THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL

"Starting from fish-shape Paumanok where I was born..."
Walt Whitman

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Cover: William Sidney Mount: *Banjo Player*, 1856. Museums at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, NY.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

Welcome to the first issue of the*Long Island Historical Journal*, a publication devised to present Long Island as America. Our aim is to place the Island's record within the framework of history, reflecting as well as contributing to the principal phases of national life. By "Long Island" we mean its four components —Nassau, Brooklyn, Suffolk, and Queens; our concept of "national life" traverses the great chain of experience from pre-colonial times to the present.

As we are proud to be sponsored by the State University of New York at Stony Brook, so are we pleased that our Boards comprise a cross section of academic and cultural centers. We hope to serve as a magnet, attracting original studies by known or first-time writers who meet our standards of scholarship, style, and substance. Most issues will offer interpretive studies of varied topics and periods. Occasionally our focus will be on a single crucial concept, as in the Fall of 1989 we examine Long Island as Island — the Sound, Bay, and bridges, the whalers and fishers, the shipbuilders, traders, and mariners.

We set to work with no preconceptions, no plan to gloss or glorify. We are mindful of William Pelletreau's observation, in 1874, that in the pages of his history, "those who believe that the settlement was formed entirely of God-fearing and virtuous men [and women] ... will find much ... that will fail to support these views." And we also hold with Nathaniel S. Prime, another Long Island historian, who in 1845 urged Islanders to remember their "noble ancestry," the pioneers who "took up their residence in a trackless wilderness, for the rights of conscience and the enjoyment of liberty."

We pledge to be erudite but readable, to clarify rather than chronicle, and to stimulate unbiased study of a region rich in background that has not received its due attention. All who think of Long Island as home are invited to subscribe to and participate in this new and needed publication.

— Roger Wunderlich, editor

Long Island As America

1. From Colonial Times through the 19th Century

By Richard P. Harmond

Long Island has a rich and varied history, stretching from time of settlement to the era of suburbanization. That history, in spite of inevitable regional distinctions and local rhythms, reflects as well as contributes to the larger American story.[1]

In 1636, Dutch settlers crossed the East River to what they called "T Lange Eilandt."[2] Within two decades, the western end of the Island embraced the five Dutch towns of Brooklyn, Bushwick, Flatbush, Flatlands, and New Utrecht. Close by and still under Dutch jurisdiction, English settlers founded Gravesend, Jamaica, Flushing, Newtown, Oyster Bay and Hempstead. For a time, Dutch and English mingled freely in the area later to become the counties of Kings and Queens.

Most of the eastern end was settled by English folk from Connecticut and Massachusetts, who left their first American homes to cross the Sound to Long Island: for example, Southold and Southampton were founded in 1640 by settlers from New Haven and Lynn, respectively.[3] These people carried with them the typical New England institutions of Calvinist religion, the town meeting, and commitment to English liberty. Once settled on Long Island, these twice-transplanted Puritans developed a sense of identity which set them apart, both from their Dutch neighbors to the west and their compatriots on the mainland.

During most of the Island's settlement period, England herself was distracted by the political and religious upheavals of the Civil War — climaxed in 1649 with the beheading of Charles I — the Puritan Commonwealth, and the semi-military dictatorship of Oliver Cromwell. Despite these domestic disorders, whatever government ruled in London constantly sought to control the colonies and regulate their trade. These efforts intensified after the Stuart Restoration of 1660 and the conquest of New Netherland, four years later. Power to govern the region including Long Island was given by Charles II to his brother, the Duke of York, who became James II in 1685.

James heightened the tension by setting up the Dominion of New England, imposing a centralized government over the northern colonies. The Dominion offended the religious and political sentiments of the people of New England and New York, among them the freedom-minded independents of Suffolk, Kings, and Queens. This forced consolidation ended after the Glorious Revolution in England drove James II from his throne.

In New York, this event was reflected in Leisler's Revolt, which overthrew the Dominion. Most Long Islanders sided with Jacob Leisler's endorsement of William and Mary, but as he became "increasingly domineering and demagogic," his supporters — including the towns of Queens County — turned against him and helped to remove him in 1691. Perhaps some were less than elated by his grisly execution: tried and found guilty of treason, Leisler and his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne, were hanged in accord with the order that "being Alive their bodys be Cutt downe ... Their Bowells taken out and. . .burnt before their faces...their heads struck off and their Bodys Cutt in four parts."[4]

In the decades after 1689, America developed a distinct colonial culture. Officers of the British crown sought without marked success to exercise greater administrative control. The Assemblies of several colonies, New York in particular, were able to thwart the royal governor's authority through their control of finance: the notion of home rule as a basic constitutional right was conceived in America many decades before the Revolution.

Yet throughout this period most colonists devoted comparatively little time to politics; they were constrained to spend the greater part of their energies earning their daily bread. Colonial America, outside of a few large towns, was essentially a frontier society, concentrating its efforts on subduing the soil and the sea. Long Island's settlers supported themselves by tilling the soil, and the grassy plains of the central Island, America's first prairie, made possible the pasturage of horses, cattle, and sheep. In addition, with north and south coasts on the Sound and the sea, endowed with hospitable harbors and bays, the Island was ideally suited to fin and shell fishing, coastal trading, and other maritime pursuits.

The colonists did not neglect the spirit of the distinctive religious systems they brought from Europe, which they fervently upheld and sometimes modified. This sometimes resulted in clashes between Anglican and Nonconformist sects: as a consequence of the Great Awakening of the 1740s, deep rifts appeared in the body of local Protestantism.

Despite their Christian commitment, the settlers of many colonies were hostile to native Americans; happily, Long Island was largely free of such friction.[5] Slavery was a common practice, with New York the leading Northern colony in proportion of slaves to population (the Gardiners kept two hundred slaves on their island: Suffolk County's black population was 13 percent of the total in 1790).[6] A recent study claims that whether free or slave, Long Island's blacks were "worse off than their brethren in New England and somewhat better off than their southern counterparts."[7]

Throughout the period, settlers sought to improve the quality of life. Roads and highways were laid out by counties and towns; a Brooklyn-Manhattan ferry existed almost from the beginning, and by the start of the eighteenth century a new service linked Long Island with Connecticut. By 1750, Americans thought of themselves as a people, with character, interests, and ideals distinct from far more stratified mother England's; they fiercely cherished self-government, subject to minimum supervision by Britain's Crown and Parliament.

At this moment the British government chose a series of ill-considered actions to reinforce its power. The lands west of the Appalachians, for which Americans had fought in the French and Indian War (1754-1763), and which they now were planning to populate, were closed indefinitely to settlement. A succession of taxes, regulations, and trading restrictions aroused the colonists to fight for and win independence: three Long Islanders signed the Declaration — Francis Lewis of Whitestone, William Floyd of Mastic, and Philip Livingston of Brooklyn Heights. After Washington's defeat in the Battle of Long Island, all three counties were occupied by the British for the duration. The issue of loyalty caused disagreements, some Islanders taking the British side and others supporting the Patriot cause.

Before the end of the Revolution, the Articles of Confederation established an imperfect union among the states; in 1787 the Constitution cemented this union within a framework of national rule that also respected the rights of the states. At the convention held in Poughkeepsie in 1788, New York, with all but two of Long Island's eleven delegates voting "yes," ratified "in full confidence" that a Bill of Rights would follow.[8]

In the War of 1812, the British fleet blockaded the Sound but did not attempt an invasion. With the coming of peace, Americans turned their considerable energies to the task of conquering a continent. Long Island culture was carried with them by those who made the westward journey, abetted by innovations in transportation including the steamboat and locomotive, and the reaper and steel plow in agriculture. At the same time, an eastern frontier was opened when the Long Island Railroad from Brooklyn to Greenport was finished in 1844, an earlier, smaller harbinger of the transcontinental line. The "golden spike" was hammered in place at Punk's Hole (upgraded to Manorville) when the crew moving east from Hardscrabble (Farmingdale) met their colleagues working west from Riverhead.[9]

As the country expanded, the economy grew richer and more diversified. Although whaling, fishing, and shipbuilding flourished, the main occupation was agriculture. In the face of western competition, Long Islanders eased up on wheat and turned to vegetable, fruit, and dairy farming. They tended the soil more intensively, raised large quantities of corn, oats, and hay to feed their livestock, and by boat or the newly built railroad shipped their produce and cordwood to urban centers.[10]

Along with economic changes, there was a drift of people cityward. Some villages — Brooklyn, for one — became prosperous urban centers: from a "town of barely 7,700 in 1820, it mushroomed into an 'instant city' of 266,000 in 1860."— Little wonder that Americans of this period, a restless, hardworking, ambitious people, viewed brightly the nation's prospects.

As ever, there were problems, to which a host of reformers responded with remedies for social ills. The two generations before the Civil War constituted perhaps the greatest era of reform in American history, with movements advocating a rainbow of causes from anti-slavery, woman's rights, peace, temperance, homesteads, universal public education, trade unions, wholesome food and diet, extension of suffrage, and humane prisons and asylums to spiritualism, phrenology, and homeopathic medicine.

Others followed a different path to perfection by forming ideal villages for the world to observe and emulate. Of the well more than 100 Utopian colonies that sprouted in antebellum America, two were on Long Island. The

Oneida Community's Brooklyn branch was a short-lived venture, late in the 1840s, that soon was closed and merged with the mother colony. The other was Modern Times (1851-1864), an egalitarian enclave that tested many of the above reforms until, plagued by a lurid (and undeserved) reputation for "free love," the settlers changed the name of the village to its present one of Brentwood. Modern Times was more than an experiment in individual sovereignty: in the context of Long Island history, it was an eastward movement of pioneers who proved the fertility of the pine barrens and the usefulness of the Long Island Railroad when neither was well regarded.[12]

Of the problems confronting the country at mid-century, one loomed larger and more intractable than all the rest — slavery, and more specifically, the question of slavery in the Territories. When the Civil War erupted, Long Islanders soft-pedalled political differences and rallied to Lincoln's support. As the conflict wore on and casualties mounted among the 30,000 Islanders who served in the Union forces, opposition to the administration rose sharply among northern Democrats. In 1864, a majority of Kings and Queens voters cast their ballots for George B. McLellan, although Lincoln carried Suffolk. When Lee surrendered some five months later, the North settled back to savor its hard-fought victory: less than one week, later Lincoln was assassinated. It took time, but gradually the sense of shock and outrage passed: life belongs to the living, and Americans in the years after 1865 had major problems with which to grapple.

The Gilded Age — the three decades after the Civil War — conjures up images of Morgan, Tweed, and Credit Mobilier, of robber barons, political bosses, and rampant corruption. Yet behind the greed and the graft, certain trends gave shape to the modern nation. Willy-nilly, science and technology increasingly intruded into the lives of people. In the economic arena, the emergence of large corporations revamped the structure of business enterprise, but except for Brooklyn, Long Island was not yet a center of industry.

Yet in many ways, affairs on the Island reflected the wider picture. Long Island had its share of impressive personalities: Walt Whitman; A.T.Stewart, the New York merchant who founded Garden City; Henry Ward Beecher, the antislavery minister; Hugh McLaughlin, Brooklyn's political boss; and Austin Corbin, a financier and resort developer who "did more than almost anyone else in bringing Long Island out of its nineteenth-century agrarian isolation."[13]

As with the nation as a whole, it was the underlying processes more than outstanding individuals that molded the lives and fortunes of Long Islanders. Of these processes, none was more important than urbanization and the accompanying spill-over of people into the suburbs.[14] During the Gilded Age, Brooklyn was the population center of Long Island (see the accompanying chart). Almost eight of every ten Islanders lived there in 1890. It was also a city of dynamic growth. By 1890 its population had risen to more than eight hundred thousand, an increase of nearly 240,000 over the total for 1880, ranking it among the nation's three or four largest cities and industrial centers. Not surprisingly, Brooklyn confronted the same kind of challenges facing other American cities — slums, crowding, poverty, waste disposal, and social unrest (including a violent and bloody strike of trolley workers in 1895).

Beset as they were by problems, American cities showed signs of progress. Brooklyn, for example, provided improved sanitation and new recreational outlets like Prospect Park, designed expertly by Frederick Law Olmstead and Calvert Vaux, the architects of Central Park. The construction of elevated railroad and trolley car lines helped to relieve congestion by enabling middle-class folk to move out of the central city to nearby suburban areas.

Finally, there was Brooklyn Bridge, a dazzling feat of technology — perhaps the finest of the age — that for the first time physically connected Long Island with Manhattan. It hardly seems a coincidence that in 1898, fifteen years after the Great Bridge was completed, Brooklyn together with western Queens became part of Greater New York City.[15]

NOTES

1. For a more extensive discussion of topics in this essay, see James E. Bunce and Richard P. Harmond, *Long Island As America: A Documentary History to 1896* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1977).

2. The name was given by Adrian Block, the Dutch explorer, who proved that Long Island was free from the mainland by sailing around it in 1614.

3. Lion Gardiner, the first English settler, brought his family from Saybrook to Gardiner's Island in 1639. This independent Manor was annexed to the town of East Hampton in 1788, but is still the domain of the Gardiners', now in their 16th American generation.

4. Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), p. 126. Leisler's Rebellion was more than a political conflict: it reflected ethnic, religious, and urban-rural tensions.

5. A less sanguine view of how Long Island settlers treated native Americans during the early contact period will be presented by Dr. Gaynell Stone in our next issue (Spring 1989).

6. Jason Epstein and Elizabeth Barlow, *East Hampton: A History and Guide* (New York: Random House, 1985), p. 43.

7. A. Leon Higginbotham,Jr.,*In the Matter of Color: Race & the American Legal Process: the Colonial Period* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 100. For slavery on Long Island, see Grania Bolton Marcus in this issue of *LIHJ*, and the same author's *A Forgotten People: Discovering the Black Experience in Suffolk County* (Setauket, NY: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, forthcoming); Richard S. Moss, "Slavery On Long Island: Its Rise and Decline During the Seventeenth Through the Nineteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, St. John's University, 1985); and Peter Ross, "Slavery On Long Island," in *A History of Long Island From It's Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Publishing Co.,1902), 1:119-133, an older but informative study.

8. Luise Weiss examines ratification, in the current issue of *LIHJ.*

9. The LIRR was not built to serve the Island, but rather as a short-lived effort to link New York with Boston. See Edwin L. Dunbaugh, "New York to Boston via the Long Island Railway, 1844-1847, in *Evoking a Sense of Place*, Joann P. Krieg, ed.(Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1988), pp. 74-84.

10. See Richard A. Wines, "The Nineteenth-Century Agricultural Transition In An Eastern Long Island Community," *Agricultural History* 55 (January 1981): 50 — 63.

11. Roger W. Lotchin, "Brooklyn From First Suburb to Third City," in *Between Ocean and Empire: An Illustrated History of Long Island* (Northridge, CA: Windsor Publications, 1985), p. 96.

12. See Roger Wunderlich, "Low Living and High Thinking in Modern Times, New York, 1851-1864" (Ph.D. dissertation, SUNY at Stony Brook, 1986).

13. Robert B. MacKay,"Austin Corbin," in *Ocean and Empire*, p. 117.

14. Geoffrey L. Rossano discusses suburban development in the second part of this article.

15. For the reasons for the merger, see David C. Hammack, 'Urbanization policy; The Creation of Greater New York," in *Power In Society; Greater New York At the Turn of the Century* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1982), pp. 185-229.

LONG ISLAND POPULATION STATISTICS

YEAR	*KINGS COUNTY*	*QUEENS COUNTY*	*SUFFOLK COUNTY*	*TOTAL*
1698	2,017	2,565	2,679	7,261
1800	5,740 (Brooklyn: 2,378)	16,961	19,735	42,436
1830	20,535 (Brooklyn: 15,394)	22,460	26,780	9,775
1850	138,882 (Brooklyn: 96,838)	36,833	36,922	212,637
1880	599,495 (Brooklyn: 566,663)	90,574	53,888	743,957
1890	838,547 (Brooklyn: 806,343)	128,059	62,491	1,029,097

	BROOKLYN	*QUEENS*	*NASSAU*	*SUFFOLK*	*TOTAL*
1900	1,116,582	152,999	55,448	77,582	1,452,611
1930	2,560,400	1,079,100	303,100	161,100	4,103,708
1950	2,738,200	1,550,800	672,800	276,100	5,237,900
1980	2,231,000	1,891,300	1,321,600	1,284,200	6,728,100

2. The Twentieth Century
By Geoffrey L. Rossano

As the new century approached, Long Island stood poised on the brink of great change. In the next eight decades, Walt Whitman's Paumanok would experience the dramatic developments that molded modern America. A transportation revolution, the decline of agriculture, the rise of the suburbs, and the growth of a military-industrial complex were fully reflected on the local stage. National obsessions, triumphs, and tragedies from the "Roaring Twenties" to the Depression, World War Two, the protest movements of the 1960s, and the race for the moon left their mark.

All this lay far in the future: for a few more years, at least, the old life survived. In the late nineteenth century, despite explosive growth in Brooklyn and Manhattan, frequent visits by thousands of excursionists, and the activities of wealthy estate builders, the population of eastern Long Island increased slowly. Hempstead, Freeport, Huntington, Riverhead, Greenport, and Patchogue remained small villages counting but a few thousand residents each. Manufacturing was limited, with large industrial plants almost nonexistent. Instead, fishing and agriculture flourished. Growers from New Hyde Park to Southold produced bountiful crops of vegetables, fruits, potatoes, and ducks. Maritime trades dominated economic life at Port Jefferson, Greenport, and a score of coastal villages, while baymen and fishermen scoured the waters of Great South Bay, Long Island Sound, and Peconic Bay. For thousands of citizens, the life of the one-room schoolhouse, kerosene lamp, general store, and horse-drawn wagon seemed little changed from earlier times.[1]

Many Long Islanders manifested their reluctance to be drawn more tightly into New York City's orbit by opposing the urban consolidation movement of the late 1890s. While the western Queens County towns — Newton, Flushing, Jamaica — had grown increasingly urban, industrial, and Democratic, the eastern towns of Hempstead, North Hempstead, and Oyster Bay remained largely rural, agricultural, and Republican. When, in 1896, legislation was passed making western Queens and Brooklyn parts of a unified New York City, leaders in the remaining townships pressed for the creation of an independent Nassau County. In spite of intense Democratic opposition, the new jurisdiction came into existence in January 1899, with an initial population of 55,000. The following year, Governor Theodore Roosevelt officiated at the groundbreaking ceremony for a new courthouse in Mineola.

The story of Brooklyn and Queens in the twentieth century belongs to the larger history of New York City, as well as to Long Island history. Nassau and Suffolk Counties pursued a related but separate path of development, not part of the city, but not apart from it, either.[2]

Eastern Long Island's apparent rural simplicity and isolation were deceiving. Nassau's agriculture began to recede as productive fields were converted to estates and building lots. Railroads and steamboats annually brought thousands of urban vacationers to the many waterfront hotels and cottages.

Modern conveniences also appeared — telephones in the 1880s, electric power the following decade. The first automobiles chugged onto the scene shortly after.

A rapidly developing, urban-oriented, system of transportation, stressing speed and convenience, was probably the most important development changing the fabric of Long Island life. By the close of the century, workers as far off as Huntington Station rode the morning train to their jobs in New York City. After 1900, the pace of modernization accelerated. The Long Island Railroad announced plans to dig a tunnel under the East River and erect an imposing terminal on Seventh Avenue (completed in 1910). A new station also arose in downtown Brooklyn. Track electrification to Hempstead and Babylon sharply reduced commuting time. Several local traction companies constructed north-south trolley lines serving Huntington, Amityville, Freeport, Mineola, and Port Washington.[3]

Vehicular traffic was stimulated by the building of three massive bridges across the East River between 1903 and 1909. A millionaire sportsman, William K. Vanderbilt, Jr., backed construction of a limited-access motor parkway, running 48 miles from Flushing to Lake Ronkonkoma. By the outbreak of World War I, thousands of cars were owned by Long Islanders, while weekend throngs of New York drivers crowded the roads, a taste of things to come.

Another crucial cause of change was the formation of great estates by Gilded Age "Captains of Industry" (or "Robber Barons"!) bent on spending great sums of money on lavish country retreats to match their city mansions. Not far from the heart of American finance, accessible by land or water, and blessed with mild climate and pleasant topography, Long Island soon supported dozens of estates. Prosperous New Yorkers began to acquire summer homes as early as the 1850s; with each passing decade the homes grew larger and more luxurious, as the newly-rich sought to recreate the illusion of genteel English country life. By 1900 the north and south shores were dotted with mansions; in the next 15 years, 325 more were built.

Men of leisure brought varied recreational interests with them. From Lake Success to Shinnecock Hills, the Island sported a network of yacht clubs, fox hunts, polo fields, and golf and tennis country clubs. Art museums and other amenities flourished. The same men sponsored many modernization projects that altered the tempo and texture of local life, including electric power, telephone service, and better medical care. In many ways, the estates and their owners reshaped the landscape and local institutions to suit their needs. Nurseries replaced vegetable farms, racing stables supplanted dairy barns and henhouses. As the manor houses grew in number, however, cropland decreased and many long-time residents saw the process as an invasion which displaced original families. The tremendous demand for estate workers led to labor shortages in some local industries, and disputes over water rights often flared.[4]

While the wealthy erected mansions along the north and south shores, the improvement of railroad linkage attracted an influx of suburban commuters, members of America's emerging white-collar work force. Brand-new communities like Forest Hills and Kew Gardens sprang up in Queens. A bit further east, business travellers sped from Hempstead to Manhattan in only 38 minutes. Promoters touted burgeoning Floral Park, "where short travel hours and good train service are the essence."[8] Rural hamlets like Malverne sprouted residential neighborhoods, while such older centers as Garden City, Lynbrook, and Mineola grew rapidly. One group of investors created a whole new city among the dunes at Long Beach. Between 1900 and 1920, Nassau's population more than doubled to over 125,000.

Distant Suffolk felt the same impact, albeit at a slower rate. The pace of construction proved less frenetic, and the impact on traditional social and economic patterns gentler. The most concentrated development occurred along the South Shore branch of the Long Island Railroad, where good rail connection with New York City spurred significant growth in Amityville, Lindenhurst, Babylon, Islip, Bay Shore, and Patchogue.[5]

The outbreak of war in 1914 partially deflected attention from domestic affairs: when the United States entered the conflict in April 1917, Long Island eagerly joined the crusade. Gathered at Camp Mills, Garden City, the 42nd Rainbow Division readied for overseas duty with Douglas MacArthur, a rising star, among its officers. Further east in Suffolk, the 77th Infantry trained at Camp Upton, in Yaphank. Sergeant Irving Berlin passed the time there writing a show ("Yip, Yip, Yaphank") which ran on Broadway and included the lament, "Oh, How I Hate To Get Up In the Morning." Another song, cut from the actual production, came out two decades later as "God Bless America."

Long Island played a leading part in military aviation. Hundreds of Army fliers trained at Roosevelt and Mitchell Fields. The Navy established a seaplane base at Far Rockaway to guard the approaches to New York City, and an instruction facility at Bay Shore. During the war years, Glenn Curtiss built a huge plant in Garden City for military-related research, where the big NC flying boats that crossed the Atlantic from Rockaway to England were developed. The Island was host to the pioneering experiments of the inventor and aviator, Lawrence Sperry, who built the "Sperry Aerial Torpedo," an early form of auto-guided, flying bomb.[6]

The "Roaring Twenties" earned the name as much for a robust economy as for the escapades of liberated youth. Long Island joined the national parade by entering a period of sustained growth that neither future wars nor economic downturns could deter. This was most evident in Nassau, where the development of country estates and the rapid decline of agriculture altered the landscape permanently. New homes for financiers W.R.Coe, E.F.Hutton, Otto Kahn, Nicholas Brady, and Vincent Astor went up amidst spectacular gardens and carefully manicured vistas.

The twenties also brought prosperity to the nation's expanding middle class. Thousands of workers, employed by hundred of contractors, strained to keep pace with demand for housing. Villages on the rail lines doubled and quadrupled in population. The number of Nassau's residents surged from 125,000 in 1920 to 300,000 ten years later. The tide of development lapped into Suffolk, where railroad villages kept growing and population rose to more than 160,000.

The nation's love affair with the automobile attained full bloom in the 1920s, and nowhere was this more evident than on Long Island. State and local governments organized massive road building programs to accommodate the mushrooming number of cars (8800 in 1915, 110,000 in 1930). Old routes like Jericho Turnpike and Merrick Road were paved for the first time, even as work began on new arteries like the Sunrise Highway, which opened in 1928. Robert Moses, the master road-builder, pushed ahead with a network of garden parkways designed to bring urban visitors to the new state parks. Jones Beach, one of Moses' most famous, opened in 1929.[7]

In an age of personalities and mass communications, many public figures loomed larger than life, and Long Island attracted more than its share. In addition to financiers and industrialists, such authors and performers as Ring Lardner, F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald, Eddie Cantor, George M. Cohan, Will Rogers, Fanny Brice, D. W. Griffith, and W. C. Fields lived or summered here. The Astoria studio in Queens and the Vitagraph studio in Bay Shore made Long Island an early center of the motion picture industry. Daring cameramen filmed aerial battles high above Roosevelt Field, while Rudolph Valentino's "Sheik" galloped across the dunes at Montauk.

The Island maintained its position as a center of flight throughout the postwar era. The international Pulitzer Cup races were held here in 1920 and 1925; the Curtiss Company designed a series of racing planes that shattered the world speed record a dozen times, and James "Jimmy" Doolittle, later to win even greater fame for his "30 Seconds Over Tokyo," made the first instrument-only landing at Roosevelt Field in 1929. The most spectacular feat, of course, was young Charles A. Lindbergh's epic 1927 hop from Garden City to Paris.

Long Island was not immune from popular currents sweeping the country. Prohibition was no more honored here than elsewhere. A fleet of vessels with illegal cargoes anchored offshore on 'Rumrunners Row," and loads of bootleg liquor regularly came ashore at Freeport, in Great South Bay, and points east, with some flown in from Canada. Disillusionment with the World War, suspicion of foreigners, and general uneasiness with the rapid pace of social change gave impetus to the Ku Klux Klan, an unsavory expression of discontent which exerted great influence locally in the early and middle 1920s.[8]

The depression which followed the stock market crash of 1929 hit America, and Long Island, hard. The construction industry collapsed, local plants laid off employees, and great estates dismissed much of their staffs. At least 15 to 20 per cent of the workforce was out of a job. Though emergency work bureaus hired thousands to conduct traffic-accident surveys, install road signs, and perform similar tasks, there was never enough money or jobs to go around. By the spring of 1933, more than 23,000 people had applied for work relief in Nassau County alone.

With the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the onset of the New Deal, a host of agencies emerged to address the problem, including the Civil Works Administration (CWA), and later the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Washington provided funds for construction of post offices and other government buildings in many towns and villages, and hired artists and sculptors to embellish them. Millions of dollars were spent at Mitchell Field on hangars, offices, and housing, while the Public Works Administration (PWA) advanced two and a half million dollars to build a new courthouse complex in Mineola. For those unable to work, home relief programs put food on the table.

War clouds over Europe and Asia, and an accelerated rearmament program in the United States, helped to revive the Long Island economy. Both the Grumman Aircraft Company of Bethpage, organized in December 1929, and Republic Aircraft in Farmingdale erected huge new factories and hired thousands of workers. By the end of 1941, both plants were turning out hundreds of aircraft annually, with many more on order. Subcontractors and aviation equipment suppliers also took part in the upswing.

Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, large numbers of young men and women joined the armed forces. Local military facilities, especially the air base at Mitchell Field, expanded enormously. The Long Island aircraft industry even attracted a squad of German saboteurs, who landed from a submarine on the beach at Amagansett one evening in 1942. When they were rounded up and summarily tried by a military tribunal, they claimed but failed to obtain the protection of the Bill of Rights, in a series of cases that reached the Supreme Court.[9]

A seemingly endless stream of planes and equipment flowed from local shops and factories. Employment at Grumman climbed to 6,650 in early 1943 and peaked at 25,000 in 1945, as workers turned out fleets of "Wildcats," 'Hellcats," and "Avengers," more than 17,000 in all. This aerial armada figured prominently in the naval victory over Japan. At nearby Republic, a maximum labor force of 23,000 built 16,000 planes, especially the heavily-armed and armored P-47 "Thunderbolt," work horse of the European theater of war. The Sperry complex at Great Neck-Lake Success employed 32,000, and Fairchild Camera another 4,500. Special trains carried double and triple shifts to the plants. A total of 100,000 workers joined the production drive, including 40,000 women. For the first time in its history, Long Island industry dominated the economy.[10]

The pre-war changes which altered the Island's society, economy, and topography were but a prelude to the enormous transformation that engulfed the region after 1945. America was moving to suburbs and Long Island was one of the prime movers. In only 15 years, Nassau's population tripled to 1.3 million, and Suffolk's expanded to 1,125,000. Huge housing developments, of which Levittown was the national archetype, attracted armies of ex-G.I.'s and quickly spread over the landscape. By the mid-1950s, Nassau was America's fastest-growing suburb, and when its pace of construction slowed down, the rate of expansion in Suffolk picked up.[11]

The new communities were predominantly white and middle class, indicative of the negative impact of suburbanization on Manhattan, Brooklyn, and other urban areas. As Kenneth T. Jackson has observed, "the core" of many postwar cities was "identified with poor people, blacks, deterioration, older dwellings, and abandoned buildings."[12]

Conversion of fields to housing tracts marked the demise of Nassau's agriculture. The 27,000 acres of farmland remaining in 1945 dwindled to 7500 by 1960 and fewer than 1500 by 1980. Formerly rural villages like Plainview, Woodbury, and Jericho sprouted subdivisions instead of potatoes, and the western Suffolk towns of Huntington, Babylon, Brookhaven, and Islip followed suit. Further east, however, farming persisted as growers kept producing bountiful and valuable crops of potatoes, vegetables, fruit and later, wine grapes.[13]

Rapid population growth meant an explosion in the number of automobiles to nearly 1.5 million by the time the expansion phase ended. More cars meant more roads. Older highways and secondary roads were widened and new arteries added, such as the Meadowbrook Parkway, Seaford-Oyster Bay Expressway, and Sunrise Highway extension. The most famous project of all was the Long Island Expressway, begun in 1955 and finally reaching Riverhead in 1972. This concrete spine down the Island's center facilitated expansion of housing and industry — at a cost of frequent and monumental traffic jams.

The newly-dominant aviation industry powered much of the Island's spectacular growth in the early post-war period. Re-armament spurred by the Korean War was the impetus for Grumman, Republic, Sperry, Fairchild, and Arma to provide thousands of high-paying jobs. By the 1960s, Long Island's aircraft contractors entered the space age; every American astronaut who went to the moon travelled in a vehicle made by Grumman.[14]

The nearly instantaneous creation of vast suburban communities spawned a huge network of educational, commercial, and recreational facilities. Schools for hundreds of thousands of youngsters appeared almost overnight. Established colleges like Hofstra and Adelphi grew rapidly, while new ones like C.W.Post, Nassau Community College, the State University of New York at Stony Brook, and Suffolk Community College mushroomed in barely a decade.

Retail outlets also expanded, especially the shopping mall, the new suburban mecca, with its massive complex of scores of shops and services beckoning consumers. Beaches, mature preserves, golf courses, pools, and campgrounds provided recreational opportunities on an increasingly crowded Island. A major league indoor sports arena opened in 1971 on the site of Mitchell Field, abandoned by the Air Force during the 1960s. In barely 25 years, Long Island swelled from a network of villages, farms, and small residential communities into one of America's leading suburbs, confronted for the first time with the issues of a maturing economy and population. The passing of the baby boom, reduced in-migration of young families, rising energy costs and mortgage rates, and the soaring price of gasoline gave the economy a sharp jolt. In the 1970s, Nassau experienced net out-migration, and growth in Suffolk slowed dramatically. Some schools fell idle and closed, others were converted to alternative uses. Polluted groundwater — whether from industrial chemicals, pesticides, or septic systems — posed an increased threat. In spite of investment in massive sewer and sewer treatment projects, water shortages loomed on the horizon. Adequate sources of reasonably priced electric power eluded residents and officials. The promise of the costly Shoreham nuclear plant gave way to interminable wrangling, frustration, and probable closing of the project. Overcrowded highways, limited public transportation, severe shortages of affordable housing, and the problem of solid waste disposal all clogged the public agenda.

For all these drawbacks, the local economy rebounded mightily in the early 1980s. Population began to grow again as the Island embarked on yet another transformation. Construction of mammoth office complexes, the intensive development of high-tech industry, the maturation of leading educational institutions, and the expansion of government services combined to create a more autonomous economy and society. As the proportion of commuters dropped to hardly 25% of the workforce, the lowest level since World War I, large numbers of women entered the job market, driven by economic necessity and assisted by federal legislation.

As another new century approached, Long Island reflected, as it has throughout its history, the experiences of the country at large. Whatever the nation's successes had been, Long Island played a part; whatever its difficulties, local citizens endured them. When the United States became a suburban society, Long Island shared the lead. But that only made sense, for Long Island is, and always has been, America.

NOTES

1. Among many views of this period, see Christopher Vagts, *Suffolk, A Pictorial History* (Huntington: 1983); Bette Weidman and Linda Martin, *Nassau, Long Island in Early Photographs 1959-1940* (New York: 1981), Lawrence Taylor, *Dutchmen on the Bay: The Ethnohistory of a Contractual Community* (Philadelphia: 1983); David W. McCullough, *Brooklyn...And How It Got That Way* (New York: 1983), and Frederick Lightfoot, Linda B. Martin, and Bette S. Weidman, *Suffolk County, Long Island in Early Photographs 1867-1951* (New York: 1974).

2. For the Nassau/Queens separation, see Edward Smits, *Nassau-Suburbia, U.S.A.* (Garden City, 1974), and Paul E. Kerson, "Union of Queens With New York City: What Was Gained and What Was Lost" (Long Island Collection, Queens Borough Public Library, Jamaica, NY). For modern Queens, see Janet E. Leiberman and Richard R. Leiberman, *City Limits: A Social History of Queens* (Dubuque, Iowa:1983), and Vincent F. Seyfried, *Queens, A Pictorial History* (Norfolk, Va.: 1982); for Brooklyn, Ralph Foster Weld, *Brooklyn is America* (New York:1950), Rita Miller, ed., *Brooklyn, U.S.A.* (Brooklyn: 1979), and David Ment, *The Shaping of a City: A Brief History of Brooklyn* (New York, 1979).

3. See Vincent F. Seyfried, *The Long Island Railroad, A Complete History*, 5 vols. (Garden City, NY: 1961-1971) and *The New York and North Shore Traction Company* (Hollis: 1955).

4. See Lisa Sclare and Donald Sclare, *Beaux-Artes Estates — A Guide to the Architecture of Long Island's Gold Coast* (New York: 1975), and Monica Randall, *The Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast* (New York: 1979).

5. For the transformation of Long Island life, see Robert MacKay, Geoffrey Rossano, and Carol Traynor, eds., *Between Ocean and Empire: An Illustrated History of Long Island* (Northridge, CA: 1985), especially chapter 8.

6. See Preston Bassett, *Long Island — Cradle of Aviation* (Amityville, NY: 1949).

7. Moses is the subject of Robert Caro's, *The Power Broker — Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York: 1974), esp. chapters 9, 11-13, 17; see Edith Fullerton, *History of Long Island Agriculture* (Jamaica, NY: 1929), for the impact of development on local farming.

8. See Frank Cavioli, "People, PLaces, and the KKK on Long Island," *Long Island Forum* XLIX (August 1986): 159-167.

9. The cases are discussed in Alfred H. Kelly, Winfred A. Harbison, and Herman Belz, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development*, 6th ed. (New York: 1983), pp. 566-569.

10. See Geoffrey Rossano, "Suburbia Armed: Nassau County Development and the Rise of the Aerospace Industry, 1909-60," in *The Martial Metropolis — U.S. Cities in War and Peace*, Roger Lotchin, ed. (New York: 1984).

11. For Levittown, see Barbara Kelly in this issue of LIHJ. Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: 1985), examines the post-war move to the suburbs on a national scale, with emphasis on the key role played by California. Also see William Dobriner, *Class in Suburbia* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: 1963), and Salvatore LaGumina, ed., *Ethnicity in Suburbia* (Garden City: 1980).

12. Kenneth T. Jackson, "The Effect of Suburbanization on the Cities," in Philip C. Dolce, ed., *Suburbia: The American Dream in Dilemma* (Garden City, NY: 1976), p. 90. Also see Harold X. Connolly, *A Ghetto Grows in Brooklyn* (New York: 1977).

13. How a traditional occupation fared in the face of development is traced in Peter Matthiessen, *Men's Lives — The Surfmen and Baymen of the South Fork* (New York: 1986).

14. See William Kaiser and Charles Stonier, eds., *The Development of the Aerospace Industry on Long Island* (Hempstead: 1968).

A Forgotten People:
Dicovering The Black Experience In Suffolk County
CHAPTER V: DAILY LIFE
By Grania Bolton Marcus

Editor's note: A Forgotten People *traces the history and contribution of Long Island's black residents from the seventeenth century through 1860. Individual chapters highlight the growth of slavery, the work and contribution of blacks to the Island's agrarian economy, family life, daily life, religion and education, and the rewards and limits of freedom. The book can also be used as a manual for high school and college teachers, with study, essay, and class participation questions following each chapter. We thank the publisher, the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, Setauket, New York, for allowing us to present this excerpt in advance of the book's publication. (The author has preserved the original spelling in every document.)*

One major question we confront when we study the documents and physical remains of slavery is: what were the conditions of slave life? Recent historians drawing upon the relatively abundant documents surviving from southern slavery, and in particular from plantation slavery, have argued that slaves were generally adequately clothed, fed, and housed, but that these conditions varied with the prosperity of the owners. Owners frequently provided educational instruction, although in some states slave codes forbade teaching a slave to read. But some slaves did learn to read, write, and figure, often from others in the slave community, sometimes through the encouragement of their master or mistress. Religious observance, and instruction in the Bible, were often nurtured and taught by the slaves themselves. Slaves enriched their own lives and lightened their own burdens: slave musicians played at dances and gatherings, artists expressed strength and individuality which survived the rigors of slavery, and friends and family gathered for slave weddings, births, and funerals.

As with the documentation of southern slave life, the less rich documentation for northern slavery rarely comes directly from the enslaved themselves. For example, while the author has found no documents describing slave diet on Long Island, the evidence is clear that slaves shared much of their masters' condition. We can therefore guess that slaves probably received an adequate country diet, perhaps supplemented by fish and by produce from their own gardens. Similarly, we have to infer from a few clues that enslaved people on Long Island spent their leisure time in pursuits similar to other rural Long Islanders.

Although the absence of documents directly from black sources particularly limits our view of everyday slave life on Long Island, the documents in this chapter do provide important pieces of the puzzle. Slaves on Long Island wereprovided with rudimentary shelter, usually in the owner's house, simple clothing, bedding and household possessions which were recognized as their own. Medical care seems to have reflected that available to a slave's owner. Although most slaves were illiterate, we have documented a numbers of instances in which slaves learned to read and write, sometimes through their own efforts or with the assistance of another slave. An 1810 law required slaves be taught to read Scripture.

Religious life was important and many slaves attended services and became members of Long Island churches. Even so, the relatively few slave baptisms indicate that most slaves must have acquired their knowledge of the Bible outside of the formal churches. One slave, Jupiter Hammon, who wrote religious verse, was the first black poet in America. The Reverend Paul Cuffee, a black preacher, achieved fame preaching to blacks, Indians, and whites on Long Island. Although some slaves were honored in Christian funerals attended by blacks and whites, very few slave markers survive on Long Island and most evidence indicates that slaves were buried in unmarked graves, possibly following African burial customs.

Despite the evident closeness of black and white life on rural Long Island, slaves and masters often struggled against each other. Slaves sometimes resisted by running away or sabotaging his or her work. Masters are known to have retaliated by disciplining or selling a slave they could not manage. But in some instances, the two drew close in mutual respect, as in the case of Seth and Maria Tuthill of Oysterponds (the present Orient), who asked to be buried alongside their slaves. The following documents offer many views of the day-to-day lives of Long Island slaves.

1) Religion and Education

This section contains evidence of the importance of religion in the lives of Long Island slaves, and of some ways in which slaves acquired skills in reading and writing. The records of early churches, including those of Huntington, Smithtown, Setauket, and Southampton, demonstrate that as early as the beginning of the 18th century slaves regularly attended and became communicant members of some Long Island churches. Unique records such as the surviving writings of the Lloyd family's slave poet, Jupiter Hammon, and the gravestone of the Mount family slave, Cane, help us to learn of the centrality of Christianity in the lives of at least a few slaves. While nineteenth-century obituaries of men and women born in slavery on Long Island are not abundant, and frequently reflect the values of the white obituary writers, those such as the obituary of Elymas Reeve of Mattituck do give us information on how a former slave's religious education was acquired. Indentures, or contracts for the services of an individual, which contained the obligations of the individual contracting the services, often included a provision for teaching an indentured child to read and write. Many of them survive.

The Reverend James Greaton was pastor at Huntington's "Old First" Presbyterian Church. This passage comes from the church records.

> *My hearers behave with the greatest decency at public worship...among whom are a number of negroes (between 30-40) the masters of which come to church... The negroes behavior is highly meritorious and many of them are really Patterns of Goodness. Some of them read well, and accurately perform the responses to the church and one is a member in full communion... am in hopes that there will be further addition of them.*

[Frank J. Klingberg, *Angelican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York* (Philadelphia: The Church Historical Society, 1940), p.179].

The author of this unusual epitaph for Cane is not definitely known, but it is said to have been Ruth Hallock Smith. Cane was owned by the Mount family and buried in the Mount family burying ground in Stony Brook.

Beneath this stone was put
the mortal part of Cane,
a colour'd person.
He was born the 27th of Decr. 1738
and died the 12th of Jany. 1814,
in the 77th year of his age.
Cane was an honest man.
Tho nature ting'd his skin, and custom mark'd
Him "Slave"! his mind
Was fair, free and independent.
His life, all though, was such as did command
Esteem from those who knew him and
In death, he shew'd examples of
Religion, full
Convincing of his christian faith,
That his Redeemer liv'd
And he should see his face.

[Epitaph, Cane tombstone, 1814. The Museums at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, New York.]

Jupiter Hammon's "An Address to Miss Phillis Wheatly" was written in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1778 where Hammon was living in exile with his master Joseph Lloyd, who had fled Long Island when the British occupied it. Phillis Wheatley was a contemporary black poet who resided in Boston. This poem is a good example of Hammon's employment of Christian themes and his learned view of Africa as "a heathen shore."

AN ADDRESS
TO
MISS PHILLIS WHEATLY

I

O come you pious youth! adore
The wisdom of thy God,
In bringing thee from distant shore,
To learn his holy word

Eccles. xii.

II

Thou mightst been left behind
Amidst a dark abode.
God's tender mercy still combin'd
Thou hast the holy word

Psal. cxxxv, 2,3.

III

Fair wisdom's ways are paths of peace
And they that walk therein
Shall reap the joys that never cease,
And Christ shall be their king.

Psal. i. 1, 2; Prov. iii, 7.

IV

God's tender mercy brought thee here:
Tost o'er the raging main;
In Christian faith thou hast a share,
Worth all the gold of Spain.

Psal. ciii, 1, 3, 4.

V

While thousands tossed by the sea,
And others settled down,
God's tender mercy set thee free,
From dangers that come down.

Death.

....

IX

Come you, Phillis, now aspire
And seek the living God
So step by step thou mayst go higher,
Till perfect in the word.

Matth. vii. 7, 8.

X

While thousands mov'd to distant shore,
And others left behind,
The blessed Jesus still adore,
Implant this in thy mind.

Psal. lxxxix. 1.

XI

Thou hast left the heathen shore;
Thro' mercy of the Lord,
Among the heathen live no more,
Come magnify thy God.

Psal. xxxiv. 1, 2, 3.

....

XIII

Thou, Phillis, when thou hunger hast,
Or pantest for thy God;
Jesus Christ is thy relief.
Thou hast the holy word.

Psal. xiii. 1, 2, 3.

[Stanley A. Ransom, Jr., ed., *America's First Negro Poet: Jupiter Hammon of Long Island* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1970), pp. 49-53].

Perhaps the best known work by Hammon (c.1720-c.1800) is "An Address to the Negroes in the State of New York," first published in 1787. He clearly regards slavery as unlawful in the sight of God, but counsels his fellow slaves to obey their masters in order to obtain better treatment. He was himself content to remain in slavery, but wanted to see the younger slaves freed. Hammon's views no doubt were influenced by his experience as a slave of the Lloyd family.

AN
ADDRESS TO THE NEGROES
IN THE
STATE OF NEW-YORK

When I am writing to you with a design to say something to you for your good, and with a view to promote your happiness, I can with truth and sincerity join with the apostle Paul, when speaking of his own nation the Jews, and say: "That I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh." . . . I have wanted exceedingly to say something to you, tocall upon you to give you the last, and I may say dying advice, of an old man, who wishes your best good in this world, *and in the world to come... I have had more experience in the world than most of you, and I have seen a great deal of the vanity and wickedness of it. I have great reason to be thankful that my lot has been so much better than most slaves have had. I suppose I have had more advantages and privileges than most of you, who are slaves, have ever enjoyed, for which I desire to bless God, and pray that he may bless those who have given them to me. I do not, my dear friends, say these things about myself to make you think that I am wiser or better than others, but you might hearken, without prejudice, to what I have to say to you on the following particulars.*

1st. Respecting obedience to masters. Now whether it is right, and lawful, in the sight of God, for them, to make slaves of us or not. I am certain that while we are slaves, it is our duty to obey our masters, in all their lawful commands, and mind them unless we are bid to do that which we know to be sin, or forbidden in God's word. The apostle Paul says: "Servants be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling in singleness in your heart as unto Christ: Not with eye service, as men pleasers, but as the servants of Christ doing the will of God from the heart: With good will doing service to the Lord, and not to men: Knowing that whatever thing a man doeth the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free." —Here is a plain command of God for us to obey our masters. It may seem hard for us, if we think our masters wrong in holding us as slaves, to obey in all things, but who of us dare dispute with God! He has commanded us to obey and we ought to do it cheerfully, and freely. This should be done by us, not only because God commands, but because our own peace and comfort depend upon it. As we depend upon our masters, for what we eat and drink, and wear, and for all our comfortable things in this world, we cannot be happay, unless we please them. This we cannot do without obeying them freely, without muttering or finding fault. If a servant strives to please his master and studies and takes pains to do it, I believe there are but few masters who would use such servant cruelly. Good servants frequently make good masters. If your master is really hard, unreasonable and cruel, there is no way so likely for you to convince him of it, as always to obey his commands, and try to serve him, and take care of his interest, and try to promote it all in your power. If you are proud and stubborn and always finding fault, your master will think the fault lies wholly on your side; but if you are humble, and meek, and bear all things patiently, your *master may think he is wrong; if he does not, his neighbors will be apt to see it, and will befriend you, and try to alter his conduct. If this does not do, you must cry to him, who has the hearts of all men in his hands, and turneth them as the rivers of waters are turned.*

[Ransom, *America's First Negro Poet*, pp. 106-109].

In the following two indentures, William Smith, the proprietor of the Manor of St. George in the Town of Brookhaven, contracts for the services of two children, and promises to teach them to read.

January 23, 1786, Doll, the Wife of my Negro Man Cato, Says that the boy her son named Isaac is Aged Nine Years four Months and seven days and that he was born ye Seventeenth of September 1776 which she Says She Consents Shall live with his Master Wm. Smith, his heirs and assigns untill he shall arive to the Age of twenty-one Years his Master learning him to Read and if the Boy has a Mind to it to learn him to write and When he shall come to the age of twenty-one Years to Give his Common Wearing Cloaths. His time will be out the 17th Sept. 1797.
In pressants of
Maria Smith — *Dolls (X) Mark*
Hannah Smith — Wm Smith

[Indenture, Isaac to William Smith, 23 January 1786, Egbert Tangier Smith Account/Log Book. Rhodes Memorial Collection, Emma S. Clark Memorial Library, Setauket, New York.]

January 24th, 1786, Amy the wife of my Negro Man Doth Consent to put her daughter Jane to Wm Smith his heirs and assigns and says She Was born ye 17th of December 1776 and to Serve the Said William Smith his heirs etc. untill she Shall Arrive at ye Age of Eighteen Years Old, which will Expire in the Year 1793 on the 17th of December, the said Wm. Smith promises if She inclines to it to learn her to read, and at the end of her Servitude to Give her a New Suit of Cloath from head to foot.
In pressants of
Maria Smith — *Amies A Mark*
Hannah Smith — *Wm. Smith*

[Indenture, Jane to William Smith, 24 January 1786. Ibid].

Elymas Reeve, born a slave in Southold, was a member of the Southold Presbyterian Church for 64 years at the time of his death. As a slave, Reeve became a farm manager. After he was freed, he ran his own prosperous farm. Nothing else is known of the Betty who conducted Reeve's religious education.

'LYMAS

The tenth of April, 1870 closed the mortal life of one of the most remarkable men ever mentioned in the annals of the town of Southold throughout the two hundred and thirty years of its history.

Elymas Reeve — much more generally known by the familiar name of "'Lymas" was born in this town early in the year 1784, a slave to the estate of James Reeve. He remained and grew up to manhood in this condition, manifesting no peculiarities of life or character in his youth, to make history as specially interesting, except those which pertained to his religious education.

This was mainly conducted by Betty, a blind slave of Joshua Tuthill, the great grandfather of the present Deacon, Ira Tuthill. She had become entirely blind before 'Lymas was born, but she had previously committed to her retentive memory the most of the Bible and all of Watts' Psalms and Hymns. Not only mentally and spiritually, but also physically was she a superior woman, for her weight was about three hundred pounds. During the forty years she lived in her blindness after she became fifty years of age - for she died fifty years ago at the age of ninety - the scene of her daily labor, and of her Christian culture and training, was chiefly in the kitchen of Deacon Tuthill's parents. Here she instructed 'Lymas and some others...

[Ephron Wittaker, "'Lymas," 18 April 1870, *Suffolk Times*, clipping. Southold Public Library, Southold, New York.]

2. Clothing and Household Possessions

The selections in this section are only a few of the many documents we have been able to locate that give us numerous views of slave apparel and suggestions of what kind of household possessions slaves might have used. However, physical remains of such objects appear to be virtually nonexistent, and the paintings of the Long Island artist, William Sidney Mount, dating from after the final abolition of slavery [1827 in New York State], depict the clothing of freed men and women, not slaves. Documents describing the clothing of slave women are even more difficult to find.

Documents such as wills, runaway advertisements in newspapers, letters, and account books, therefore, have proven to be the most abundant sources of information on the material possessions of slaves. The resources tell us that the slaves' apparel varied widely. While it is clear that many slaves on Long Island, probably most, were provided with basic homespun clothing, some of the wealthier owners such as silversmith Elias Pelletreau, and wealthy landowners like the Lloyds of Lloyd Neck and the Floyds of Brookhaven, employed the same tailors and shoemakers to make both family and slave clothing. It is likely that because Long Island slaves were generally held in small numbers, their clothing and possessions more closely reflected the economic status of their owners then those of the southern plantation slave. The documents also tell us that slaveholders who provided for their slaves during their life also, through their wills, attempted to assure that they were provided for after the owner's death.

This will, written in 1748 by Jekamiah Scott of Southampton, is an example of one way in which slaves were provided with clothing and bedding, the two basic supplies which must have been nearly universally provided by slaveowners. Scott was a prosperous yeoman, or farmer, who settled in Southampton in the seventeenth century.

I, Jekamiah Scott of Southampton in the County of Suffolk and the Colony of New York yeoman being one old man but through the goodness of Almighty God of sound and perfect mind and memory and being able to settle and dispose of my worldly estate before I go hence do make and declare this to be my last will and testament ... I give and bequeath to my son Jackson Scott all my Lands, Meadows, Ledges, Beaches and Timber ... all which premises above said I do give to my son Jackson Scott and to his heirs and assigns forever, providing always that he takes while care of my negro woman Maria in providing for her in sickness and in health and apparel during her Natural Life ... also my negro girl named Rachel with Marjario's bed and bedding, also one bed and bedding which is not in his possession at North Sea, and all the wearing apparel y. belongs to said negro woman and daughter Sinning as well as woolens, all which premises above said I do give devise and dispose and bequeath the same with all their appurtenances unto my well beloved son Thomas Scott of Southampton ... In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal in Southampton this twenty-fourth day of March and in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty and Seven Eight, and in the twenty and first year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second, King & O.

MEMORANDUM. Before signing and sealing of this my last will and testament its my will to give to my daughter Deborah the sum of Ten Pounds to be paid her out of my movable estate above the equal part with her sisters and that

Jackson have all the clothing which belongs to the negroes I have given him.

JEKAMIAH SCOTT (L)

[Will of Jekamiah Scott, 24 March 1747/8. East Hampton Free Library, East Hampton, New York.]

The following two documents help us to picture how some slaves dressed. The Lloyd family letters, including this one, are an excellent resource for informing us about the material possessions of slaves, but similar documentation exists for very few families. Obium was the slave of Henry Lloyd of the Manor of Queens Village, Lloyd Neck, who evidently spent some time in the service of Lloyd's father-in-law, John Nelson, of Boston.

Boston Jan: 31 1709 [-10]

Mr. Henry Lloyd Sir

Your negro Obium has been retarded partly by reason of the weather & partly for that I was willing that he should be returned to you reasonably cloathed &c he seems to be something unwilling to part with us.

Your Very Affectionate and Loving Father

Temple, Paschal & Hittie, remember themselves to you & theire Sisters &c

I have thought good to give you an account of what Obium brings with him ...

A Greate Coate, Double breasted Jackett, & a Coate, new and all lined: 2 pr Cloth Britches; 5 Shirtes, of which by reason of not haveing them with him may want mending. 2 pr. Stockings, he should have had new shoes, but can not immediately procure them, so defer that upon his comeing to you, lett him be furnished on my account, for which I will repay you ...

[Addressed:] To Mr. Henry Lloyd
att Newport Road Island per the Negro Obium These

[Letter, John Nelson to Henry Lloyd, 31 January 1709. Dorothy C. Barck, *Papers of the Lloyd Family of the Manor of Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, New York 1654-1826*, 2 vols. (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1927), 1:187-188.]

Be it known to all whom it may concern that I Henry Landon of Southold... and in consideration of the good behavior of Zipporah and Keturah, and their kind treatment to my father's family (while slaves) have and by these presents do give unto the said Zipporah and Keturah jointly share and share alike to their own proper use benefit and behalf, on

condition that the said Zipporah shall not in her lifetime dispose of the articles either by gift or sale the following articles, which in general may be distinguished from the other articles of similar names by having been heretofore called theirs, VIZ, one feather bed, one woolen coverlet one woolen & one calico bedquilt one pair woolen and one rag blanket, one pair woolen and two pair linen sheets two table cloths. Four pair pillow cases, one new bed, two old chests, one case, and all their wearing apparel. In witness I have hereunto set my hand & seal this 15th day of november 1817.
H. Landon *In presence of Moses I. Terry*
Mary Landon

[Deed of gift, Henry Landon to Zipporah and Keturah, 15 November 1817. East Hampton Free Library]

This undated receipt found in the Floyd family papers lists the cost of shoes made for the Floyd women and children, and for several of the Floyd slaves: Gin, Hagar, Jack, Harry, Rachel, Abby and Rachel Powel. William Floyd, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a general in the Revolutionary army, was among the largest slaveowners on Long Island.

Polly	*2 paire*	*0-6-0*	
Nancy Floyd	*2 paire*	*0-6-0*	
Nancy Strong	*1 paire*	*0-3-0*	
Mrs. Floyd	*2 paire*	*0-6-0*	
Augustus	*2 paire*	*0-7-0*	
Mending	*3 day*	*0-9-0*	
Corying	*1 day*	*0-4-0*	
Gin	*1 paire*	*0-3-0*	
Hagar	*1 paire*	*0-3-0*	
Jack	*1 paire*	*0-3-0*	
Harry	*2 paire*	*0-6-0*	
Rachel	*1 paire*	*0-3-0*	
Abby	*1 paire*	*0-6-0*	
Rachel Powel	*1 paire*	*0-3-0*	
			3-5-0

([Undated receipt. William Floyd Estate, Mastic, New York]

3. Shelter

Evidence of slave shelter is scarce. We have located no descriptions written at the time slaves were held, and only a handful of photographs. The descriptions of cabins and rooms in houses that we have found were all written by observers long after the shelter was used by slaves. Because so few cabins survive, it does seem likely that most Long Island slaves, who were held in small numbers, must have lived in a room of their owner's house. The following descriptions do give us some clues.

The first comes from a newspaper article written in 1878. In passing, it describes the room used to house the Horton family slaves.

> *Last week we spoke of "the oldest house in America," so called by the N.Y.Tribune, and asked "Where is it?" It proved to be the old Horton house, at Southold, which is soon to be torn down. . .The house is in three parts, the oldest being one story high and shingled on the outside. Barnabas Horton built it. He was one of thirteen who came to Long Island from England in 1639.*
>
> *In 1665 the East Riding of Yorkshire was created by the Duke's laws, and an addition was made to the house for the Court of Sessions. . .*
>
> *The very door latches, curiosities, are of good wood. The chimney, of imported brick, is as sound as ever, and measures twenty feet square, at the base. The windows are three feet high and two wide. The Court House was in use until the first part of this century, when a new one was built at Riverhead. The Judge's bench was in the old court room until a few years ago. . .In the old slaves' quarters, on the side of the building, a room only four feet wide. . .[with] a fireplace. . .*

["That Old House," 31 October 1878, clipping, George S. Hand Scrapbook, p. 81. East Hampton Free Library.]

The second, a newspaper account, describes the Caleb Smith II slave cabin from a 1944 photograph taken as part of the Historic American Buildings Survey. The third comes from oral tradition written in the early 1960's by a Miller Place Historian whose family was among the first settlers.

> *The rustic "Old Slave House" itself probably dated back to the late 1700's.*
>
> *It stood southwest of the Caleb Smith domicile along the edge of the highway. It thereby was almost a hundred feet closer to Jericho Turnpike than was the home of their slaveowner. . .*
>
> *During an icy winter, the slave house must have been quite cold: The cabin walls were unsealed; the floor was made of dirt; and the roof lacked insulation.*
>
> *If this slave family was typical, it would have slept upstairs in the cabin's loft, warmed only to a limited degree by the logs burning within the fireplace below.*
>
> *Besides providing heat, the fireplace would also have been used for cooking. . .*

["Remnants of Long Island Slavery," *Chronicle*, 24 February 1962, p. 1. Clipping, Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, Setauket, New York.]

> *As for the social condition of these black people in the village, it was probably chiefly a matter of the individual who owned them. There is a tradition in the Helme family that the upstairs back room on the north side of the house was slaves' quarters. It is possible, however, that the room was the quarters for those. . . Negros who occur in the Helme account books of the 1820's and 1830's.*

[Margaret Gass, *History of Miller's Place* (Miller Place, NY: By the Author, Spring 1971), p. 30.]

4. Medical Care

The surviving account books of Long Island physicians Dr. Able Huntington, Dr. Joel L. Griffing, and others, the diary of Dr. Samuel L. Thompson, letters of Dr. George Muirson and records in the Gardiner, Lloyd, and Thompson families tell us that slaveowners generally sought to protect their valuable investment in slave property. For the most part, slaves appear to have endured the same remedies as members of the owners' families.

Dr. George Muirson, who resided at the Manor of St. George in Brookhaven and was related by marriage to the Lloyds, apparently provided medical care through the mail. Obeum (also known as Obium) was a slave of Henry Lloyd. The Lloyd slaves lived in relative isolation at the Manor of Queens Village, Lloyd Neck, and this may have been the most efficient way for them to obtain medical care.

> *St. Georges July 9th 1732*
>
> *Sir*
>
> *Please to Order One of the doses of Purging Physick sent to be given to Obeum the next morning after you receive them mixt in a Poringer of Water Gruell and att three or four days distance give the Other, on the days he doth not take his physick give him three of the Cooling powders viz the morning noon nd Att night mixt in gruell, but if the burdening Abates two will Suffice and hope answer the intent of*
>
> *Your humble and Obedient Servant*
> *GEO. MUIRSON*
>
> *[Addressed:]*
> *For Henry Lloyd Esq.*

[Letter, Dr. George Muirson to Henry Lloyd, 9 July 1732. Barck, *Lloyd Family Papers*, 1:341.]

This bill, given to General William Floyd by Daniel Roberts (Roberts does not call himself a doctor), indicates that Floyd sought to protect both his family and his slaves against the often-fatal disease of smallpox. But historical documents such as this can raise as many questions they answer. It is not clear in this bill why Roberts charges twice as much for the family inoculations as for those given to Floyd's slaves.

Sundry medecines for Elijah [E-] 1.4.0
Nov. ditto for Dul 16.9
1795 To innoculate his daughters
@ 16/ each 1. 12.0
To do. for 11 blacks @ 8/ 4. 8.0
Due on the mare sold him 2.
10. 0.0

[Bill, Daniel Roberts to Genl. William Floyd, 15 April 1795. William Floyd Estate.]

Dr. Joel Griffing, a member of the Strong family of Setauket, treated whites, freed people, and slaves alike throughout the town of Brookhaven. His day books, kept during the years 1749-1753, 1755-1758, and 1815-1816 (there is some question whether this last book was kept by Griffing) record his treatments and visits to patients on a day-to-day basis. These excerpts give examples of his care of slaves, usually indicated by his noting the name of the master. It is interesting to note that in his day books Griffing apparently recognized the existence of slave marriage using the term "wife."

[1749] [March] 13 To Pompeys astringt Powers 5/
To Do gum arab 1/
[Augt] 7 To Judge Daniel B. Smiths Wench Emet
To Negro Toms Wife vs: 1/
[noted in margin "not paid"]
[Augt] 28 To your [Lemuel Smith] Negro Boy Frank
vs: 1/ Vomits: 1/
......[Septr 15 To Nathel Smiths Wench [Emet] 1/3
[Septr 16] To John Havens Son Do 9d
......[1750] [April 21] To Floyd Smiths Ceasar: vs:
1/Cath Powdr 1/6
[Octor: 13]- To a Negro Mingos wife wench Emp:
Galls: 2/3
[July 15 To Negro Maroes [?] Wife 4 Dose Pils as
partum 4/
......[Novr 11] To Negro Ceasars Wife Indian Visit 2/
To do 4 fever Powders 4/ [illegible]
......[1753] [January 29] To Negro Toney 2 visits 4/6 Ungt

[Dr. Joel L. Griffing Day Book, 1749-1753, *passim*. Emma S. Clark Memorial Library.]

5. Day-to-Day Resistance

Reminders that the daily lives and conditions of slaves were at best difficult, and at worst impossible, exist almost anywhere we look. Diaries and letters, thought not numerous, provide us with examples of slaves sabotaging their work, shirking their duties, and passively resisting, in various ways, tasks and roles they rejected. For example, Dr. Samuel Thompson notes in his diary for January 7, 1801 that Killis, his slave, broke a "Cackle Pin." Many wills mention the difficulty of managing slaves who habitually run away or otherwise resist their masters' power, and, though not at all common on Long Island, newspaper accounts tell us that a few slaves resorted to violence against their owners.

Wills often describe the owner's view of the character of his or her slaves. The will of Richard Smith of Smithtown, written in 1720, indicates that he found at least one of his slaves difficult to manage. Smith, a son of the patentee of Smithtown, was a large landholder and owner of at least seven slaves. When he wrote his will in 1754, Thomas Moore of Southold indicated uncertainty whether the slave Pompie would prove too difficult for his widow to handle.

> *...Item I give unto my son Richd my young negro boy called Stephen*
>
> *Item I give unto my son Nathll mt negro boy called John*
>
> *Item I give give unto my wife Hannah the use of my two negro men also a young Negro girl as long as she remains my widow*
>
> *Item My will is that after my wifes death or marriage that the use of the negro girl shall descend to my eldest Daughter Sarah.*
>
> *Item I give unto my son Richd after ye marriage or decease of my wife my Negro man called Harry*
>
> *Item My will is that if my mullato Dick continues villanous and stubborn then my overseers shall dispose of him and ye effects to be employed for the use of my wife and children...*

[Will of Richard Smith, 26 April 1720. East Hampton Public Library.]

This account of a slave's violence against his master, a relatively rare occurence on Long Island, comes from the *New York Mercury*, 19 June 1772. Justice Nathaniel Brewster owned a large plantation in the eastern section of what is now Bellport in the Town of Brookhaven.

> *About four o'clock last Monday afternoon Nathaniel Brewster Esq. being in the woods with one of his negroes,*

attempted to correct him for some misdemeanor, which the negro resented, and wounded his master by giving several such heavy blows on his head with a billet of wood, that he expired the next morning. The negro was tried the next day, and being found guilty of the murder of Mr. Brewster, was to be executed last Friday.

[*New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, 19 June 1772. Early American Newspapers, Microprint 4, Box 116. Frank Melville, Jr. Memorial Library, SUNY at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, New York.]

This runaway announcement is particularly intriguing. The slave's advanced age makes him unusual among runaways and his clothing suggests a relatively privileged position. It is significant that despite his age, Tom still desired to run away.

A Runaway

Run away from the Subscriber, about three years and a half ago, a Negro man, named Tom, between 90 and 100 years of age, had on when he went away, a snuff coloured great coat, white plush breeches, blue yarn stockings; one leg somewhat shorter than the other; about 4 feet high, Africa born, spoke very broken. Whomever will bring said Negro to his master shall receive SIX PENCE Reward, and no charges paid by

LEMUEL PEIRSON

N.B. All persons are forbid harbouring said Negro at their peril.
Southampton, May 31, 1791.

[Advertisement, *Frothingham's Long Island Herald*, 31 May 1791. East Hampton Free Library.]

6. Death

Among the hundreds of surviving Long Island cemeteries dating back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, very few contain any markers for slaves, and those that do generally have only rough stones. The lack of any more than a handful of marked graves is our most compelling evidence that Long Island slaves were not identified after death. Yet records left by a few individuals, including Dr. Samuel L. Thompson of Setauket and Augustus Griffin of Oysterponds (presently Orient), who carefully noted the deaths of slaves in their villages, tell us that some slaves were accorded funerals, sometimes presided over by a local preacher and attended by friends and family of the deceased. The absence of marked graves, then, does not necessarily mean that slaves died unmourned. The use of unmarked graves may also have followed African burial practices.

Oral tradition and family research provided the information for the historic marker erected at the Hog Pond cemetery in Orient (formerly Oysterponds). While the owners of the slaves buried in the cemetery, Dr. Seth Tuthill and his wife, Maria, chose to be buried with their slaves, they provided only rough stones to mark the presence of those slaves.

Slaves Burying Ground

Slavery persisted in Oysterponds until about 1830. Here were buried some twenty slaves. Here also lie the remains of Dr. Seth Tuthill, proprietor of "Hog Pond Farm" and those of his wife Maria. It was their wish that they be buried here with their former servants.

[Erected by the Oysterponds Historical Society, Inc.]
[Historical Marker, Slave Burying Ground, Orient, N.Y.]

This excerpt from a newspaper clipping found in a Hawkins family genealogy tells of a stone tablet placed by the Woodhull family in 1870 to honor the unidentified slaves buried there generations before.

...Evidence of slavery on Long Island may be found in many places. At Mastic on the old estate of the Woodhull family there is a private cemetery. About five hundred feet southeast of this little burying ground is a slate tablet lying flat on the ground. This marks the place where the slaves of that family are buried. The inscription is in Latin and reads:

H i c
Septula sund Ossa
Nigrum qui
Olim Hos Agros
Colvere
Hoc Posuit
HN MDCCCII

which translated literally means: "Here under this stone are the bones of the negroes, who once upon a time cultivated these fields." The inscription indicated the stone was set up in the year 1870, long after the deaths of those who lie buried there...

[Elizabeth V. Howell, "Slavery on Long Island," unknown newspaper, no date. Clipping, Suffolk County Historical Society, Riverhead, New York.]

Excerpts from Dr. Samuel L. Thompson's diary tell us that slaves did not depart from life unmourned by their friends and family. "Old temp" was a freed woman who occasionally worked for Thompson. Cuff, Killis, Jack and

Sharper were slaves who belonged to Thompson, and Long Robbin was a slave of William Mills of Mills Pond in St. James, Smithtown. We have not been able to identify Solomon Rens.

> *15 Munday Dec. [1800]*
> *...old temp dies before Day this morning is buried on tuesday Cuff goes to the burien...*
> *12th Thursday [February 1807]... Jemima carried by Robbin to Solomon Rens burien who was found dead in his bed before Jack here said he had been to the buriel of a negrow child at Adams two blacks buried in same day*
> *12 Satturday [September 1807]... Long Robbin buried this afternoon at Millss Pond black children & Killis go to burying*
> *30 Lords Day [January 1808]... a Reading meeting Killiss child buried my Servant attending*
> *4 Wednesday [September 1808] ... Sharpers Death 9 o'clock in the morning*
> *5 Thursday his Buriel thursday afternoon parson green attends makes a prayer and gives an exhortation to the spectators both white and black...*

[Dr. Samuel L. Thompson Diary, 1800-1808, vol. 1, p. 116; vol. 3 *passim*. New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.]

(Editor's note: This chapter, as are all the others, is followed by a study document and questions for class discussion.)

Two Poems

By Louis Simpson

SUMMER COMES TO THE THREE VILLAGES

The people come off the ferry,
cross East Broadway
to Main Street, and go into the stores.

The cars come down the ramp
and drive around, sightseeing.
They admire the white church on the corner.

*

Dick Bone is in his drive
working on his boat, replacing the old boards
with new ones, fixing the bilge-pump.

I watch him when I am not writing,
listening to the sounds of the birds
and the traffic out on the road.

*

There is the picnic on the Fourth of July
with a softball game, a three-legged race,
and an outdoor barbecue.

Red flares on the road. . .drive slower.
There's glass in the road. . .an ambulance,
a car skewed across the road.

*

A friend was dying of throat cancer.
He seized the slate around his neck
and wrote fiercely. . .an indecipherable scrawl.

You could think of nothing to say,
and what could anyone do?
Only this — still be thinking about him.

*

This is the time when calamus has grown
almost to its full height,
lining the water. A green wall.

These are the days when not a leaf stirs
and everyone complains of the humidity,
and the boughs grow dark as the sky whitens.

The smoke of summer rises from the Three Villages
like incense in the sight of God
and he smells it and pronounces it good.

NEIGHBORS

The Boat Restorer
Dick's bought an old boat.
He'll scrape her right down,

caulk, sandpaper, varnish,
and name her "Island Rose."

The Running Woman
They say the court took away her children
and awarded them to the father.
"That's what you get," they say, "for fooling around."

I've seen her running in highways, in side streets,
along the water and back again,
in all kinds of weather. Sometimes twice a day.

The Cold Man
He is wearing an overcoat
indoors, in the middle of summer,
and all the windows are closed.

His wife comes in carrying a tray . . .
little glasses of cowslip wine
and some cookies. We each take one.

I see him again in Gristede's.
It's cold . . . the air-conditioning.
"I'm cold," he says, "But they don't care."

A Property Owner
Old man mad about property . . .
thinks because he pays taxes

he owns the beach and the sea.
What's he shouting now? "King's rights!"

Another Property Owner
A man rides up on a bicycle
and dismounts. He is Chinese.

The owner has sent him to tell us
to leave. "He very mean."

The property is under surveillance.
The owner sits watching a screen.

The shadows of the wood are long,
a sparrow hops onto the lawn.

Darby and Joan
"Six years she lived with Rosenstein.
I figured it out...
I told her, '936 times
at least, you were laid by a dwarf.' "

The object of this arithmetic,
an old woman with white hair,
sits by herself in the kitchen
eating yoghurt and a banana.

The Poet
Sounds of traffic on 25A,
a plane slowly circling ...

as though a world were building
its likeness through the ear.

[Reprinted by permission of Louis Simpson. "Summer Comes to the Three Villages" first appeared in the *Missouri Review* X (1 1987): 190-191, "Neighbors" in the *Ohio Review* 39 (1987): 86-87.]

Learning From Levittown

By Barbara M. Kelly

By now most of us on Long Island are familiar with the raw outline of the Levittown story: the housing shortage of the postwar period, the innovations in building technology which allowed William J. Levitt to construct his development at Island Trees at a record-setting pace, and the changes in the nature of American suburbs which Levittown and the thousands of other subdivision suburbs effected in the years after the war.

Through sociological studies, largely conducted in the first two decades of Levittown's existence, we became aware of the importance of the suburban experience in the changing nature of American family life. Through local coverage in the media, we also became cognizant of the vast amount of physical changes that the houses have undergone in the years since Levitt's bull dozers turned the Hempstead Plains into rental housing for veterans of World War II. But only recently have we begun to consider the implication of the changes in the houses on the nature of family life.

Traditional architectural history has concentrated on the design elements of a building or buildings. But houses are more than the sum of their aesthetic parts; they are domestic space — machines for living. Although they interact aesthetically with their environment, they also create an environment in which the functions of daily living follow the form created by domestic space. Therefore it is useful to examine the nature of the domestic space delivered by such massive government programs as the FHA and the GI Bill.

While the facade of the house interacts aesthetically with its surroundings, domestic space — both interior and exterior — interacts physically with the lives of the residents. This interaction reflects and reinforces a particular way of life. The patterns of the basic houses built under the terms of FHA/GI Bill reveal a code of what family life was, or was supposed to be, in the 1940s. The changes made by the Levittown homeowners in turn reveal the evolution of postwar American family life.

In essence, the Levitt house was the reduction of the American Dream to an affordable reality, made possible in large part by the cooperative efforts of the government, the builders, and the banks. It was an American version of European worker housing; it created homeowners, rather than tenants. By reducing the single-family house to its logical minimum, the postwar builders, working within the FHA guidelines, were able to provide housing which was within the price range of the young working veterans for whom it was designed.

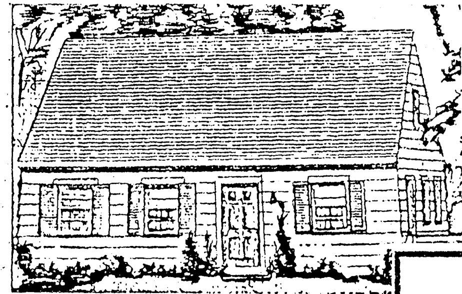
In the four years between the occupation of the first house in 1947 and the completion of the final unit in 1951, Levittown assumed a national identity as the quintessential postwar American suburb.[1] As early as January of 1948, the local newspapers had caught onto the widespread interest in Levittown as the symbolic suburb and were advising the residents of their importance as models of American democratic behavior, particularly since they were so clearly in the public eye.[2] By the mid-1950s, suburbia had become the focus of a number of popular articles and sociological studies which suggested that this new postwar phenomenon was responsible for the increase of a number of disturbing social and psychological phenomena among a large number of its residents, particularly the women who spent the greater part of their lives there.[3] In much of this literature, Levittown and other such rapidly built postwar developments were used as symbols embodying most of the negative traits attributed to life among suburbanites. Levittown predominated as an example of these problems and "Levittown" became the code word for the new suburban subdivision. Planners spoke disparagingly of the replication of other "Levittowns." Humorists employed stereotypes of Levittowners, referring to pregnancy as "the Levittown look," or portraying harried commuters unable to find their own homes in the mass of replicated Cape Cods.

When Levitt and Sons first announced their intentions to build the rental project at Island Trees in May of 1947, their goal was two thousand houses. With the overwhelming response to the announcement, Levitt immediately added another thousand units to the project; the finished houses some five months later were so well received that an additional thousand were promised. By the end of 1948, the area had grown to include six thousand houses, all of which were "Cape Cods" in design.

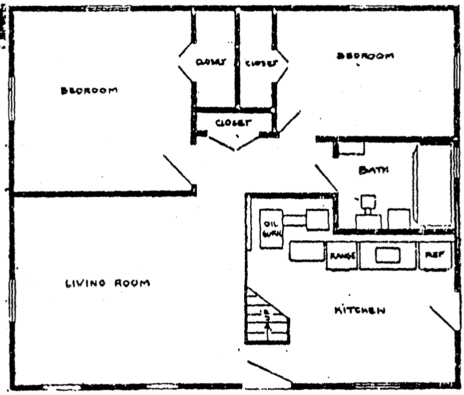
In 1949, Levitt and sons offered a new model, the "Ranch," which was available only for sale. Although similar in mass and size to the Cape,[4] this model offered several innovations. The front elevation was more "modern" in design, with an irregular roof-line and facade. In addition, the floor plan and the added accessories were different, and more sophisticated. More important, the 1949 ranch added a woodburning fireplace. *American Builder*, which described the new features, pointed out that this model was built for sale, not for rent, and went on to commend these additions as salesworthy.[5]

The 1950 and 1951 ranch models, although essentially the same house, offered even more accessories than the 1949 ranch. The additional amenities provide indications that marketability had begun to play an important part in their selection and design. As the new models were being constructed, a number of the original owners began "buying up" — that is, selling the Cape Cods in order to be able to move into the newer, redesigned ranches being offered.

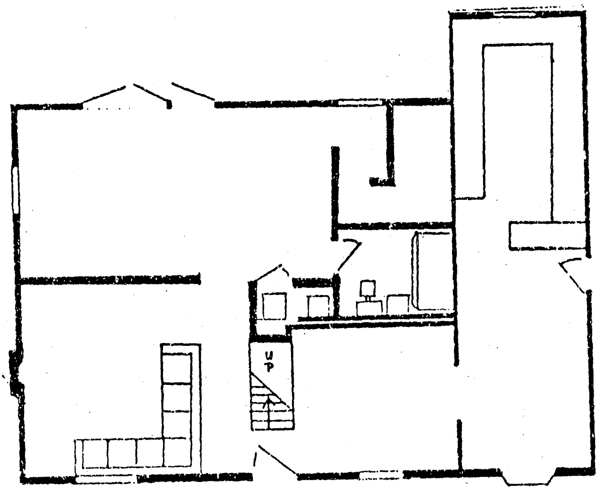
There were three distinct phases and levels of interaction in the construction of Levittown. In the spring of 1947, the design was largely under the control of several agencies both civic and economic: the local town board, which set limits on both the nature of the housing and the elements of construction through traditional building and zoning codes, many of which were intended to protect the status quo of both the existing residents and the various construction trades; the FHA, which set minimum standards for cost, structure, and design, insuring the risk for the banks which underwrote the



LEFT
Cape Code 1947
Before Alterations
30′ × 25′



RIGHT
Modified Cape Cod
After alterations
40′ × 25′ × 32′



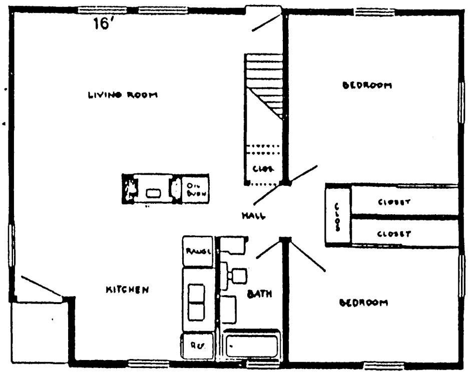
Illustrations of Levittown Model Houses courtesy of the Nassau County Museum Reference Library, Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University. Floor plan drawings by Larry O'Connell Studios, Hicksville, NY construction of the development; the banks themselves, which established the terms of economic investment; and finally, the builder/developer who, working within these constraints, selected materials, colors, design and location.

It was this group whose collective decisions housed the veterans in the basic Cape Cod, the stripped-down rental version of the American Dream in 1947 and 1948. But by mid-1947, rental houses were no longer the investment they had been expected to be in 1946. In December of 1947 Levitt suggested through the Levittown *Eagle* that he "might consider" offering the homes to the tenants for sale at the termination of the first year's leases in late 1948. He also promised in the release that he would continue to rent to those of his tenants who so desired. By the middle of 1947, however, the easing of the housing shortage began to alter the balance of power from the providers to the residents. The Cape Cod model—-when offered for sale—proved not as readily marketable to veterans as it had been as rental property, even with the incentives of a $7500 selling price and no down payment. By the time the first thousand houses at Island Trees had been occupied, therefore, Levitt was making plans to get out of the rental housing market and divest himself of the Cape Cods in favor of a more saleable design.[6]

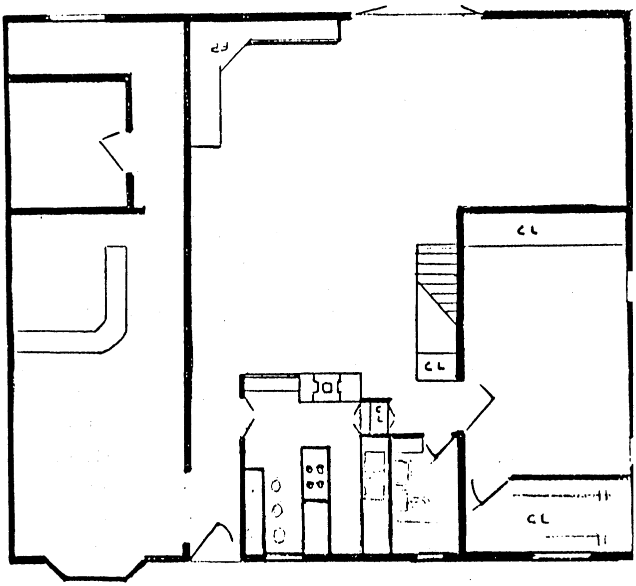
Levitt tailored the next generation of houses—the 1949 through 1951 Ranch models—to the buying market, modifying both the exterior designs and the floor plan. Although in marketing terms the 1950/1951 ranches were different, offering far more in the way of standard amenities such as carports, built-in television and a finished attic room in addition to the fireplace [introduced in the 1949 model] and the appliances [standard since the 1947 Cape Cod], the floor plan was that of the 1949 ranch. The carports are an important addition, but there is no major distinction between the ranch-model years in the arrangement of the interior space. Therefore, they represent one phase of the evolution of Levittown, although the nature of their differences clearly underscores the emergence of a buyer's market.

Several Levittown home-owners have suggested that these final models sacrificed construction quality for the superficial appeal of appliances and equipment. The addition of carports, televisions, and spatial expandability without a concomitant addition in the sale price, they claim, necessitated the sacrifice. Yet despite their belief, of the "original" residents interviewed who have remained in Levittown, a high percentage are owners of the ranch models, usually the 1950/1951 houses, which suggests that this model satisfied some important aspect of the needs and desires of the residents. While the Cape Cod was acceptable as rental housing when shelter was desperately needed, the ranch offered its buyers more of the elements which reinforced and reflected their ideas of family life.

The modifications Levitt made in the Ranch models, while necessary as a marketing device, were not sufficient to the needs of the residents. The ranch houses remained as the Cape Cods had begun, four-room houses with a six room potential. Throughout the first ten years, the homeowning residents of Levittown altered and expanded the houses to conform more nearly to their needs. In 1957 they celebrated their tenth anniversary with a community-wide display of the changes they had made in the basic houses.



LEFT
Ranch 1949 Model
Before Alterations
32′ × 25′



RIGHT
Modified Ranch Model
After Alterations
42′ × 28′

This essay examines the houses of Levittown in three stages: the deliver-designed, rental Levittown of 1947/48 with its basic Cape Cods; the transitional Levittown of proprietary ranch models from 1949 and 1950/51; and, finally, the owner-redesigned Levittown of individualized residences which was celebrated by the community in 1957 and 1967. In each stage, it will consider the changes in the houses and the elements in the wider society which fostered or reinforced a particular style of life among the residents. These residents, through expanding and redesigning, forced a reshaping of Levittown to more nearly conform to their needs. As they reshaped their built environment they also raised it to a new socio-economic level.

The assumptions which had gone into the design of the postwar, Levitt houses had resulted in two major changes from the company's prewar, middle-class houses. First they had divested the house of all that was deemed unnecessary — dining rooms, porches, pantries, libraries, solaria, foyers, and extra bathrooms and bedrooms. Then they had taken the four and one-half basic rooms which remained — living room, kitchen, two bedrooms and bath — and reduced them to affordable dimensions.

The spatial allotment among the rooms remained substantially the same; the Levitt living room is 192 square feet while the kitchen is 100 square feet. The two-to-one ratio of space allotted to these two rooms was emblematic of the role of these rooms in the prewar middle class home. It reflects the division between "frontstairs" and "backstairs" — formal and informal, public and semi-private space which had been typical of middle-class American suburbs since the Civil War. The parlor, in which the family gathered and entertained, was large to reflect their social standing, while the smaller kitchen and/or servants' quarters were intended for production and were rarely seen by guests.[7] However, in these houses both rooms would have been considerably larger than those found in the postwar houses.

The spatial distribution reflects other aspects of the cultural values of the postwar period. The large living room at the expense of needed work space in the kitchen exemplifies a new mentality toward the nature of housework that dominated magazines and advice columns devoted to girls and women in the 1940s and 1950s. Gone was the homemaker-as-domestic-engineer which had dominated the women's magazine in the 1920's and 1930s.

From *Seventeen* to *Woman's Day*, the new advice stressed the female's role as the soft, romantic partner. Girls were urged to become interested in their boyfriends' activities. Hairstyles, make-up, and clothing dominated the advertising in these journals and the text reinforced the need for such products. The columns were filled with ways to lure men and boys away from purely male pursuits. Wives were urged to keep the charm in their marriages, to listen with interest to their husbands' conversation, and to remain physically attractive — all the while raising children and keeping house as if they had a staff of servants. Those suburban women who strove to follow this advice attempted to be dressed and pretty, finished with their work, and ready to listen by supper time when their men arrived home from work.

The popular music of the period reinforced the passive role for women in its romantic imagery. Irving Berlin's "The Girl that I Marry" was loved for such characteristics as being as "soft and as sweet as a nursery."[8] Oscar Hammerstein II's lyrics to "A Fellow Needs A Girl" — a hit song of 1947 — encapsulated the woman-as-audience view of marriage:

A fellow needs a girl to sit by his side
At the end of a weary day
To sit by his side and listen to him talk
And agree with the things he'll say.[9]

For those girls who dared to miss the point, there was the tragic story of the "Ballerina" who went on with her career, without "a backward glance." The price she paid, of course, was that "love was gone. . ."[10]

In keeping with this wife-as-glamour-girl image, children were to be kept in the background when husbands were home. According to the expert advisors, the children were to be fed and ready for bed, spend a few minutes with Daddy, and then go on to radio, television, or bed. Dinner was to be on the stove, ready to serve, and the wife was to be dressed, combed, and made up, ready to greet her husband. Those women who managed to achieve this mythic state of romantic readiness also managed to convey the impression that there was no work involved in keeping house, that they spent their days like Sleeping Beauty, graciously awaiting the return of their men. Husbands were rarely allowed to see them at work.[11] It is not surprising that the successful maintenance of this fiction resulted in the reduction of space for domestic work in the new houses.

Ironically, at the same time that the work area of the typical house was being radically reduced, women were being urged as never before to a greater level of production, to "accomplish" something at home in their "free" time. Magazines offered a myriad of projects for the new homemakers — redoing furniture; canning one's own produce; making curtains, aprons, overalls, and lace edgings on handkerchiefs, or creating recipes to enter in the "Pillsbury Bake-offs."

Similarly, their husbands were urged to spend their weekends making and remaking furniture, or using a can of paint to change anything old and useless into something new and desirable. Yet the only space appropriate to productive work in the four-room houses was in the kitchen.

Thus the families who lived in these postwar houses used their kitchen much as our colonial forebears had done, as the semi-public great hall or major gathering room in the house. Public space is a luxury. The larger public/formal space of the living room thus reflected a middle-class style of formal, if not ritualized, social life. In essence, the Levitt Cape Cods and Ranches were symbolic, if reductionist, middleclass houses. Had Levitt been building a working-class dwelling, he could have replicated the traditional spatial allotment of the working-class tenement in which formal space was discarded in favor of living space.

Reversing the ratio between public/formal and semi-public/informal space would have facilitated a different social interaction, which would have marked the houses and their owners as working class. Not only would this would have reduced their market value as a status symbol, it would have had political implications as well. "Worker housing" had no place in a democratic Republic. Middle-class housing, even incipient middle-class housing, was more acceptable. And that is what was built under the terms of both the FHA and the G. I. Bill. Instead of rooms, the houses offered efficiency; instead of workspace, they offered appliances.

Thus, to have reversed the ratio between living room and kitchen in the actual economy houses — like Levittown's — would radically have altered the socio-economic implications of their spatial interpretation as well. Such a transformation would have had economic consequences for the builder. While social engineers might have created housing suitable for workers and their families, private enterprise had to play to the market.

The approaches to interior space in the basic four-room Levitt Cape reveal a good deal about the differences between male and female perception and use of space. The designers clearly did not work in a kitchen. Their concept of "complete" can be summed up by the number of built-in machines and cabinets. They did not see the kitchen from within. By the time architects began to listen more seriously to women, most Levittown houses had been remodeled to reflect the interpretations of the new homeowners — the women as well as the men.

In 1957, the people of Levittown proudly celebrated the tenth birthday of their community. In addition to a gala ball, a beauty pageant, and a parade which included a float honoring the putative origins of the development on the "potato fields," the celebration included a house tour. Still smarting from the barrage of criticism that had been directed against their houses in the 1940s, with suggestions that Levittown was an incipient slum, the residents opened their homes to visitors and journalists to show how much they had done to their houses in the intervening decade. Indeed, the community's continued sensitivity about its reputation has provided a decade-by-decade documentation of the evolution of their houses. This combination of celebration and defensive pride in the improved properties became a Levittown tradition which affords the observer the opportunity to examine what the residents themselves deemed essential to their homes. Although the deliverers had neglected to consult the homeowners prior to construction, the homeowners, far from being passive, were more than willing to answer their own needs.

So active were they that their home-remodeling activities supported a quarterly journal within the community. *Thousand Lanes: Ideas for the Levitt Home* concentrated its coverage on the changes that Levittown homeowners had made in their basic houses.[12] The magazine was financed largely by advertisements from local companies involved in the remodeling industry: lumber yards, hardware stores, carpenters, painters, contractors. By 1954, when the journal was started, remodeling Levittown's 17,500 houses had become a big business. Whether by "doing-it-themselves" or by using contractors, the Levittowners had so thoroughly remodeled their houses by 1957 that the *New York Times* announced that hardly a house could be found that was not altered in some way.[13]

These alterations can be interpreted in several ways. One, and this would seem to be obvious from the criticisms recounted above, would be that the houses, as delivered, had failed to satisfy the owners. While that may have been true to some extent, it is not borne out by the repeated anniversary celebrations with their house tours, nostalgic references to the "good old days," and the expressions of adulation for the founder of the community.[14]

For the people of Levittown, the houses had been exactly what the owners needed. Most of the early Levittowners were short on money and long on energy and ingenuity. Moreover, they were relatively young and willing to wait for the fulfillment of their housing dream. Had Levittowners been either more affluent or totally dissatisfied with the four-room house, they would have moved on. Most did not.[15] Rather the Levittowners took their homes quite seriously, and finding themselves with the rudiments of shelter on a considerable piece of land, were able to build their dream from that basic framework.[16]

By the Spring of 1957, tenants and rental units were becoming rare in Levittown. Levitt had long since moved on. The nearby air base, Mitchell Field, which had supplied Levittown with most of its tenants was scheduled for closing. Military residents were leaving. Twelve years after the war, the home-owning veteran was still the typical resident of Levittown. Although many of the men still commuted to various parts of New York City, a strong percentage worked in the several defense plants in the Bethpage-Farmingdale area, east of Levittown.[17]

Several major newspapers and magazines revisited the ten-year old Levittown to measure it against the earlier predictions. Their assessments were largely positive. Even members of the media who had reported negatively on suburbia, found space during the anniversary display to compliment the community for not having become the slum that was predicted.[18] They took particular note of the number and quality of the remodeling and alterations which had been done on the original houses. In-depth coverage of these changes was provided in the local media on Long Island, in particular in the several publications directly aimed at the Levittown population, *Thousand Lanes*, *The Towner*, *The Levittown Tribune*, and *The Levittown Eagle*. The coverage shows that in the area of renovation the later versions of Levittown — the developments of the Ranches of 1949 through 1951 — proved to be more versatile.

As part of their redesign efforts in 1949, the Levitts had adopted the concept of transformable space from Frank Lloyd Wright. They included a swinging bookcase/partition between living room and kitchen, which could also serve to screen the kitchen from the front entry. They built drawers into closets and walls for storage, installed the television in the stairwall, and opened the fireplace between the living room and the kitchen. The rear window of the living room was removable — when taken out of its original site in the rear wall of the living room, it could be used as the window of the new living room in a rear extension. The removal created an archway between the existing living room and the new extension. Similarly, the 1950 and 1951 carports readily lent themselves to conversion to garages or to additional living space.

The Cape Cods were more static in design. After the finishing of the attic, any alterations involved some major structural change. Still, the frame-and-shingle construction made even the expansion of this model considerably less troublesome than it would have been for houses of brick or stone. Nonetheless, it remains easier to locate an unmodified Cape Cod than an unmodified Ranch, even today, although the ranches outnumber the Capes by a ratio of eleven to six.[19]

Finishing the attic and creating one or two bedrooms there was almost mandated by the size and number of the original two bedrooms in Levitt houses. This alteration in its most basic form could be easily done by the inexperienced homeowner, since the essential framework was already in place. Even with subcontracting for the electricity, heating, and plumbing for adding a future bathroom, conversion of attics was inexpensive and so did not produce a considerable increase in property taxes. Since finishing the attic did not result in any visible exterior structural changes, the owner's surreptitious do-it-yourself conversion might not result in any additional taxes.[20]

Perhaps the single most common structural change that had been made in the Levitt houses, was one the Levittowners called, "squaring the kitchen." In the 1949 through 1951 ranch models, the front door was recessed into the left front corner of the front wall of the house, resulting in the loss of about nine square feet of the corner of the kitchen. The intent was to create a visual hallway to direct both the eye and the flow of traffic to the rear living room, retaining a modicum of privacy for the kitchen although floor space was sacrificed. Levittown homeowners generally rejected the sacrifice. They needed the extra space as a dining area, for a table and chairs, or for more counter space. Although several women complained of having to use the kitchen as a main entryway, they preferred the additional space to the traffic diversion.

As Levittown matured it become apparent that other spatial redefinition was necessary. Among other criticisms of Levittown and its counterparts, one of the most salient was that their design was based on a static view of family life. While both house and community might have been acceptable for young mothers with toddlers, they were now indicted for being inadequate to the social needs of adolescents. This deficiency applied equally to the houses and to the amenities available in the nearby community.

Thus, most of the renovations were more complex and reflected the changes in the life cycle through which the family had moved. Rather than simply adding one room to serve as dining room, the owners would extend the house across the complete expanse of one wall to add two or more interior rooms. For example, a family might add a sidewall extension to the Cape which produced a garage with a room at its rear. The new room would then become a dining room, or a new living room freeing the existing living room to serve as dining room. Other families added a full width extension along the back of the Ranch-model house to provide a new living room and a second room which could serve as master bedroom or den, depending on the family's needs.

In the Spring, 1957 issue of *Thousand Lanes*, the most common major renovation shown is the addition of a larger formal living room to the rear or side of the original house, with the original living room being converted to a dining room. The second most frequently displayed renovation is the simple addition of a dining room by constructing an ell or converting a first floor bedroom into a dining room. Other variations included building a new kitchen to turn the existing one into a dining room. The plan most often chosen was based on a logical sequence of activity flow from kitchen through dining room to living room. Less acceptable was placing the dining room in a location one room removed from the kitchen.

Those families who adapted their houses to the most rigid room definitions through door and window placement were often locked into inadequate spatial arrangements. Those who allowed for more flexible interpretations of space were ready for the changes in social activities which took place when their small children entered their teen years.

The failure to provide a place for adolescent children within the home was logically linked to yet another social disorder popular with the social critics of the 1950s — juvenile delinquency. In the years after Senator Joseph McCarthy's flawed crusade against Communism had been discredited, Americans found new threats to their traditional mores. One of the most ubiquitous was the adolescent. The teen-agers of the Baby Boom presented a large body with which American society had to contend.

The 1955 movie, *Rebel without a Cause*, had dramatized the greatest fears of the suburban family with its tale of adolescent angst and parental abdication. The teen-ager had become an entity to contend with. Their suspected predilections to sex and violence both attracted and repelled their elders, as social "experts" and the media discovered yet another subject for exploitation. Communities everywhere underwent intense self-examination in the light of growing concern for survival of family life in the wake of the teen-ager. Juvenile Delinquency, gangs, teen-age pregnancy and its concomitant, the "shotgun marriage," created a climate of tension and indecision among parents suddenly faced with their responsibilities for providing something to do for their restless young.

The widespread condemnation of the suburban habitat broadened to include an evaluation of its nurturing qualities. Mothers were indicted for being over-protective and uncaring; fathers, for being detached and emasculated.[21] The call went out for return to "traditional" values, centered on the family home. While some social scientists attacked the family for failing its young, others indicted the community for failing to provide more and better "activities" to keep the young occupied.

During its first decade, Levittown had been spared from much of this tension. The age and life-stages of its young war-veteran families were such that only after 1957 did most of the children reach adolescence. The lack of teen-oriented facilities did not last very long after that. The Levittown Roller Rink and Movie theatre both opened in 1957, providing Levittown Teens with acceptable alternatives to gangs and the back seats of automobiles.[22]

Thus, among Levittown families who remodeled their houses, those with older children often preferred the addition of a second living area, called variously a den, rumpus room, family room, or "rec" room. These rooms were intended to provide a separate but contained area in which adolescents could entertain "safely." It was apparent in the text that accompanied the articles that families at this stage recognized a need for a social separation from their adolescent children within the family household. For those families who did not, or could not, add a room specifically for teen-agers and their activities, carports and garages were often enlisted as erstwhile rumpus or party rooms when the teen-agers began to socialize.

While urban, working-class adolescents moved to parks, playgrounds, pool-halls — or worse, the suburban middle-class teens were encouraged to stay within the family home, even if walls had to be removed in order to make that possible. Although Levittown was delayed in its encounter with the teen-ager, its response was well within accepted middle-class family practice. For those unsure of how to respond, the answers were as close as their family television set.

Television in the 1950s had discovered suburbia and its problems. The teen-ager at home became a stock character in many of the medium's "family comedies." In a variety of these offerings, suburban living became not only the setting but the focus of the plots. Suburban families were presented both as stereotypical, didactic representations of traditional American family life, and as objects of satire.

Each of these television families lived in a single-family house in which they practiced middle-class virtues.[23] Their homes were furnished in unobtrusive traditional style, albeit arranged for better camera angles. The sitcoms presented an idealized view of family life; one which could be emulated in the proper setting.

An urban sitcom like Jackie Gleason's "Honeymooners" portrayed childless blue-collar workers as apartment-dwelling buffoons, but the suburban world of the Cleavers of "Leave It to Beaver," the Andersons of "Father Knows Best," and the Stones of "The Donna Reed Show" was dominated by single-family houses with dining rooms, front yards, basketball hoops on the garage, and at least one car in the driveway. The families consisted of at least two children, a professional father, and a mother whose domestic activities centered on serving cookies and milk and/or drying her hands on a clean dishtowel.[24]

The plot centered on the children: the parents' role was one of response. Consider the plot of one episode of "Father Knows Best': teen-aged offspring lose ground in school; father spends time finding solutions — visits teacher, buys tickets to a concert rehearsal, lectures on the need for American students to thirst for learning. Resolution: children discover the beauty of knowledge for its own sake.[25] The didactic nature of the programming is unmistakable. In many scenes, the parent actually addressed the audience rather than the offspring, the message often an encapsulation of the values of middle-America. The format, that of teaching a child, allowed the presentation to be didactic without appearing to talk down to the audience. But the lesson was there. American families — at least good American families — lived, worked, and believed in a certain way.

There were no adult companions; father and mother interacted as equals only with each other. When other adult characters were introduced, they were cast as part of the social support system of suburbia: repairmen, teachers, servants, or policemen. "Father" did not bowl, play cards, or "hang out" with other men. "Mother" had no confidante for a morning's coffee-klatch. There were no aunts and uncles, few grandparents, in television's suburbia. The American family was the nuclear family. And their homes and communities had been designed to support them and their way of life.

It was this way of life which had been designed into the reductionist houses of the subdivision suburbs. It was domestic, traditional, and privatized. It reflected the Protestant ethic, the Cult of domesticity, and the Rural Ideal, all artifacts of the nineteenth century. Most important, it was intended to expand and solidify the American middle class; and it worked.

Levittown was not without turmoil during this period. But the issues which erupted there reveal the degree to which the postwar suburbs had reflected and ratified traditional middle-class American values, producing stable, middle-class communities. The residents had put their roots down, investing both economic and physical equity into their properties. In so doing, they justified the aims of postwar housing policies which had made them possible. The built environment of Levittown in the 1960s provided visual evidence of the owners' stake in the society of which they had become an integral part.

The Levittowners' many battles to retain the values of middleclass suburbia erupted over school-and library-board issues. The tension between containing the budgets for both systems and improving the quality of their services, resulted in a series of compromises.[26]

The primary safety valve of this new frontier was an economic one: the ability to resell the Levitt house for enough money to buy into a more expensive development. Those who could not live with the compromises took the route so often followed in American history, and voted with their feet, moving to areas more compatible with their needs and values. Those who remained were primarily those for whom Levittown's compromises had been acceptable, if not preferable.

Increased equity permitted refinancing of houses in order to underwrite extensive remodeling and expansion projects for those who elected to stay:[27] those who remained built a new Levittown on the basic framework of the original four-room houses. The suburb that resulted is composed of houses which average seven rooms, designed with a picturesque harmony in the tradition of such advocates of the rural ideal as John Ruskin, Andrew Jackson Downing, and Frederick Law Olmsted. The interiors combine many of the efficient spatial concepts of Catharine Beecher, Christine Frederick, and Frank Lloyd Wright.

The remodeled houses show how closely the dreams of the Levittowners matched the ideals being advocated in the media; how closely their solutions addressed problems that the social critics had identified; in short, how strongly they accepted the values of middle-class family life which were part of the American consciousness during Levittown's first decade.

More importantly, their houses show that by investing sweat equity in them, the Levittowners raised the value of their homes and their community. Contrary to gloomy critics' fears, the young, lower-income veterans were not saddled with houses they could not manage, nor was the government ever burdened with foreclosures on worthless housing in the falsely predicted event of failure of postwar developments.[28]

Instead, by beginning with only the basic elements, a large number of Levittowners was able to turn the reductionist houses of 1947-1951 into fully developed middle-class housing by 1957. Along with this transition in the houses, they created of themselves a self-identified middle-class, regardless of income or occupation, based on home ownership. In so doing, they became part of the ever-growing expansion of the middle class that has been part of the American Dream since the Pilgrims landed in 1620.

NOTES

1. For a general treatment of the construction and early years of Levittown see John Liell, "Levittown, a Study in Community Planning" (Ph. D. dissertation, Yale University, 1951), and Herbert J. Gans, *The Levittowners* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969).

2. See "Editorial," *Island Trees Eagle*, 4 December 1947, p. 2. It is important to note that Levitt was only one of the scores of builders creating large-scale subdivisions with technology developed during the war, and funding made available by the FHA.

3. See Bernard Rudofsky, *Behind the Picture Window* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955) or Robert C. Wood, *Suburbia, Its People and Their Politics* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1958). John Keats' satirical "novel" *The Crack in the Picture Window* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1956) conveys his dissatisfaction with poorly planned communities of cheaply constructed, badly conceived, cookie-cutter styled "dream houses" in the new suburban "wasteland."

4. See *American Builder*, June 1946, p. 96, and March 1949, p. 79 for comparative floor plans. The '47/48 Cape is 30′ wide by 25′ deep, while the '49 Ranch is 32′ × 25′.

5. "New Home Models Accelerate Sales," *American Builder*, p. 79.

6. *Island Trees Eagle*, vol. 1, no. 4, 11 December 1947. Page 1 Headline: "Levitt May Offer to Sell Homes Next Year to Present Tenants; Will Continue to Rent".

7. 1950 marked the "close of one era and the opening of another. . .the middle-class wife had finally and irrevocably lost her servants, and the working-class wife had acquired, or was. . .acquiring, a house to look after." Alison Ravitz, "The Home of Woman; A View from the Interior" in *Built Environment* 10 (1984) 1: 9. By 1950, only one house in 42 still employed domestic servants: middle-class women were doing almost all their domestic work alone. Ruth Schwartz Cowan, *More Work for Mother; The Ironies of Household Technology from Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), p. 99.

8. Irving Berlin, "The Girl that I Marry" (New York: Irving Berlin Music Company, 1946).

9. Words by Oscar Hammerstein II, music by Richard Rogers (New York: Williamson Music Inc. , 1947). The song was introduced in the Broadway show "Allegro. "

10. Bob Russell and Carl Sigman (New York: Jefferson Music Company, Inc. , 1947).

11. It was as if the work of housekeeping had gone with the servants. The number of articles suggesting handwork to fill the housewife's days matched those aimed at the Victorian woman, whose staff maintained the household. Husbands were rarely to see much of what went into a woman's day. For contradictory advice given to the young women of the 50s, see Jane Davison, *The Fall of a Doll's House* (New York: Avon Books, 1980), pp. 141-171, and Cowan, p. 208. See also Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Laurel, 1983).

12. The title is a play on the fact that most street names in Levittown end in "Lane" — Cherry

Lane, Apple Lane, Shelter Lane, etc.

13. Clarence Dean, citing the Levittown Self-Survey, conducted by Dr. Max Wolff of New York University and some 200 volunteers. "10 Year-Old Levittown Wears the Face of Change," *New York Times*, 30 September 1957, p. 23.

14. In 1987, the Fortieth Anniversary Committee invited William Levitt, now 82, to serve as grand marshall of their parade. The attitude both of committee and onlookers was one of loyalty to the founder, and of tearful gratitude for what he had given them. (Interviews with Camille Costanzo, Daphne Rus, and Thomas Carroll of the committee, and with various onlookers at the parade, October 10, 1987).

15. William Dobriner found that 61% of Levittowners of 1960 had been there in 1955 (p. 91); in 1952, Liell had found that 49. 5% of the owners and 10. 5% of the tenants expected that Levittown would be a permanent residence. *Class in Suburbia* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963), p. 265.

16. The Cape Cod, at 720 square feet, occupied only 12 percent of the 6000 foot plot; a fact of which Levitt was very proud. Eric Larrabee, "The Six Thousand Houses that Levitt Built" *Harper's*, September, 1948, p. 84.

17. Clarence Dean, *New York Times*, 30 September 1957. p. 23.
Dobriner found that 58. 9% of the residents worked in Nassau County in 1960, only 19. 4% in Manhattan. Including those who worked within the New York City limits, i. e. Brooklyn, Bronx, and Queens, 35. 9% worked "in the city." p. 110.

18. "[Levittown] stands as a living refutation to the critics of 10 years ago who caustically predicted Levittown would be a gigantic slum of the future." Tony Insolia, "The Levittown Decade," *Newsday, 30* September 1957, p. 11-C. Also see Clarence Dean, 'Levittown, at 10, Wears New Face," *New York Times*, 30 September 1957, p. 1. Allusions to the threat of a slum are repeated periodically, whenever the media examine Levittown, as recently as 1986 by Robert A. M. Stern, "Pride of Place," PBS Television. Residents whose homes I was able to visit referred, somewhat defensively, to these early predictions. A woman who had turned her basic Cape Cod into a "Yuppie's" dream ended the interview at the door, with the often-repeated phrase "And they said this would be a slum!" December, 1987.

19. This may have as much to do with the history of the Cape Cods as with their structure. The 6000 Capes were the ones built originally as rental units: the Ranches were always intended for sale.

20. Even with no exterior notice that alteration was in progress, the tax assessor knew in advance that an improvement was pending when contractors applied for building permits. If the owner finished his existing attic, it was up to him to notify the assessor and request a site inspection and reassessment. Many homeowners eliminated this step.

21. "Levittown is a child-centered community at this time. It is a veritable wonderland for raising children. Combined with good schools and highly superior park facilities we have top recreational leaderships both paid and voluntary. Levittown with characteristic foresight, is pioneering in an antidelinquent program aimed at children who do not respond to normal group youth activities." *Levittown Tribune*, 27 June 1957, responding to the youthrelated segment of its own somewhat hyperbolic question, "What Makes Levittown a Miracle Community?" On the didactic tendency to strike a balance between what he termed "other-directed" and "inner-directed" behavior, see David Riesman's influential and widely-read book *The Lonely Crowd* (Garden City, N. Y. : Doubleday/Anchor, 1953 [1950]).

22. Philip Wylie's 1942 attack on "Mom-ism" was reissued in 1955 with a scathing endorsement of his earlier position. *A Generation of Vipers* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston).

23. Jim Anderson was an insurance broker, Donna Reed's husband a physician. Ward Cleaver, occupation unclear, practiced it in an office. The image of the mother emerging from the kitchen while drying her hands is used frequently in the "Father Knows Best" series. Stock illustrations in many reading textbooks of the period portayed Mother as part of the background, wearing an apron and carrying a bowl and towel.

24. "Father Knows Best" rerun, August, 1987.

25. School budgets have been a persistent issue in Levittown precisely because of the residential quality of the community. Because the 7 square mile area is under-represented in commercial and industrial bases, homeowners bear a disproportionate share of the school tax burden, compared with most Long Island school districts. As a result, teachers' salaries, extracurricular activities, and capital improvements often are voted down for economic rather than ideological reasons. As Dobriner shows, the economic origins of these positions may be linked to class and cultural divisions in the community. *Class in Suburbia*, pp. 100-126

26. A survey of real estate offerings in *Newsday* in 1957 shows Levittown houses being advertised for prices ranging from $10,000 to $18,000, depending on location (Wantagh and North Bellmore were higher priced areas than Island Trees); condition (many of the early rental houses were being sold by local real estate brokers and were not particularly wellmaintained); degree of remodeling and expansion, and the original model types.

27. The FHA supported these efforts through "203K" Home Improvement "modernization" loans, offering $2,500 to $10,000 for 7 to 20 years at 6%.

28. John P. Dean, *Home Ownership; Is It Sound?* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945), p. 15. Dorothy Rosenmann, *A Million Homes a Year* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1945), pp 276, 277. See also Larrabee, p. 85, and Liell, p. 344.

William Sidney Mount:
"In the Morning I Wrote in Frost. . ."
Passages from the Journals and Letters Arranged as Poetry
By Vince Clemente

In his paintings, sketches and drawings, William Sidney Mount (1807-1868) depicted the lives of his neighbors — farmers, musicians, horse traders, gamblers, truant boys and shy girls, cider makers, mothers, and blacks like the fiddler, Anthony Hannibal Clap, the beloved "Toney" of his boyhood. Mount was the ideal witness, praising the everyday common stuff of his neighbors' uncommon lives: spearing for eels and flat fish at dawn, cornhusking, drawing water from a well, haymaking. Yet this rustic-Renaissance country man also found time to design and patent a new violin, his hollow-back "Cradle of Harmony"; design and have built the nation's first portable studio (here anticipating William Merritt Chase's Shinnecock Summer School of Art, 1891-1902); correspond with literary figures like William Cullen Bryant and Washington Irving; serve as a working member of both the Sketch Club and Democratic Party; and be a musician-composer of dance tunes for fiddlers, one of them with the intriguing title of "In the Cars, On the Long Island Railroad."

He wrote daily, almost as a religious exercise, leaving the rich body of letters (1838-1868), journals (1843-1868), and autobiographical sketches that Alfred Frankenstein gathered in *William Sidney Mount*, the definitive text I use as my source for transpositions from prose to verse.[1] I also have burrowed through the microfilm copies on file at the Museums at Stony Brook, and inspected two of the pocket-sized journals in the Long Island Historical Room of Smithtown Library (Vera Toman, librarian), in a folder marked simply "W. S. Mount: 1807-1868." One (1855) is darkbrown leather, like a prayerbook, the other (1866-68), his last, is longer and narrower, like a shopkeeper's marble-top account book. I'm sure he kept these journals snugly on his hip, along with his tuning fork.

Each time I read him, Mount's voice grows more singular, his cadences and rhythms rising, his images in high relief, until he speaks to me, poet to poet. I revere Mount the painter, but it is Mount the writer who has my heart: for ten years I have hunted, tracing Mount the painter who also perceived the world through the lens of words and wrote with a poet's awareness.

Like Whitman, he was poet of the quotidian, heard Whitman's call that the Muse be installed in the kitchen. Mount's journals chronicle the second-by-second miracle of life's unfolding around him in the villages he explored on foot, from his portable studio, or from the *Pond Lily*, the skiff he built and painted from in the last five years of his life. In the journals, the account books of his soul, he observes a child chasing a sunbeam, an old man at his mother's grave, the smooth bark of a black oak, a boy sliding down a hill, an old slave, Toney, playing the hornpipes, a black snake basking in afternoon sun, a striped bass taken by seine net, the shine of snow like "pulverized mica," lovers eating ice cream out of one glass, a clam digger waiting for the tide. He kept his journals life-size, like his paintings and sketches: the poems derived from them glow with the shine of the world, one man's pilgrimage through a sacramental universe. I understand: as a Long Islander, a "Paumanokian" who resides in Mount country, I move daily through the landscapes in his paintings and sketches, the shoreline along the Sound where he mined his "native pigments," the harbors at Stony Brook and Setauket, the ponds and necks and inland dunes redolent with bayberry and wild sea rose.

As a poet, Mount used the language of living speech, was indeed Wordsworth's "man speaking to other men." His style emanated from the thing, organically, much the way he culled pigments from sandstone in Stony Brook Harbor, as described in a letter to the Long Island historian, Benjamin Franklin Thompson:

> ...As we strolled along the bank, we picked up pieces of brown, yellow, and red... Shepard [Mount's brother] struck his hoe...and we were astonished to see a lot of bright red running down to the bank and mingling with the sand. It was a rich day for us — we worked with the spirit of gold diggers and were well paid...(we found) several brimstone balls of a sea-green color, with lines radiating from the center, smelling strongly of sulphur...[2]

As he found "native pigments" in sandstone, so he found the precise words, organically sprung and flowing from the object. The liquid consonants in "bright red running down to the bank and mingling with the sand" — the music of all those sounds — suggest a meandering runnel. The image of the "brimstone balls of a sea-green color, with lines radiating from the center, smelling strongly of sulphur," is in itself stunning, yet so charged with texture that we feel them in our hands, smell sulphur coursing through our nostrils. Only a poet could say it quite that way.

Texture remains the poet's milieu, as in these selected lines from the journals whose grainy feel and sound I love:

> I want to bask in the sun like a black snake.
> A woodpecker hammering at an old dry dish.
> Total eclipse of the moon as if covered with brown gauze.
> And your belly made fat at night with rich chowder.

As Mount's "native pigments" and writer's voice were fashioned from the Island's shore-stones, the cadence of Paumanok's sea-swells and crashing waves gave birth to Whitman's diction. In *Specimen Days*, his prose memoir, Whitman recalls that in his Long Island youth and early manhood, he

> haunted the shores of Rockaway or Coney Island, or away

> east to the Hamptons or Montauk. . . . I felt I must one day write a book expressing the liquid, mystic theme. Afterward. . .it came to me that. . . the seashore should be an invisible *influence*, a pervading gauge and tally for me, in my composition.[3]

Did Mount and Whitman ever meet? Although Gay Wilson Allen insists that they were "on friendly terms,"[4] I have not found a single reference to Whitman in Mount's journals, or, in my study of Long Island literature, discovered proof of their having met. Yet, at the that time Whitman taught school at Smithtown (1837-1838), Mount used to walk the eight miles from Stony Brook to play fife with the Village of the Branch Fusiliers. They might easily have paused to chat, as Whitman waited for the dilatory stagecoach to take him to Greenport to visit his sister Mary and her shipbuilder husband, Ansel Van Nostrand, in their little white house at the corner of South and Third Streets. I imagine such a meeting, but I have yet to find documentation. Yet there is an actual connection, one which often goes unnoticed.

On February 1, 1851, Whitman wrote an article captioned "Something About Art and Brooklyn Artists," for Bryant's *New York Evening Post*. Whitman, the "art critic," cautioned his readers that although the paintings at the Brooklyn Art Union were not of "the highest order of merit," some were "works of taste and talent." Among these, he singled out two: a painting by Walter Libbey of a "handsome country boy" holding a flute, and Mount's *The Lucky Throw*, which was diminished in the comparison. In his journal for February 8, 1851, Mount wrote of *The Lucky Throw* that "I painted with great care. My model was a bad sitter, which caused me some anxiety and made me repeat my color — perhaps to the benefit of the picture." The painting, one in a series depicting the lives of Mount's Setauket-Stony Brook black neighbors, was commissioned by William Schaus, a New York art dealer, as a lithograph to be sold to European galleries (the original is lost: only the lithographic version survives).

Mount is his own best critic, for the fidgety model, Jean-Baptiste-Adolphe Lafosse, benefited from Mount's preoccupation with color. Half clutching, half caressing a goose he evidently has won in a village raffle, he is a vibrant lad whose callow exuberance speaks to the sleeping child in all of us. Yet Whitman, in his critique of Mount's portraiture, wrote sourly that

> Mount's negro may be said to have a character of Americanism too; but I must be pardoned for saying that I never could, and never will admire the exemplifying of our national attributes with Ethiopian minstrelsy.

The point of all this is not so much that Whitman, democracy's prophet, was prone to the careless prejudice prevailing in his times, but that Mount apparently was not. In any case, *The Lucky Throw* lives in our imagination as an example of 19th century genre portraiture at its best.

In addition to this single Whitman/Mount "connection" are some notable similarities in writing styles. The crashing seaswells that give Whitman his trademark antiphonal cadences are to be found in Mount's journals. Nowhere is he more "Whitmanesque" than in his "Subjects" — lists of scenes and people for paintings, catalogs of work ahead. How like Whitman's inventories are these noun-studded parallel forms that raise his hammered out lines to the level of prayer or chant. It is interesting to read (and better to hear) side-by-side passages from Whitman's poems and "Subjects" from the journals of Mount — there are times when my poet's ear can't tell the difference. Compare Section 15 of "Song of Myself" with two of Mount's entries arranged as verse:

> The pure contralto sings in the organ loft,
> The carpenter dresses his plank, the tongue of his foreplane
>   whistles its wild ascending lisp,
> The married and unmarried children ride home to their
>   Thanksgiving dinner,
> The pilot seizes the king-pin, he heaves down with a strong arm,
> The mate stands braced in the whale-boat, lance and harpoon
>   are ready,
> The duck-shooter walks by silent and cautious stretches...
> The lunatic at last is carried to the asylum a confirmed case,
> He will never sleep any more as he did in the cot in his
>   mother's bedroom . . .
>   (From Section 15, "Song of Myself")

> A clam digger waiting for the tide,
> Shadow of a rabbit on the wall,
> A negro blowing into the head of his violin to stay the pegs,
> A blackman fiddling with great expression,
> A mother, her two babies playing upon the harp of a thousand strings:
>   a mother's bosom,
> A lady and her beau sucking at a brandy smash.
> (From Mount's journal entry, 26 December, 1849)

> Two men grinding a chisel, one holding, the other turning,
> A negro reading to a little white boy
> A man resting against an old well, his horse drinking from a trough,
> Horses looking over the shoulder of a painter sketching in a field,
> The ripple: a boy washing clams in a basket, hoe in one
>   hand, basket in the other,
> Flowers stuck in a bayonet.
> (From journal entry, July [no day specified], 1862)

"Flowers stuck on a bayonet": is there a better image in all of Whitman's *Drum-Taps*? I speak as one whose first poet was Whitman, the poet who remains "the gauge and tally" of my own writing life.

If the poem is indeed the shortest distance between two points, then the epigrammatic style and penchant for terse distillation affirm a poet at work. Mount writes as such a one, in the lines:

When one paints to order, he sells his birthright.
I returned to the country to paint the mugs of Long Island yeomen.
I'd rather be free in Long Island than a slave in Paris.
Better to wear out than to rust out in one place.
The artist should throw away his cane and his glove.
A true painter should have no home, but wander in search of
scenery and character.

The transpositions from prose to verse flush out the poet asleep in the journals and letters. This has been done before, and successfully, by William M. White in his analysis of Thoreau's journals,[5] a work that lets readers experience the poet they first heard in *Walden's* prose. And did not Whitman raid the journals of his young friend, John Burroughs, for poems like "The Dalliance of the Eagles"?

In the transpositions that follow, my charge is fidelity to Mount's words. I have taken the minimal "liberties" of assigning titles, adding or deleting articles, aligning tenses, and correcting spelling and capitalization. My aim is to locate the poet in his music and images — his painter's eye for texture and detail — locked in the *written* record of his 19th-century Long Island life. Here are two examples of Mount's prose and my verse transpositions:

Rainy. Frogs peeping in the evening. (From journal entry, 31 March, 1866)

Rainy:
frogs peeping
in the evening.

How much beauty in a single sunbeam — it gives an importance to the simplest object, it penetrates the deepest gloom and scatters darkness, and renders it visible. Observe the shadow of the leaves as they rest upon the body of a large chestnut, or oak, etc — how prettily they break up a large surface, round or flat. (Journal entry, 18 April, 1847)

How much beauty
in a single sunbeam,
it gives an importance
to the simplest object,
penetrates the deepest gloom,
scatters darkness —
renders it visible.

Observe:
the shadow of leaves
upon a large chestnut
or oak — how prettily
they break up
a large surface
round or flat.

I have arranged these poems according to the three governing themes of the journals and letters: "The Aesthetic," Mount's principles of art and what he believed to be the artist's mission in 19th century America; "The Lyric Voice," those moments in which he is most himself, most candid, most a soul on record, and the "Regional Muse," those poems depicting the people and landscapes of his village life.

In an October 16, 1866 journal entry, he recorded (verse transposition mine):

> In the morning
> I wrote in frost,
> "God is good."
>
> In the afternoon
> I sketched in oil:
> Strong's Point,
> the Woodhull House,
> a boat on shore.

I imagine a T'ang Dynasty Chinese poet writing something like this — or even a contemporary American poet like Lucien Stryk. It is, however, the work of a just-discovered 19th century Long Island poet, whose journals and letters comprise a homespun history of their times, my neighbor, William Sidney Mount.

1. The Aesthetic

A PAINTER'S STUDIO SHOULD BE EVERYWHERE

A painter's studio should be everywhere,
wherever he finds a picture —
indoors or out:
in the blacksmith's shop,
in the shoemaker's, the tailor's,
the church, tavern, or hotel,
the market and into the dens
of poverty and dissipation,
high life and low life.

In the full blaze of the sun
in moonlight and in shadow.
Then on the wave, by the seashore
and in the cottage by firelight —
even in the theater.
See the sun rise and set,
search for materials,
do not wait for them
to come to you.

Attend fairs and shows

campmeetings and horse racings,
treasure up something in your mind
or on paper or canvas,
wherever you may happen to be thrown.
Have the industry of a reporter
not ashamed or afraid
to paint in the marketplace,
for painting is an honorable calling
and the artist will be respected.
So let him paint where he will!

The time has come.
The artist should throw away
his cane and glove,
should go forth for subjects
with the industry of bees
in a flower garden,
should sip the passing beauty
and return with praise from his friends
and from the whole world:
"Well done, good and faithful servant."
(*Journal*, 19 October, 1847)

THE ARTIST'S CELL

Rise early, make fire,
sweep out room before breakfast.
Window and door thrown open:
let out the dust,
let in the fresh air —
then paint
sketch
draw.
(*Journal*, 15 January, 1857)

ALL IS DARK BUT THE MIND

All is dark but the mind,
in the stillness of the night,
the author can write.
(*Journal*, 1865 — the year alone is cited when Mount did not specify day or month)

A WORLD OF PICTURES

There are pictures to be seen
in most everything we look at:
in the bark of trees,
in the clouds,
in our footprints in the snow,
or on pavements or scratchy walls,
in knots in old weatherbeaten pine boards,
also in rosewood, mahogany,
in variegated marbles, stones
and rocks.

I have seen streets, buildings, trees,
stone fences, cottages,
the figures of men, women, children
on the smooth bark of the black oak
with a variety of beautiful gray.
(*Journal*, 14 November, 1866)

2. The Lyric Voice

BOYHOOD MEMORIES

You should have seen me
a farmer boy in a coarse working frock,
straw hat in hand, watching
the teacher mixing colors,
directing her pupil.

Yet, like most boys
sliding down hill, skating
and catching rabbits
occupied most of my attention
winters after school.

In spring, loitering
around the edge of the pond,
skimming stones, watching
the ripples melt away —
these scenes led me to look at nature
for a higher purpose.

And I have often stood overlooking the Sound
gazing, swinging my hat
at the oncoming thunder storm,

watching the shifting and gathering of clouds
into a squall, the shelling of rain,
a touch of lightning —
a loud clap overhead.

Them my curiosity dampened:
a wet thirst
and a tall run
for the kitchen fire.
(Letter to unknown inquirer, January, 1854)

THE SLAVE BURIAL GROUND

The other day
wandering about the hills
I visited the burial ground
for slaves, struck
with the sublimity
of the monument
to a distinguished fiddler.

I have sat by Toney when I was a child
to hear him play his jigs and hornpipes.
Oh, he was a master —
acted well his part.
(Letter to C. M. Cady, 24 November, 1853)

ON A FRIEND'S ENGAGEMENT

Your heart now has a locality,
a resting place.
You are not bound in
by brick or mortar
but have a space to breathe in,
and your belly made fat at night
with a rich chowder.
(Letter to Charles Lanman, Mount's fellow painter and closest friend, 30 September, 1841)

LIKE A BLACK SNAKE

I want to bask in the sun
like a black snake.
It kills me
to be kept from the mountain air,
the sea breeze.
(Letter to Charles Lanman, 2 May, 1847)

A MOTHER'S DEATH

I shall never forget
the warm pressure
of my mother's hand
when she was dying:
the last pressure
of approbation.
(Letter to Charles Lanman, September 8, 1847)

DEATH OF A BROTHER: S. A. MOUNT

Gazing into the spirit world,
"How beautiful, how beautiful,"
he exclaimed, "I am coming,"
motioning with his hand.

Then, in quiet thought,
he turned on his right side,
drew a few short breaths
and expired,
(Letter to Alden J. Spooner, 26 September, 1868)

PAINTING THE POND LILY

Wind, north-east, cool:
I painted my boat
in the orchard,
the bottom a light-dove color
made of Mississippi brown,
a little chrome and white-zinc.
(*Journal*, 1 June, 1866)

IN THIS RETIRED REGION

In this retired region
I have no artist to converse with,
the loneliness and stillness
painful to me.

I must visit the ladies
go to apple peelings,
quiltings.
(Letter to Charles Lanman, 3 December, 1847)

3. The Regional Muse

HOME REMEDIES

For bilious cholic:
tea made of timothy heads.
To cure the bowel complaint
or cholera morbus: feet soaked
in hot water with ashes.
For rheumatism: half ounce of saltpeter
to a pint of good gin
three times a day
before eating.
For headaches: two teaspoons
of pulverized charcoal
and water.
For worms: pink and lemma
with a little ginger
or cloves.

If I take medicine
it must be worm medicine.
(*Journal*, 15 June, 1853)

SUN SETTING IN A CLOUD

Sky:
blue
greenish, purple.

Clouds:
yellow and orange,
shadows red and purple.

Land:
purple distance
middle ground, brown and greenish.
(*Journal*, 27 October, 1853)

FROM AN ANGLER'S NOTEBOOK

"All I can do, is give you an account of the different kinds of fish taken here, and the mode of taking them"
(Letter to Charles Lanman, 15 September, 1847)

Flatfish: hook and line
clam bait
in deep water
and muddy bottom
commencing the first of March.

Flounders: taken with line or spear
from May until the fall.
They feed upon the heads of soft clams —
so many clams found dead.

Porgies: taken with hook
in harbors and bays:
June 1 until Late October.

Blackfish: taken with line
when dogwood is in bloom
until late fall — wherever
a rocky shore is found.

Bluefish: by trolling —
now and then
a striped bonito.

Striped bass: taken by seine,
mossbunkers
the same.

Sea robin: bite voraciously
at the hook,
not much sport
in taking them.
(Letter to Charles Lanman, 15 September, 1847)

MOON ECLIPSE

Total eclipse of the moon,
as if covered with brown gauze —
but very clear shadow.
(*Journal*, 30 March, 1866)

SPRING MORNING

Such a morning!
The country fresh and green,
apple blossoms showing red,
the peach blooming.

A woodpecker hammering
at an old dry limb,

small vessels moving
up and down the Sound.

The bright sun
puts on
the finishing touch.
(*Journal*, 15 May, 1866)

FOR EVERYTHING A SEASON

I saw ripe blackberries this day
the earliest ever known:
this is a forward season.

Farmers have been cutting hay,
wheat was cradled
as the old-fashioned cherry was ripe:
this is an early season,
(*Journal*, 29 June, 1865)

SPEARING FLATFISH

Early morning along shore:
water calm
as clear as a mirror
to the depth of twelve feet.

An eel
darting through seaweed,
flatfish shifting
throwing sand over its body.

And Hector, erect on the bow,
spear held ready
looking into the elements
with the philosophy of a crane.
(Letter to Charles Lanman, 17 November, 1847)

A SINGLE SUNBEAM

How much beauty
in a single sunbeam.
It gives importance
to the simplest object,
penetrates the deepest gloom,
scatters darkness —
renders it visible.

Observe:
the shadow of leaves
upon a large chestnut

or oak — how prettily
they break up
a large surface
round or flat.
(*Journal*, 18 April, 1847)

SHARK AT SETAUKET HARBOR

Entering Setauket Harbor
by Skidmore's Point,
by the buoy,
wind west and tide two-thirds down
with Charles Hawkins at the helm,
a large shark rose out of the water,
seven or eight feet,
then slid along the *Pond Lily*
slapping its tail against her —
as much noise
as a man
falling overboard.
(Letter to an unknown editor, 11 August, 1866)

WINTER SCENE

Clear, 20 degrees below zero
wind east:
Captain Tyler sailed out
with a load of hay —
ice in the harbor.
(*Journal*, 4 January, 1867)

SUBJECTS: LOVERS & OTHERS

Lovers eating ice cream
out of one glass,
only one shilling —
the waiter grinning behind.

A negro girl picking a goose.

The grave of an old negro.

Two boys drawing after them
a lot of bones —
a skeleton for speculation.

A young lady reading by a window.

A bachelor mending his britches.

A boy sitting on the chimney hearth.

The return: an old man
looking at the ruins of the old mansion,
home of his early days.
  (*Journal*, 18 April, 1847)

SUBJECTS: "OH! WHAT A LOOK SHE GAVE."

A young and beautiful female
cleaning a window —
Oh! What a look she gave.

Out of funds
at an apple stand.

A child playing with a sunbeam.

A girl in full dress
making signs with her fingers
for the omnibus to stop.

A woman
drawing water
out of a pole well.

An old man
at the grave of his mother.
  (*Journal*, 1858)

SUBJECTS: TWO WOMEN

Dress for a negro girl:
fleshy-colored gown
rather pinky,
blue shawl
green and red ribbons
and a gold breast pin.

A white nurse
tending a child:
yellow cap,
blue gown turned up
over the knees —
and a red petticoat.
  (*Journal*, 7 March, 1847)

NOTES

1. Alfred Frankenstein, *William Sidney Mount* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1975).

2. William Sidney Mount to Benjamin Franklin Thompson. 13 January, 1843.

3. From "Sea-Shore Fancies," in a section of *Specimen Days,* reprinted in *Paumanok Rising: An Anthology of Eastern Long Island Aesthetics*, Vince Clemente and Graham Everett, eds. (Port Jefferson, NY: Street Press, 1981), p. 128.

4. Gay Wilson Allen, *The Solitary Singer: A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman* (New York: MacMillan, 1955), p. 108.

5. William M. White, *All Nature Is My Bride: Passages from the Journals of Henry David Thoreau* (Old Greenwich, CT: Chatham Press, 1975).

The Election Of Long Island Delegates To The New York State Convention To Consider The Federal Constitution

By Luise Weiss

Good news, brother dealers in metre & prose!
The world has turn'd buffer and coming to blows;
Write good sense or non sense, my boys, it's all one,
All persons may fire when the battle's begun....

Come on brother scribblers, 'tis idle to lag.
The CONVENTION has let the cat out of the bag,
Write something at randum [*sic*], you need not be nice,
Public spirit, Montesquieu, and great Dr. Price....

—"News-monger's Song"[1]

Our new foederal [*sic*] government is very acceptable to a great majority of our citizens, and will certainly be adopted immediately....[T]hen to be a citizen of the United States...will be to be a citizen of the freest, purest and happiest government upon the face of the earth...

—Benjamin Rush[2]

> Deliberate, therefore, on this new national government with coolness; analyze it with criticism and reflect on it with candour [*sic*]; if you find that...it will se- cure you and your posterity happiness at home and national dignity, adopt it — if it will not, reject it with indignation... — Cato I.[3]

Amid these verses, admonitions and promises, New Yorkers heeded the call of their legislature to elect delegates for a special convention. This convocation, to be held in Poughkeepsie in June of 1788, would determine whether or not New York State would adopt the Constitution drafted the preceding summer in Philadelphia.

According to Article VII, "The ratification by conventions in nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying." By the time New Yorkers went to the polls late in April, seven states — Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Maryland and Massachusetts — had convened and adopted the Constitution.

The citizens of New York had seven months since the first publication of the Constitution to debate the great issue.

Frenzied activity on the part of those for and against ratification resulted in a proliferation of broadsides, poems, letters, pamphlets and essays. The Federalists, who favored ratification, believed that under the Constitution interstate trade barriers would be eliminated and more favorable foreign trade agreements secured. A revival of commerce, a flourishing economy, rising land values, lower taxes and a stable currency would be the rewards of a strong central government.[4]

Their opponents, the Antifederalists, were suspicious of centralized power after the colonies' long experience with the British Crown and Parliament. They were concerned that Presidential and Congressional power could lead to monarchy or rule by a privileged few. They feared the destruction or subordination of the state governments. Antifederalists objected to the absence of a bill of rights to guarantee personal liberties dearly won in the Revolution. Furthermore, New York State received one-third of its income from tariffs on goods imported through the Port of New York City. Under the Constitution, they argued, this important source of revenue would be diverted to the Federal Treasury, leading to increased land taxes — the burden of which would fall on the tenant farmer and small landholder. In addition, a rise in the number of office holders in the new federal government would require even higher taxes. Antifederalists believed that they should be considered the true federalists, since the opposition favored a "national" and not a "federal" union of states.

John Jay's *An Address to the People of the State of New York* signed by "a Citizen of New York," was countered by Antifederalist Melancton Smith's *An Address to the People of the State of New York*, signed by "a Plebian." Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay collaborated on *The Federalist*, 85 essays issued under the pen name "Publius," expounding the Constitution's merit, while two pamphlets of *Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republicans* made a strong Antifederalist statement.[5] Polished arguments like these were offset by a host of polemics filled with epithets, disparagements, and malicious rumors. In an effort to manipulate public opinion by association, one "correspondent" insisted that Federalists should be termed "Washingtonians," Antifederalists "Shayites" [*sic*].[6] Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, who refused to sign the Constitution in Philadelphia, declared later that since the debate was really over ratification, the contending sides should have been labeled "Rats" and 'Anti-Rats."[7]

It is generally acknowledged that political parties in New York State did not develop before this campaign. There were factions and loosely built alliances, but allegiances shifted with issues and the mood of the time, and elections often went uncontested.[8] Federalist sentiment ran high in commercial areas in and around New York City while the upstate agrarian areas supported the Antifederalists. Both supporters and detractors believed in the need for a Union with a republican form of government; they differed over the kind of union best for the fledgling nation.

As the convention approached, speculation focused on the selection of 65 delegates, allotted on the same population basis as seats in the state assembly. Long Island was to elect eleven—five from Suffolk County, four from Queens, and two from Kings. In early April, Assemblyman Jonathan Nicoll Havens of Shelter Island wrote to his colleague, John Smith of Mastic, that Ezra L'Hommedieu of Southold had shown him a list of proposed delegates that included George Smith, Selah Strong, Benjamin Huntting, Nathaniel Gardiner and L'Hommedieu himself.[9] L'Hommedieu, perhaps Suffolk's leading citizen, was a lawyer, the heir to a large estate which he expanded by numerous land purchases. He was a Provincial congressman, an assemblyman and state senator, and a member of the Continental Congress. All the men on his list were from old and established Suffolk families.[10]

George Smith, a lawyer from Smithtown and a descendant of Richard "Bull" Smith, its founder, is believed to have been a member of the Long Island Patriot spy ring during the Revolution.[11] Benjamin Huntting, of Southampton, engaged in extensive West Indian trade, was a pioneer in Sag Harbor's whaling industry. Nathaniel Gardiner, an East Hampton physician and assemblyman, also was involved with whaling. Judge Selah Strong of Setauket, one of the richest men of Brookhaven Town, was a veteran of three Provincial Congresses. In 1778, he had been captured by the British and confined on their infamous prison ship *The Jersey.*

Presumably, Ezra L'Hommedieu's candidate list was a "Federal" one. As Havens explained to John Smith, "You are left out for being 'anti' and so am I, and what is most comical of all Gen. F [Floyd] is left out and they say for the same reason."[12] Havens proposed an alternative, a coalition ticket consisting of Floyd, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, L'Hommedieu, Selah Strong, John Smith, and himself. As for the Constitution, Havens declared with true political rhetoric that it is one thing to adopt a government and another

> to support it — if my country chooses to adopt the new government they must support it afterwards and every individual must take his chances with the majority....I hope great benefits will come from the adoption of the new government to the United States...[13]

Neither David Gelston nor Thomas Tredwell, both former Provincial congressmen, were as positive as Havens about the "new government." Gelston, a merchant who had moved from Bridgehampton to New York City, admonished John Smith curtly: "For shame, you must stir yourself — meet your friends somewhere — agree upon a good list....Hold them up. Persevere. Don't lie idle."[14] Less than two weeks later, Smith reassured Gelston that Judge Tredwell, a Smithtown resident, was making the rounds in Suffolk promoting an Antifederalist list and predicting dire consequences to the nation should the Constitution be adopted.[15]

As the election approached, both factions were uneasy about the outcome on Long Island. Ezra L'Hommedieu, serving in the Confederation Congress, was worried about the result in Suffolk unless he could be home "...to concert measures to procure a federal representation from thence to the Convention."[16] Melancton Smith of Dutchess County, a leading Antifederalist, believed that "appearances on Long Island are favorable ...[and] if proper exertions are made that all will go well."[17] Just before the election, John Smith wrote to David Gelston that if copies of the latest Antifederalist pamphlet had been

> dispersed through the county two or three weeks sooner they would have convinced the greater part of the people of the impropriety of adopting the New Constitution previous to its being amended."[18]

Federalists Leonard Gansevoort of Albany and Morgan Lewis of Queens were optimistic of victory in Queens. Gansevoort claimed that although the county was somewhat divided, "our Friends are very sanguine that they will carry their whole ticket of nominations"[19], which included Francis Lewis Jr., Isaac Ledyard, Prior Townsend and Hendrick Onderdonck (later Onderdonks dropped the "c"). Lewis, the son of the signer of the Declaration of Independence, was also a candidate for the assembly (elections of Convention delegates, assemblymen, and state senators were held simultaneously); so was Isaac Ledyard, a physician and prominent citizen of Newtown, and Prior Townsend, of Oyster Bay. Hendrick Onderdonck, owner of a paper mill and at one time Supervisor of the Town of Hempstead, was one of the only persons involved not known to have held a State office. The elections were set for April 29 to May 3, but the results were not known until early June. As late as May 15, Ezra L'Hommedieu believed he had won.[20] On June 2, the *New York Journal* reported the outcome.[21]

The Federalists fully expected to win in Kings and were not disappointed. Their two "fairly inconspicuous candidates," Judge Peter Lefferts (later a state senator) and Sheriff Peter Vandervoort, were chosen to run against "the state's most successful politician," Governor George Clinton. When Clinton prudently withdrew in favor of easy victory in his home county of Ulster, Vandervoort and Lefferts triumphed over the county's two assemblymen, who had opposed a state ratifying convention.[22]

On the other hand, the Antifederalists carried Queens and Suffolk. Representing Queens were Nathaniel Lawrence, Stephen Carman, John Schenck, and Samuel Jones. At the age of 28, Nathaniel Lawrence of Hempstead was the youngest Long Island delegate. Three years later, he won an assembly seat and went on to be New York's attorney general. Stephen Carman, of South Hempstead, although probably a Loyalist during the Revolution, would serve 21 terms in the assembly; John Schenck of North Hempstead was a future assemblyman and state senator.

The most famous Long Island delegate was Samuel Jones of Oyster Bay and New York City, who served in both houses of the legislature and was known as "Father of the New York Bar." After switching from Antifederalist to Federalist in the 1790s, he became the state's first Comptroller. Once queried about his political success and ability to shift alliances, Jones replied, "...to tell the truth when my troops don't follow me, I follow them."[23]

Suffolk's delegates were Jonathan Havens, John Smith, Thomas Tredwell, David Hedges, and Henry Scudder. Scudder, of Northport, was a

Revolutionary War hero, one of the "whaleboat men" who had been "most active in planning raids against the Tories [and] as a spy went into British lines for the Patriots, at the risk of his life."[24] David Hedges, often called "The Deacon," a descendant of one of the founding families of East Hampton, belonged to the Fourth Provincial Congress and the assembly. Thomas Tredwell, the eloquent Antifederalist, held office in the Provincial Congress throughout the Revolution and later served in the state senate, assembly, and House of Representatives. John Smith of Mastic, assemblyman and congressman, the great-grandson of William "Tangier" Smith, was the first native-born and resident Long Islander to serve in the United States Senate (1804-1813). Jonathan Nicoll Havens of Shelter Island had ten assembly terms before his election to Congress in 1797; his death at the age of 42 cut short a promising career.

Although part of the electorate showed interest, the majority did not. Haven's assumption that "there will be no great degree of animation among the common people in this nor any other part of the county"[24] proved correct. County-wide records for Suffolk have not been preserved, but an April 1788 poll list for delegates for Huntington showed only 88 voters. Since 439 were eligible, fewer than 20 percent cast ballots.[26] If this figure reflects the whole county, then Suffolk had the state's next-to-lowest percentage of qualified electors who voted. According to a modern study, the participation figures ranged from 60 percent in Columbia County to 10 percent in Orange. New York City had 45 percent, but the median of the state's nine counties was 33. No results are extant for Kings, Suffolk, Clinton, Dutchess or Washington.[27]

In Queens, one third of the voters turned out, a proportion much higher than that assumed for Suffolk. Antifederalist delegates won in the eastern zone that is now Nassau County, while Federalists were the victors in the towns closer to New York City. The "Queens County vote for Delegates to the State Convention to adopt the Constitution of the United States" follows:[28]

[*Antifederalist Winners*]

	Samuel Jones	John Schenck	Nathaniel Lawrence	Stephen Carman
Oyster Bay.......	105	102	88	87
North Hempstead.	108	113	108	106
South Hempstead.	232	231	214	238
Jamaica.........	23	23	23	22
Flushing.........	13	13	13	13
Newtown........	36	36	38	10
	517	518	484	476

[Federalist Losers]

	Francis Lewis, Jr.	Hendrick Onderdonk	Prior Townsend	Isaac Ledyard
Oyster Bay.......	29	36	43	22
North Hempstead.	70	68	65	68
South Hempstead.	21	22	23	18
Jamaica.........	107	106	108	108
Flushing.........	110	101	99	104
Newtown........	79	78	77	81
	416	411	415	401

On an individual basis, the Constitution generated a great deal of ambivalence. Much in it was appealing; traditionally, Long Island assemblymen had voted for the transfer of tariff revenue to the Confederation government. They also sided with the New York City commercial interests against the paper-money bills throughout the 1780s. It was to the advantage of the embryonic whaling industry and trading interests to have a stable, uniform currency. At the same time, prospects for Long Island farmers were favorable. Crops in 1787 were good, and the Hessian fly that had plagued the production of wheat was disappearing. With the future looking so promising, there was no urgent reason to desert the Articles of Confederation.

Although John Smith and Jonathan Havens have been identified as Antifederalists, their correspondence indicates that neither advocated rejection of the Constitution. They expected it would be adopted. While they and the other Suffolk delegates were on the New York Committee to distribute Antifederalist literature, many of the pamphlets proposed amendments rather than outright renunciation. The one Long Islander who was steadfast in his objection to the Constitution was Thomas Tredwell, the Smithtown Judge. He summed up his case in a speech prepared for but most likely never delivered to the Convention. As well as censuring the Constitution for its acceptance of the institution of slavery, he wished that a

> greater caution had been used to secure us the freedom of election, a sufficient and responsible representation, the freedom of the press, and the trial by jury....also that sufficient cause had been used to secure to us our religious liberties....In this constitution...we have departed widely from the principles and political faith of '76, when the spirit of liberty ran high...Here we find no security for the rights of the individuals, no security for the existence of our state governments; here is no bill of rights, nor proper restriction of power; our lives, our property, and our consciences, are left wholly at the mercy of the legislature, and powers of the judiciary may be extended to any degree short of almighty."[29]

By the time the delegates assembled on June 17, 1788, South Carolina had become the eighth state to ratify. Only one more state was needed, and the New Hampshire and Virginia Conventions were already in session. An overwhelming majority of the New York elected delegates were Antifederalists, but with only a few committed to total rejection of the Constitution.

Alexander Hamilton led the Federalist fight for ratification. The principal Antifederalist spokesman was Melancton Smith, supported by Governor Clinton and the two Albany delegates who had walked out of the Philadelphia Convention and refused to sign the Constitution, Mayor John Lansing, Jr. and State Supreme Court Justice Robert Yates. Except for Samuel Jones, the Long Island delegates were mostly silent members who listened to the debates and pondered the issues.

Four days after New York convened, the state of New Hampshire ratified and the Constitution was in effect. Yet, everyone was aware that the Union's survival was doubtful without Virginia and New York. Formal debate, mainly carried on by Hamilton and Melancton Smith, went on until July 2 when the Convention received word that Virginia had endorsed. New York's ratification became more and more a certainty. From Southold, L'Hommedieu wrote to John Smith at the Convention, assuring him that

> since the adoption by New Hampshire and Virginia a great change in Sentiment has taken place with those who were before opposed to the Constitution and I believe there are but a few if any in this city who do not think it expedient for this state under the present Circumstances to become part of the Union. As far as I am informed this Sentiment is general in the southern part of the state.[30]

To the majority of the delegates, ratification was the only course. It would be easier to work for amendments inside rather than outside the compact. The debate revolved around whether New York would be accepted into the Union if its adoption was *on condition* of amendments. Federalists claimed it would not; Antifederalists insisted that the State would be accepted, conditions included. The problem was resolved on July 20, when with the support of Melancton Smith, Samuel Jones moved to change the key phrase of his resolution from "on Condition" to "in full confidence" that amendments would follow. The motion won by the thinnest of margins, 30 to 29; on July 26 the final vote to adopt was passed, 30 to 27.[31] Except for Thomas Tredwell who voted against, and David Hedges who apparently was not there, all the Kings, Queens, and Suffolk delegates voted "yes" on both the "full confidence" and ratification motions.

A list of suggested amendments was forwarded to Congress with the adoption message, but their enactment would have to be in the future through the process prescribed by Article V. The delegates' "full confidence" was not misplaced. At the first session of the new Congress, twelve amendments were proposed and sent to the states for consideration. Of these, ten were approved by 1791 and incorporated into the law of the land as the Bill of Rights.

Ratification by the eleventh state was celebrated throughout Long Island. The Flushing festivities, which began at daybreak on August 8, were highlighted with a banquet and speeches. Eleven toasts were drunk with a discharge of eleven guns to mark each one. At sunrise on August 14, the people of Smithtown fired cannon and raised the United States flag:

> At 2 most of the inhabitants of Smithtown & many from Huntington, Islip & Brookhaven assembled...At 5 they partook of an excellent cold collation...11 toasts were drank each re-echoed by a 12 pounder. Beer & cider were the only drink, no distilled liquor was necessary to animate the company's spirits on so joyful an occasion...[32]

The years 1783-1789 have been termed the Critical Period. Efforts designed to strengthen the Articles of Confederation had proved futile. The Confederation Congress was without power to regulate foreign and domestic trade, establish customs duties, collect taxes, or regulate currency. Even Thomas Tredwell admitted the Confederation "was not adequate to the purpose of the Union."[33] The new Federal Constitution was designed to alleviate these problems — to put the United States on a sound political basis and establish its position as a responsible and independent republic. In these efforts, it was successful. With the ratification of the Constitution by the state of New York and the election of the first Congress and President later in 1788, the new nation passed from its critical period into the Federal Era.

NOTES

1. "The News-Monger's Song for the Winter of 1788," *Albany Gazette*, 15 November 1788, in John P. Kaminski and Gaspare J. Saladino, *Commentaries on the Constitution: Public and Private*, 5 vols.(Madison, Wis.: State Historical Society, 1981), 2:117.

2. Benjamin Rush to John Coakley Lettison, 28 September 1788. In Kaminski, *Commentaries* 1:262.

3. "Cato" I, *New York Journal*, 27 September 1788, in ibid., 1:257. "Cato," the pseudonym for a New York Antifederalist spokesman, probably was not Gov. George Clinton, often believed to have written the series. According to the historian of New York's ratification, "...while no positive identification is possible, [Abraham] Yates is a plausible suspect." Linda Grant De Pauw, Appendix A, "The Authorship of the Cato Letters," *The Eleventh Pillar: New York State and the Federal Constitution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), p. 290.

4. For New York Federalist and Antifederalist viewpoints, see John P. Kaminski, "New York: The Reluctant Pillar," in Stephen L.Schecter, ed., *The Reluctant Pillar: New York and The Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (Troy: Russell Sage College, 1985), pp. 87-88.

5. *Observations Leading to a Fair Examination of the System of Government Proposed by the Late Convention...in a Number of Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican* ([New York], 1787), and *An Additional Number of Letters from the Federal Farmer to the Republican...([New York], 1788),* are often ascribed to Richard Henry Lee, "an ascription that the evidence does not seem substantially to support." Gordon S. Wood, "The Authorship of the *Letters from the Federal Farmer,*" *William and Mary Quarterly* 31 (April 1974) :299. Robert H. Webking contends that Melancton Smith, a prominent Dutchess County Antifederalist, might

have been the author, in "Melancton Smith and the *Letters from the Federal Farmer,*" *William and Mary Quarterly* 44 (July, 1987):510-528

6.*Pennsylvania Gazette,* 10 October 1788, in Kaminski, *Commentaries* 1:584. Shays' Rebellion, lead by Daniel Shays, (1786-87) was a protest by debtor farmers against foreclosures, taxes, and scarcity of paper currency in Massachusetts.

7. De Pauw, *Eleventh Pillar,* p. 171.

8. On the absence of political parties, see ibid., p. 26, and Jabez D. Hammond, *History of Political Parties in the State of New York,* 2 vols. (Cooperstown, NY: H & E Phinney, 1845) 1:3. For examples of uncontested elections, see Poll Lists for members of Assembly for Suffolk County (in the town of Huntington), 1785 and 1786. Huntington Town Historian's Office, Huntington, NY.

9. Jonathan Havens to John Smith, of Mastic, 5 April 1788. John Smith Manuscript Letters, New York Historical Society. Deciphering Havens' letters involves filling in the spaces — I believe Mr. L to be Ezra L'Hommedieu, Nat Ga________ Nathaniel Gardiner, Gen F or Mr. F William Floyd, J.S. John Smith, Selah S______g Selah Strong, and the D___c_n "Deacon" David Hedges.

10. Unless otherwise cited, biographical and political data is from *Civil List and Constitutional History of the Colony and State of New York* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co., 1886); Stephen L. Schecter, "Biographical Gazetteer of New York Federalists and Antifederalists," in Schechter, ed., *The Reluctant Pillar;* and Frederick Gregory Mather, *The Refugees of 1776 from Long Island to Connecticut* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1972).

11. Virginia Malone, *Smithtown News,* 8 October 1959, p. 5.

12. Jonathan Havens to John Smith, 5 April 1788. John Smith Manuscript Letters. William Floyd has never been positively identified as Federalist or Antifederalist. Evidently, people of his own time were not certain either.

13. Ibid.

14. David Gelston to John Smith, 9 April 1788. John Smith Manuscript Letters.

15. John Smith to David Gelston, 23 and 27 April 1788. John Smith Manuscript Letters.

16. Leonard Ganesvoort to Stephen Van Rensselaer, 6 April 1788. -4069, New York State Library, quoted in De Pauw, *Eleventh Pillar,* pp. 137-138.

17. Antifederalist Committee Circular Letter, 6 April 1788. John Lamb Papers, Frank Melville, Jr. Memorial Library, SUNY at Stony Brook, Stony Brook, New York.

18. John Smith to David Gelston, 23-27 April 1788. John Smith Manuscript Letters.

19. Leonard Gansevoort to Peter Ganesvoort, 18 March 1788. Ganesvoort-Lansing Papers, quoted in Schechter ed., *The Reluctant Pillar,* p. 94.

20. To Leonard Ganesvoort. Ibid., p. 97.

21. *New York Journal,* 2 and 5 June 1788.

22. Kaminski, "New York: The Reluctant Pillar," in Schecter, ed., *The Reluctant Pillar,* pp. 87-88. The defeated Antifederalists were Charles Doughty and Cornelius Wyckoff. See Schecter, "Biographical Gazetteer," ibid., pp. 185 — 186.

23. Alfred Young, *The Democratic Republicans of New York, The Origins 1763-1797* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967), p. 558.

24. Mather, *Refugees of Long Island*, p. 556.

25. Jonathan Havens to John Smith, 5 April 1788. John Smith Manuscript Letters.

26. 1788 Poll List for Convention. Huntington Town Historian's Office, and Manuscript Copy — 1790 List of Suffolk County Electorate, Richard H. Handley Long Island Historical Room of The Smithtown Library, Smithtown, New York.

27. De Pauw, *Eleventh Pillar*, p. 157.

28. Henry Onderdonk, *Queens County in Olden Times: Being a Supplement to the Several Histories Thereof* (Jamaica: Charles Welling, 1865) p. 71.

29. Jonathan Elliott, *Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1941 [first published in 1836]), pp. 391, 401.

30. Ezra L'Hommedieu to John Smith, 20 July 1788. John Smith Manuscript Letters.

31. De Pauw, *Eleventh Pillar*, pp. 242, and 247-250.

32. Onderdonk, *Queens County*, p. 72.

33. Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1969), p. 471.

REVIEWS

ROBERT E. CRAY, JR. ***Paupers and Poor Relief in New York City and Its Rural Environs, 1700-1830***. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988. Index, bibliography. Pp. xii, 269. $34. 95 (cloth).

Robert E. Cray, Jr. has traced the development of public responses to the problem of poverty in an impressively researched and readable study. His introduction reviews previous work on the subject by David Rothman, Gary Nash, James Henretta, and Edward Pessen, and rightly credits Rothman's *The Discovery of the Asylum* (1971) as the pioneering paradigm for scholarly debate on the subject. Rothman described the eighteenth century origins of public relief programs as extensions of the home; the poor would be sent to live with local families who received some compensation from public funds. Toward the end of the century, when population growth and economic development resulted in increasing numbers of the poor and homeless, some communities began to erect almshouses for those who could not be accommodated in local homes. These first almshouses were described by Rothman as informal, familial shelters, not at all similar to the impersonal institutions which developed later.

By 1800, the numbers of destitute people began to over-tax fledgling public relief programs, particularly in the larger population centers. Alarm for the presence of these unfortunate souls on the streets of the cities and towns, contends Rothman, changed American perceptions of the poor. They now were seen as threats to good order, as well as moral failures. The almshouse was viewed less as a home for unfortunates and more as a prison, where the poor were kept under control and out of sight. Boston's workhouse for the poor, built in 1685, also served as the jail: New York City housed prisoners along with the poor in the almshouse built in 1736.

Cray takes a regional approach, focusing on New York City and Long Island between 1700 and 1830, when the area was experiencing rapid demographic and economic growth: my review will deal primarily with his treatment of the Long Island data.

Cray accepts the contours of Rothman's analysis, but challenges some of his interpretations, and provides an interesting narrative about the rural poor on Long Island:

> Implicit in the works of Rothman and others is an image of destitute persons as hapless victims ensnared by the manipulative policies of civil officials (Cray:5-6).

Rural officials are characterized as resistant to innovation and reluctant to follow the lead of the more progressive urban social reformers who were influenced by "ideological currents." Cray compares the city and rural data, digesting impressive amounts of information and concluding that both the poor and the rural town officials have been slighted by modern historians.

The poor often took control of their lives and were far from passive clients, he claims: they often moved from place to place to improve their condition, disobeyed rules, and defied town officials. Rural officials, in turn, responded to local concerns with remarkable flexibility and innovative policies. The genesis for poor relief was "...within local communities, urban and rural, rather than in the minds of social reformers" (Cray: 6). The towns did not simply copy urban solutions, they were far more open to change than historians believe. Cray asserts that the implementation of poorhouses and the holding of pauper auctions in rural towns earlier than scholars have recognized dispel the "...myth of rural provincialism at least in matters of poor relief" (Cray:187).

The historical pattern of developing institutions for poor relief in rural Long Island does differ somewhat from the model outlined by Rothman. As Cray ably demonstrates, local town officials tried diverse approaches including home assistance, pauper auctions, poor farms, and almshouses. But in most Long Island communities, the progression from home assistance to the final institutionalization of the almshouse — with clearly established, impersonal rules and formal structure — did not occur smoothly. Both East Hampton and Southold had almshouses before 1750 and abandoned them when the economy improved. Southold restored its almshouse in 1806, when the growing conflict with Great Britain brought hard times. Cray suggests that this difference shows that town officials were inclined to respond to local need, rather than be guided by ideological currents or social reformers. Rather than merely follow the lead of urban officials, rural folk developed policies that were in harmony with local conditions.

Cray's analysis is rather limited and often a bit strained. It is important that we understand more about the poor and the silent masses in history, and we learn from this book that they were adept at manipulating some of the social institutions which "ensnared" them. This is a significant insight, but Cray's introductory promise to give us "...a greater understanding of poor persons as individuals" is not fulfilled. His sympathy and his emphasis are clearly with the rural town officials who were concerned with finding the most economical solution to a tragic human problem. The best examples of this are Cray's treatment of "pauper auctions" and "badging". The pauper auction was an extension of the home assistance program which granted public money to "keepers" who took in paupers. The keepers also were empowered to demand that their charges perform some useful labor.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, this informal system became hopelessly overburdened with widows, children, elderly, and handicapped people. Some keepers took advantage of the surplus numbers of poor by demanding higher fees. The response to the rising costs of poor relief was to eliminate the bargaining position of the keepers by auctioning off the poor to the lowest bidder, as vividly described by Cray:

> Consider how the public sale of the poor worked. A number of townsfolk, primarily farmers, gathered together, looked over the assembled paupers, and bid for them. The low bid won custody of a pauper (Cray:113-114).

Cray admits that this system "... reduced poor persons to the status of marketable commodities," but he later cites this innovation as evidence that the rural villagers were not "provincial and narrow-minded." The rural yeomanry, he continues, was far more willing to experiment with ways of helping the poor than were their urban counterparts.

In an even more strained bit of reasoning, Cray argues that because the poor were farmed out as forced laborers to a large number of community members, the "... villagers reaffirmed their belief in basic republican principles, which upheld the primacy of the people" (Cray:114). His choice of this data to "prove" that the rural town officials were innovative and not narrow-minded provincials says more about his analysis than it does about colonial Long Island. Cray's insensitivity to the basic human dignity of the poor is further reflected in his comment on "badging". The practice of forcing relief recipients to wear a badge of red or blue cloth to mark them apart from their fellow citizens is described as an important administrative procedure for keeping track of the poor and distinguishing them from "criminals and other outcasts." While acknowledging that "The badge might well be seen as an emblem of shame. . ." Cray notes that it enabled town officials to prevent the undeserving poor from receiving public assistance (Cray:42).

His assertion that poor relief methods in eastern Long Island were determined by adaptations to "local concerns," rather than pressure from social reformers who were influenced by "ideological currents," is disproved by his own narrative. The movement to replace the pauper auction system with public almshouses was supported by those who believed these institutions would better serve the needs of the poor. This conviction was clearly one of the major "ideological currents" which influenced social reformers in both rural and urban areas. The holding of pauper auctions was condemned as inhumane by many public-spirited people in rural towns. Cray records the work of such reformers as John Jay's son, William, Nathaniel Potter and David Hewlett of Huntington, and the journalist, Samuel Fleet, in the struggle to establish almshouses on Long Island.

Almshouse proponents won victory against formidable opposition in Huntington Town, with the local yeomanry Cray seeks to credit with a "... propensity for change" forming the core of resistance. Tucked away in a footnote is a denunciation of pauper auctions by the Long Island historian, Benjamin Thompson, who, writing in the 1830s, attacked the auctions as

> ... a most unfeeling and scandalous practice of selling the unfortunate poor, in an open market, to him who would undertake to save them from starving (Cray:230).

Were it not for these active reformers, the local officials probably would have resisted and delayed the introduction of new public solutions to the problem of poverty.

Although Cray has integrated a great deal of data into his argument, he has not produced evidence to support his contention that Rothman, Nash, and Henretta present a distorted analysis of poor relief. His narrative, nevertheless, is an important contribution to the history of Long Island, introducing a number of themes which should stimulate further research. His brief treatment of African Americans and Native Americans raises intriguing questions about their status in the bond servant system. In choosing to focus on the problem of the poor in our local history, Cray has taken a very significant pioneering step.

The failure of our economic system to deal humanely with the problem of poverty is too often overlooked by historians, and that oversight may be a factor in our reluctance to face the issue squarely now. In his closing statement, Cray notes that no solution was found during the colonial and early national periods, and that we are no closer to a solution today. We still apply stop-gap measures, with the same tragic results: patterns of neglect and exploitation continue to blight our communities. Current keepers of the poor on eastern Long Island are motel owners, paid exorbitant rents by county social services to house the poor and the homeless. Past as well as present elected officials are vulnerable because they tend to seek short-term, inexpensive solutions to social problems. The moral and administrative failure of our public institutions to deal more creatively with the problem of poverty today adds yet another chapter to a long sad story.

JOHN A. STRONG
Long Island University — Southampton Campus

JOANN P. KRIEG, EDITOR. ***Evoking A Sense of Place***, with an Introduction by Natalie A. Naylor. Interlaken, New York: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1988. Notes, Bibliography, Guide to Resources and Suggested Reading, index. $14. 00 (paper).

Long Island has often suffered a lack of identity. It is a land of contrast, between disparate cultures — Native American, Dutch, English and other ethnic groups — between rural and suburban forces, and between the pull of growth and development and the desire to maintain smalltown life. Long Island, submerged throughout its history by its populous and powerful neighbor, has also struggled to move beyond its image of New York City's "bedroom community." At the same time, the Island's rich and diverse experiences have given it a layering of history comparable to few other regions.

Evoking A Sense of Place, a series of papers presented at the Long Island Studies Conference sponsored by Hofstra University's Long Island Studies Institute in 1986, is an excellent example of how regional studies can uncover a community's identity, as well as complement the larger study of national history. This carefully organized volume arranges its essays in four sections: material culture, commerce and transportation, culture and society, and research and bibliography.

The section on material culture appropriately begins with a paper on the first inhabitants. In "Archaeological Investigations of Prehistoric Native Americans," Kent Lightfoot, a former professor of anthropology at SUNY at Stony Brook, addresses a bias in settlement pattern studies. Such studies on Long Island historically have been site specific, focusing on coastal shell midden deposits, the easiest sites to identify and excavate. As part of a comprehensive methodology, Lightfoot and colleagues from two other universities co-sponsored an interim archaeological investigation of 2400 hectares of undeveloped area in Central Brookhaven, one of the largest non-coastal sites to be studied. Preliminary analysis suggests that the site was a habitation base: while more research is planned to determine chronology, spatial organization, and other significant aspects, Lightfoot's analysis of an interior woodland site considerably broadens one of the major debates in the field of Long Island prehistory — the degree of sedentarism practiced by its earliest inhabitants.

The richness of research possibilities inherent in estate inventories is illustrated by Elizabeth Reich Rawson's study of 40 selected Suffolk County inventories between 1658 and 1741. Rawson shows that such documents shed light on the types and quantities of possessions, the presence of new forms and how rapidly they are assimilated, room usage, and the impact of new styles and technical improvements. What was not recorded can be as interesting as what was — the infrequent mention of chamberpots implies that this most mundane, but necessary, of household objects was considered too unimportant to list separately.

Peter Kaufman examines the work of Aymar Embury II and Isaac H. Green, two Long Island architects who deserve closer scrutiny. Kaufman shows that whether high style or vernacular, a building is a meaningful document not only because of its style — in this case Dutch Colonial Revival — but in terms of its relation to its physical environment, particular community, and the forces that shaped that community.

The commerce and industry section includes Geoffrey Rossano's provocative article, "To Market, To Market: Oyster Bay and the International Economy in the Mid-Eighteenth Century. " The author counters what he sees as a romanticized view of colonial America — sleepy, self-sufficient agrarian villages inhabited by provincial farmers, out of touch and unconcerned with the outside world. By analysis of the business records of Samuel Townsend, a prosperous merchant, as well as population figures for Oyster Bay, the busy port in which Townsend lived, Rossano suggests that a majority of local residents were active members of the great intellectual, political, and commercial fraternity which united the greater Atlantic Community.

In "Women's Cradle of Aviation: Curtiss Field, Valley Stream," Joanne Lynn discusses a neglected topic, the role of women in the development of flying on Long Island. Curtiss Field saw the first organization for professional women pilots in 1929, of which Amelia Earhart was an early president. Although the article is a welcome addition to a sparse bibliography, I found it more a list of facts and "firsts" than an attempt to place in a larger context the important contributions of women aviators.

Also in this section are John A. Black's "Robert Moses and the Ocean Parkway: An Environmental Retrospective," and Edwin L. Dunbaugh's "New York to Boston Via the Long Island Railroad."

The book's largest section, on culture and society, contains five essays ranging from a study of Long Island Quakers and their influence, a probe of a 19th century murder case in South Oyster Bay (now Massapequa) and its impact on the issue of capital punishment, then — as now — a national subject of controversy, to the role of Italian Americans in Nassau County from 1900 to 1945. One of the more interesting essays is Sondra A. O'Neale's reinterpretation of "Jupiter Hammon of Long Island: America's First Black Writer." She discusses how Hammon, "owned" all his life — some 80 years — by the prestigious Lloyd family of Lloyd's Neck" (p. 119), was able to surmount bias for all things African and Black by couching his protests in Biblical language, the only vehicle open to him. In poetic discourse on his own enslavement and the general conditions of the state of slavery, Hammon conveyed subtle messages of hope to other slaves, as well as a moral challenge he hoped would touch the conscience of white society.

In "Local History As Universal History," the keynote and opening paper, Thomas J. Schlereth urges scholars of local history to employ what he calls the technique of "above-ground archaeology" (p. 20) — to realize that "the past is visible, as well as verbal" (p. 26). The American landscape, celebrated artistically but all but unresearched by historians, is an "open-air historical archive, library, and museum" (p. 21), a gigantic material culture collection. The premise calls for an interdisciplinary approach, utilizing the fields of literature, sociology, anthropology, economics, political science, geography, education, and history. The papers in this volume help to answer Schlereth's call: one or two weaker essays detract little from its overall contribution to the study of local and regional history. Another major strength of the book is the "Bibliography and Resources" section, with Evert Volkersz's informative "Long Island and Bibliography" essay, and the comprehensive "Guide to Resources and Suggested Reading" by Natalie Naylor.

CAROL TRAYNOR
Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities

MARTIN TUCKER, EDITOR. ***The World of Brooklyn: An Appreciation By Brooklyn Writers.*** New York: Confrontation Magazine Press of Long Island University, 1988. Illustrations, contributors' notes. 100 pp. $5.00 (paper).

Social scientists and even historians may organize Brooklyn's 81 square miles and 2. 5 million people into useful analytical or thematic categories and fill them with rich analysis. But Brooklyn is vast and mysterious, as Walt Whitman and Thomas Wolfe understood. Martin Tucker, literary scholar, editor of *Confrontation,* and resident of Brooklyn Heights — understands this too.

Of course, Brooklyn is a sense of place, its nurturing grounds finally yielding to the humanists' literary probe.

The World of Brooklyn begins and ends with excerpts of Whitman: "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry" and "Song of Myself." Between the good gray poet's brackets stand twenty original contributions — six essays of reminiscence, eight poems of celebration, four stories of diverse Brooklyn lives, and two works of scholarship, as well as two drawings, one of Whitman and one of John Roebling. Perhaps Whitman, but certainly not Roebling, would appreciate the structure of this anthology. The contributions are organized almost randomly. They do not build on or amplify one other; there is no line of development or culminating thesis. Each stands alone, like the "flowers that grew bravely and untended" in one story. Thus flawed, this thin volume with large insights nevertheless reminds us that the westend of Long Island deserves the appreciation it has won from these writers.

Martin Tucker explores the range and sensibility of the audaciously intellectual climate of Brooklyn. A Pulitzer Prize winner, Louis Shaeffer, traces the literary life of Brooklyn Heights, starting with a close look at his hero and one-time neighbor, Thomas Wolfe, and ending with drinks with Arthur Miller and Marilyn Monroe at the home of Norman Rosten, the Poet Laureate of Brooklyn. Rosten's poem on the "Gothic Incarnation" is one of two works on Brooklyn Bridge, the other a graceful tribute to the Roeblings by Borough President Howard Golden.

The novelist and reviewer Hilma Wolitzer presents a verse image of a girl's childhood room — "this memory of the *real* Brooklyn." Jane Mayhall, the Kentucky expatriot, sings a "gorgeous pterodactyl song" of "Seven Men on a Brooklyn Asphalt truck." A story, "Meet Me At the Gas Station," written by Francis Sherwood in a grammatically inventive style, concerns life in Trinidadian Brooklyn. The poet, L. L. Zeiger, celebrates Olga Bloom's "Bargemusic," that wonderful self-willed institution at Fulton Ferry, and Harvey Shapiro muses on "Blue Eyes," an innocent intellectual who falls asleep "like an American child' while listening to her lover read of "war,/ devastating, gut-chilling."

Winthrop Palmer shares her commitment to the development of Brooklyn theater in the 1920s; Robert Hagelstein recalls coming of age at the seat of learning on Flatbush Extension during the Kennedy years, and Ed Hershey, a Brooklyn "maven" now "exiled" in Maine, reflects on his 1950's boyhood when "true religion was worship of the Brooklyn Dodgers." D. H. Melhem visits the "ghost-crowds" in "Coney Island;" Enid Dame evokes "Brighton Beach," where "the old socialists dislike the new arrivals from Russia"; D. Nurske remembers "Rockaway Point" where "we held hands/in love with all clasped hands."

Mae Briskin's poignant short story portrays a college girl in love, haunted by the great social issues of World War II. In the poem, "Brooklyn and the World," Martin Tucker declares that 'I know you're prettier on the outside,/but that's not a comfort to cover up me." A wellwritten essay by Gary Belkin, backed by tenacious scholarship, recreates the Brooklyn milieu of Henry Miller's young writing days.

The final section is the "Brooklyn Bibliography," a fairly comprehensive, annotated compilation (through 1983), arranged by versatile Dr. Tucker under headings of Fiction, Non-Fiction, Biography and Memoir, Poems, Plays, Anthologies, and Films. The list is proof of the unique power of Brooklyn and its extraordinary impact on the shaping of American culture.

The World of Brooklyn appropriately is subtitled "An appreciation," for it does not look at the nether side: for example, Hubert Selby's view of the darkness (*Last Exit to Brooklyn*: 1965) appears only in the bibliography. It is a nostalgic and not at all critical appreciation, but it captures fragments of a real dimension of the place — its nurturing native grounds. (The book can be obtained by writing to Martin Tucker, Department of English, C. W. Post Campus of Long Island University, Greenvale, NY 11548.

GARY MAROTTA
Long Island University — Brooklyn Campus

"The Style of Long Island: 300 Years of Architecture and the Decorative Arts." Setauket, NY: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, 1988. Black and white poster, 23″ × 36″. $7.00.

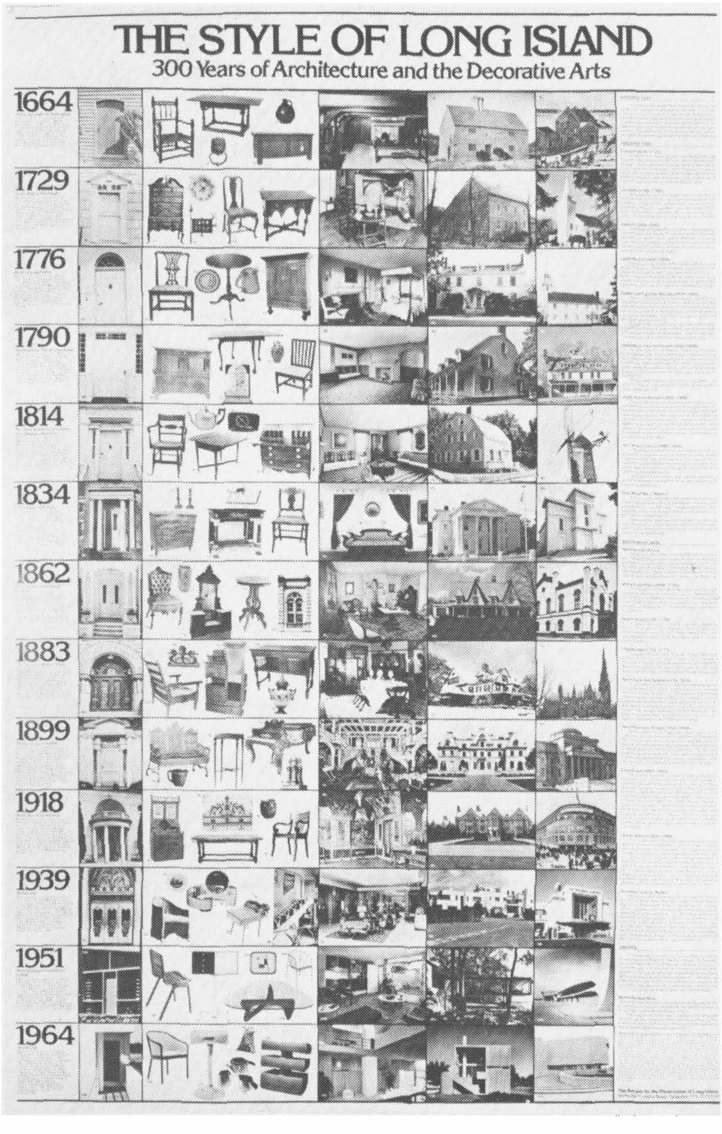
The Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities' recently published poster, "The Style of Long Island," is not typical of the glossy and boldly graphic productions frequently generated to commemorate museum exhibitions or permanent collections. Instead, it is an informative, instructive "catalog chart" in poster form which pictorially and textually addresses 300 years of Long Island architecture and decorative arts.

The idea for such a chart was conceived years ago by a former SPLIA Trustee, the late Mrs. Reginald (Bertha) Rose who, during a visit to Europe, saw a chart documenting the evolution of French decorative arts. The staff at SPLIA was intrigued by Mrs. Rose's enthusiasm for developing an American version intended specifically as a layman's guide to stylistic changes from the colonial era through contemporary times. SPLIA's staff collaboratively undertook the project, and focused on Long Island's decorative arts and architecture. The chart was developed as a catalog survey and teaching tool which spotlighted the Island's rich and diverse heritage.

Appearing on the chart are thirteen dates integral to Long Island history and culture beginning with the Dutch surrender to the English in 1664 and concluding with the 1964 World's Fair. These dates serve as keystones for illustrations of over 100 period examples of Long Island furniture, ceramics, silver, architectural interiors, and domestic and public buildings. Brief paragraphs place each period grouping within the context of stylistic characteristics and national trends. SPLIA's effort is the first to pull together such a broad representation of Long Island treasures, some of which, like the opulent, palatial decor of the Breakfast Loggia in the Rogers House, Southampton, from about 1914, exist no more.

The poster is available from The Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, 93 North Country Road, Setauket, NY 11733. National Westminster Bank is printing a variation of the chart which will be distributed free to schools and colleges.

DEBORAH J. JOHNSON
Museums at Stony Brook



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