennsylvania line, and through continued conservation easements and recreational facilities.

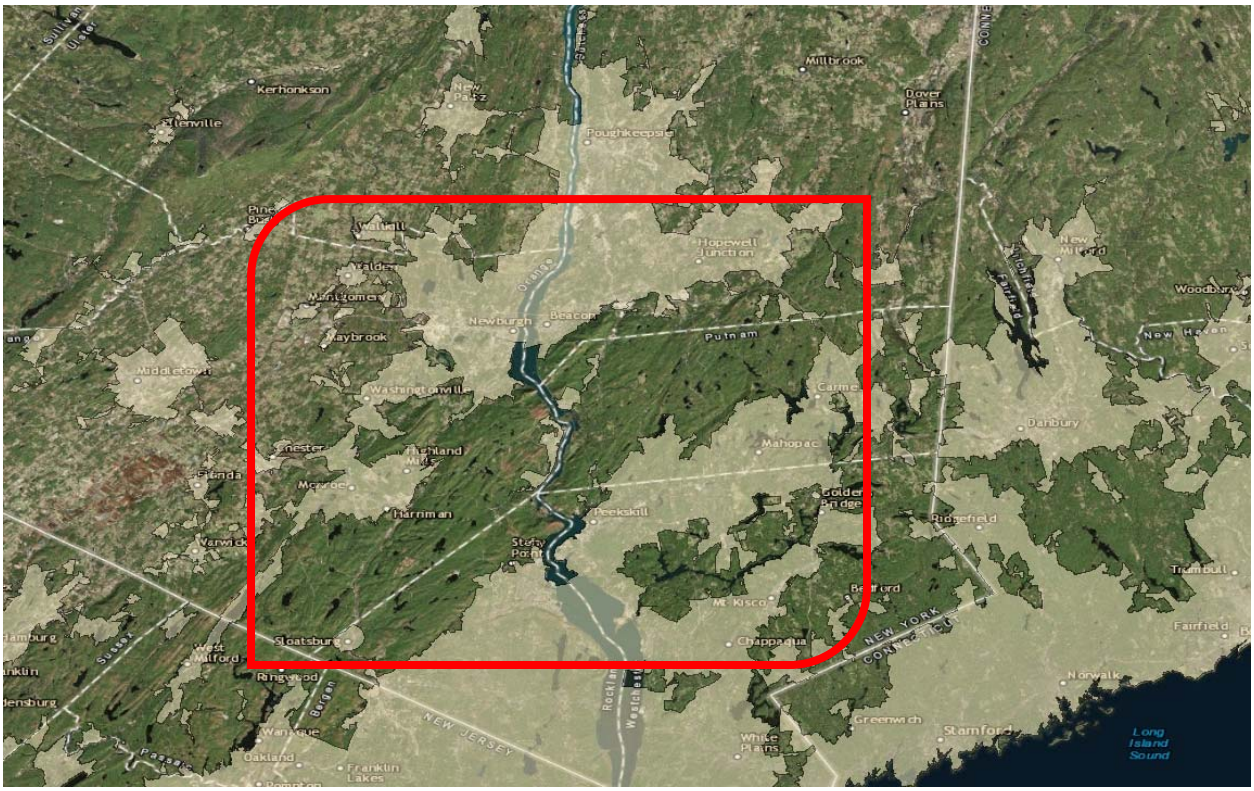


Figure 16: New York's northern suburbs have "jumped" the Bear Mountain green belt and continue to spread toward Middletown and Kingston.

With a Catskill green belt south of I-88, the Doubleday corridor would function as the gateway to the Catskills (from the north) and the Mohawk Valley region (from the south). Indeed, the Doubleday Corridor would take advantage of its intermontane location between the two major alpine parks in the state: the Adirondacks and the Catskills. The long-term goal of the Oneonta-Cooperstown area is thus to establish the region as the major urban center of the northern Catskills/Headwaters region, enhancing current functions as a third-order center while seeking to add second-order functions over time, chiefly second-order retail, a regional airport and/or passenger rail service, and potentially capitalizing on increased proximity to the New York metropolitan area (as the suburbs draw closer) by adding back office employers. Similarly, enhancing the education, healthcare, and retirement sectors could provide stimulus functions over the long term by serving as focal points for development and producing demographic growth and the market power in a region currently with relatively low population. This would be enhanced by marketing the tourism economy to capitalize on differing yet complimentary attractions and amenities in the area: expanding and marketing Oneonta nightlife for young adults, solidifying Cooperstown as a family-friendly destination, and highlighting both communities and their hinterlands for retirees.

Long term planning is not generally part of the policy lexicon. It requires a deep historical knowledge that risks being marginalized as mere trivia. It is based on projections that, like forecasting the weather, are more unstable and thus less reliable over greater time spans. In addition, not only is it difficult to imagine policies unfolding over so long a time, it is also impractical for politicians facing reelection in years, not decades. Nevertheless, a look at the past may point to what is possible, and a long view toward the future can discern small choices now that can have a revolutionary impact over the

generations. The challenge is how to use the long view to prioritize what needs to happen right now and implement what appears to be the best bet.

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