THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL

The Rev. Eliakim Levi

Fall 1997
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"Starting from fish-shape Paumanok where I was born..."
Walt Whitman

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Cover: The Reverend Eliakim Levi, pastor of the New Light Baptist Church, Westbury: photo, ca. 1870, courtesy of the Historical Society of the Westburys.

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

"I say tomatoes and you say tomahtoes,
"I say addendums and you say addenda..."

Someone defined a football coach as a person smart enough to understand the rules and dumb enough to think they're important. The same applies to editors of scholarly journals, who meekly obey the edicts of *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

Do not wonder if we appear inconsistent. For example, our review headings follow the publishers' spelling for components of their books. Should a book contain "appendices" we spell the word accordingly, while muttering under our breath that "appendixes" now is preferred. When in doubt, the *Manual* recommends, check the plural favored by standard dictionaries, in our case the *American Heritage*. In our pages, memorandums supersede memoranda, symposiums outrank symposia, and on it goes, for millenniums over millennia.

Another quirk separates "us" from "them"—and they include the *New York Times* (oh yes, the *Manual* instructs us not to italicize "the" in this instance even though it is part of the newspaper's name). We lowercase such words as president, king, pope, senator, judge, general, and county executive, using capital letters only when the person's name follows his or her designation. Accordingly, we say President Clinton the same as the *Times*, but "the president said," not "the President said." Perhaps the *Manual* wants to temper our deference to officialdom by refraining from capping job titles when they are not attached to names.

Our *Manual*-inspired format for dates also raises occasional eyebrows: we write 4 July 1776 (no punctuation), not the customary July 4th, 1776, here again because the book tells us to. Also, we shun using nouns as adjectives in the style of *Time* magazine, which is why our articles never say "historian Arthur Sehlesinger Jr. (note that a comma no longer precedes Jr.), but instead "the historian, Arthur Schlesinger Jr."

We will not go on to explore the myriad rules for citations, which differ for books, journals, magazines, newspapers, legal cases, dissertations, and slews of other works and documents, but here is the bottom endnote: trust us, good readers, we try our best to format every article in the *Chicago Manual*'s style

We hope you enjoy this first issue of volume ten, and assure you that future editions will maintain our proven high standard of study of Long Island as America. We urge you who have not done so to sit right down and write your renewal check—$15 is far from all the money on the world, but it means everything to us. This reader-supported journal depends on you.

FRIENDS IN THE SPIRIT: AFRICAN AMERICANS AND THE CHALLENGE TO QUAKER LIBERALISM, 1776-1915

By Lynda R. Day

The members of the Religious Society of Friends, usually known as Quakers, favored abolition of slavery in the late-eighteenth century and worked as active abolitionists in the nineteenth. Their reputation as early opponents of slavery and continuing backers of African American progress is well- deserved. Less familiar are the generations of slaveholding and the long years of contentious debate on the subject that preceded the antislavery stance they took in later years. Indeed, the Quakers' reputation as enlightened progressives masks the deep contradictions of class, race, and culture that attended their support of African American causes.[1]

In the rural Long Island communities that comprised the Jericho and Westbury Monthly Meetings—Jericho, Westbury, Cow Neck (Manhasset), Matinecock, Oyster Bay, Bethpage, and Jerusalem (Wantagh)—these contradictions generated a remarkably complex relationship between the Friends, their African American former slaves, and the descendants of both. This article considers the contradictions inherent in a Christian reformist ideology, that called for African equality yet never truly addressed the economic inequality created by generations of slave ownership.

Many Westbury and Jericho Friends stood in the forefront of the reform movement whose adherents believed that following the "Inner Light"—the divine "light of God"—would lead to the good society here on earth, marked by brotherly love, freedom of conscience, and human equality. With regard to slavery, the great social issue of the day, they believed that human equality should extend to the Negroes and include their social, economic, and political freedom. Furthermore, many Friends felt that the system of slavery had taken away the African Americans' natural rights as free people, and that some measure to "compensate" them was due for their "surplus service." Most felt a sense of obligation to the former slaves, and attempted to establish the right moral balance with regard to their former bondsmen and bondswomen.[2]

How did the Quakers respond to this ethical challenge? Their laudable feelings of concern and even commitment meant that manumission did not break the ties that bound master and slave. Throughout the nineteenth century, Long Island's Quaker landowners maintained close connections with their former slaves,

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assisting them in a myriad of ways as well as hiring them and their descendants to work on Quaker farms and in Quaker homes and businesses. But did this assistance, these almost familial ties, lead to equality? How could the former slaves be compensated for generations of unpaid labor that helped create Quaker wealth and economic security?

This article examines how Quakers grappled with the dilemma of a moral vision of fairness that, in its full realization, would have run counter to the preservation of their group interests and their status as prosperous farmers and businessmen. Though in many ways the Quakers lived up to their precepts, the contradiction between their theory of equality and the reality of difference in class, education, and culture dividing the Friends and their former slaves was never resolved. Though the Quakers believed in justice for all, their class interests limited a full embrace of the concept of equality. Only those individuals who accompanied manumission with the transfer of capital or land may be said to have given their former slaves a chance at material as well as spiritual equality.

Background to the Manumissions of the Jericho and Westbury Monthly Meetings

Among the many well-to-do landowners on Long Island during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a sizeable number belonged to the Religious Society of Friends. As did other prosperous farmers in the region, Quakers in Westbury, where most families held about one hundred acres, typically owned from one to ten African Americans, who worked in their houses and fields. Census records, bills of sale, deeds, wills, and farm journals provide ample documentation of how common and generally accepted was the institution of slavery among the Friends, from their earliest settlements on Long Island until the latter part of the eighteenth century.[3]

Though many Friends on Long Island owned slaves, antislavery sentiments had long been expressed by prominent leaders, and the practice was widely questioned by those in the faith. As early as 1657, soon after the Quaker movement started, its founder, George Fox, reminded his slaveowning followers that everyone was equal in the sight of God, declaring: "There is that of God in every man." After his visit to Barbados in 1671, he called on slaveholders to Christianize their slaves, and free them "after a considerable term of years." After much consideration, his associate, William Edmundsen, went further than Fox: in 1676, in a statement issued at Newport, Rhode Island, he called for the unqualified abolition of slavery. The question of the rightness of slaveholding was discussed and debated for the next several decades, as Friends struggled to reach a consensus on the issue. Though most Quakers agreed that the slave trade violated their tradition of ethical business dealings, wealthy, slaveowning Friends in the West Indies, Pennsylvania, and other colonies blocked any official sanctions against the international slave trade until 1727. Nevertheless, anti-slavery sentiments percolated throughout Quaker communities. As early as 1688, Quakers

in Germantown, Pennsylvania, drew up a formal document decrying Negro slavery, and forwarded it to the Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings of their region. But, though numerous individuals campaigned against slavery in the first decades of the 1700s, the issue was buried or suppressed by the meetings for half a century longer.[4]

The campaign eventually bore fruit. By the late 1750s, such a strong sentiment against the holding of other human beings in bondage had taken hold of the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia that it moved forcefully to convince other yearly meetings that slavery was a sin. After a century of intellectually wrestling with the moral, spiritual, and economic conundrum of holding and trafficking in human property, the 1775 New York Yearly Meeting settled on a minimum precept to which members generally could agree. After this date, Friends who wanted to remain in good standing had to arrange for the manumission of their human property. In this democratic fashion, antislavery became the official policy of all yearly meetings in the United States and England by 1776.[5]

On Long Island, the visits of John Woolman, a leading antislavery Quaker, proved to be a turning point in local opinion. One Westbury Friend, Amos Powell, who accompanied Woolman on his ministries in 1749, was much influenced by his strong position. In 1760, Woolman's argument again was taken up for discussion when he ministered in New York, preaching that slaveholding was antithetical to Quaker practice.[6]

In the Jericho and Westbury Meetings, much of the theory and practice regarding slavery was shaped by the radical Quaker preacher Elias Hicks (1748-1830), of Jericho .This nationally known leader's campaign against slavery was instrumental in influencing Friends to manumit their slaves. In 1776, he took the initiative to visit Friends who still held slaves and "convince" them to take the right measures. It was probably with particular gratification that Hicks saw both his father and his father-in-law arrange for the emancipation of nine and three slaves, respectively.[7]

In response to the Quakers' sense of moral rightness and as an expression of their religious faith, dozens of manumissions were concluded. Between 1775 and 1791, members of the Westbury and Jericho Monthly Meetings recorded 154 such contracts. Because emancipation was required to remain in good standing, most Long Island Friends had freed their slaves by 1783, forty-four years before it was mandated by New York State law.[8]

However, the terms of a former slave's freedom often called for continued obligations to his or her former master. One such example was the earliest recorded manumission by a Quaker, that by Alice Crabbe, a resident of the town of Oyster Bay, who freed Owah (also known as Tom) in 1685 under conditions hinting at the power differential inherent in emancipating slaves. Though Tom's original master had stipulated that he be freed outright at Alice Crabbe's death or when he reached thirty-one years of age, Crabbe's will specified that Tom pay four pounds in silver money to her heirs before claiming his freedom. Although she also bequeathed him a mare, a calf, and an iron skillet, presumably to give him

a start in life, the requirement that he pay for his freedom demonstrated her reluctance to forego her equity in her slave. Most of the dozens of manumissions recorded by the Westbury Friends included indenture contracts for minor children, thus binding them to service until their majority at eighteen for women and twenty-one for men. Although freed people trusted the Quakers enough to deposit their manumission papers with clerks of meetings for safe-keeping, these conational manumissions, in effect, codified a continuing inequality in the relationship between former masters and former slaves.

Reluctant Masters: Antislavery and its Discontents

After 1776, the emancipation movement sharply delineated the further dilemma in which Friends of good faith now found themselves. The issue focused on whether anything more was owed to the former bondsmen. If their past labor had been stolen and they unfairly held down, what could redress the balance and right the wrong? What about equality? If freedom from slavery were necessary because Blacks were equal in spirit before God, then what would be the nature of that equality? Furthermore, if slavery were wrong, should not Quakers work toward destroying it wherever it existed?

For many Friends, emancipation did not go far enough toward righting the moral wrong of the institution of slavery. Besides their early and organized push for universal manumission of members' slaves, Long Island Friends were unique among slaveowning families for their continuing sense of responsibility for their slaves. George Fox had earlier urged his followers to "let them go not empty-handed." In 1775, the New York Yearly Meeting recommended that care be taken to give some schooling to children of slaves, and, in 1781, suggested that "Something appears due those Negroes set free." A committee appointed that year by the Yearly Meeting to inquire about the condition of emancipated Negroes recommended that they be paid for past labor, though how to accomplish this was left up to each individual. Thus, the Friends conceived that their obligation was not merely to set their servants free, but also to undo a wrong and repair the years of injustice. Out of this conception proceeded decades of good works for the freedmen.[10]

The Charity Society and the Promotion of Education

Responding to a sense of moral obligation to assist former slaves, thirty members of the Westbury and Jericho Monthly Meetings formed the Charity Society, in 1794. The funds of the society were earmarked for the "Relief of the Poor among the Black People, more especially for the education of their children." The original subscribers pledged £218 of this sum, which, together with larger bequests, formed the basis of a fund which has provided a range of services for black children over the years. Among the prime movers and first subscribers was Elias Hicks, whose father by then had freed eight slaves.[11]

The Charity Society, which first met in June 1794, had eighteen African American children "at school" by October. The number declined by December, but whether because of cold weather and lack of warm clothing or their parents' need for them at home was not made clear in the society's records. The Friends provided teachers or paid school fees for a varying number of students from 1794 until 1868, when free public education became available to black children. Besides paying school fees, the society bought shoes for the children to enable them to attend school.[12]

The Friends' sense of responsibility for their former slaves included long-term commitments. In 1835, they established schools for black children in Amityville, Jerusalem (Wantagh), and Huntington. In Jerusalem the following year, the Charity Society built a small house at a cost of $60 to accommodate the school, and also financially supported a school of twenty-two students organized and taught by an African American.[13]

When public schools were opened to black children in 1868, the Charity Society found other projects promoting the education of the black poor. Two schools for former slaves and their children in South Carolina—Laing and Schofield—received assistance from the society from 1874 to 1941 and 1951, respectively. The Howard Orphanage, at Kings Park, Long Island, also received funds from the Friends. The Charity Society continues to serve its original purpose by supporting black colleges and giving scholarship money to students who need financial assistance.[14]

In the area of education, the Quakers of the Westbury and Jericho Monthly Meetings probably went furthest toward offering equality of opportunity. Even before the wave of manumissions from 1776 through 1791, slave children frequently were taught to read and write in Quaker homes, along with the Quakers' own children. Though postslavery charity schools for black children were segregated, at least schooling was provided at a time when virtually no other white organizations were setting up schools for black children. In later years, the Westbury Friends seemed open to integrated schools. The private school they organized after 1867, near the Old Westbury Pond, included black (as well as Jewish) children. At least one black graduate of this school, Emmaline Williams, the daughter of Epinetus Williams, a Westbury farmer, went on to attend a normal school and become a teacher.[15]

Religious Instruction and Support for Black Churches

Friends' attention to the needs of former slaves extended to their spiritual health as well as their education. Religious instruction and church attendance were matters about which the Quakers cared deeply. In spite of this concern marred the purity of their mission. The Quakers showed no interest in forming an equal, unified community of believers, and the help they provided tended to reinforce racial segregation. In 1784, the Jericho and Westbury Monthly Meetings proposed

"appointing some meetings particularly for the negroes." In 1794, it was reported that several satisfactory meetings for the Blacks had been held. John Comly, a traveling minister from Pennsylvania, was eager to hold a meeting for laborers, domestics, and black people in the Jericho-Westbury area when he visited Westbury in 1815. Eloise Hicks, a Westbury historian and long-time resident, recounted that before the black people had their own church, they always attended the Quaker Meeting because it was the only church in town. However, racial segregation was the norm in colonial Quaker meetings: Marietta Hicks, of Westbury, reported that the colored people who customarily attended services sat in the narrow gallery just above the raised seats.[16]

In the decades after slavery, the communities of worship continued to be separated, but also were marked by mutual cordiality and respect. The Quakers remained concerned and supportive, and, for their part, the African Americans seemed to have adopted certain elements of Quaker religious practice. Westbury's black community formed its own church in 1834 as the New Light Baptist Church, with principles loosely based on the Quaker doctrine of the inner light. Elias Hick's young cousin, Isaac Hicks II, helped the Reverend Eliakim Levi write the organizational papers and discipline for the new church. Quaker farmers provided the lumber and helped with the construction. Because the slaves reportedly had assimilated some of the mannerisms and customs of their former owners, the new church was plain, with simple furnishings. Levi, who was said to have spoken and conducted services in the characteristic Quaker manner, traveled regularly to preach to African Americans in the Quaker communities of Jericho and Jerusalem, as well as at Lakeville (Lake Success), where black people from the Quaker community at Westbury are believed to have been instrumental in founding the church also known as the "Colored People's Meeting House," in 1832. Their Quaker employers lent them horses and wagons to attend Quarterly Meeting days at Lakeville as late as the 1880s. In these many ways, the Quaker community influenced and supported African American religious life.[17]

One other mechanism of support was the donation of land for cemeteries or church construction. In Jerusalem, for example, the land for the Harold Avenue burial ground was donated by a Quaker, Colonel Thomas Jackson, in 1808. The land for a church was deeded to the trustees of the African Methodist Episcopal Church by Robert Valentine and his wife Eliza, in 1851. In Westbury, when the congregation moved the New Light Baptist Church, off Guinea Woods Road, to a location closer to the growing black population of Westbury village in 1867, the land for the site was donated by a Quaker farmer, Richard Powell.[18]

Though African Americans have been buried in Quaker cemeteries at the Westbury and Jericho meeting houses since the early twentieth century, separate burial seems to have been the norm in previous times. In Jerusalem, Quaker families maintained two cemeteries in which no African Americans were buried. At the same time, they made provisions for separate cemeteries for post-emancipation freedmen, such as the Harold Avenue plot, as well as the "Old Burying Ground" on Pea Pond Road. In the Quaker community of Matinecock, the separate burial ground for former slaves can still be seen, off Piping Rock Road.[19]

Guinea Town

The founding of the village of Guinea Town, in the years after emancipation, demonstrated the continuing relationship between the Jericho and Westbury Friends and their former slaves. Situated in a wooded area surrounded by Quaker farms in what is now Old Westbury, the settlement was named Guinea presumably after the former slaves' ancestral homeland in Africa. The name first appeared in print in 1793, right after most Long Island Friends had freed their slaves. Central to the community was a meeting house which may have served as both church and school, and certainly as a gathering place for the men and women of the village. The village is identified on nineteenth-century maps, which show an "African Church" and several homesteads owned by Blacks. The residents of Guinea Town assisted runaway slaves from the South, hiding them and giving them directions for travel farther north. As noted above, by the 1830s the community had its own minister, the Reverend Eliakim Levi.[20]

Though the physical disengagement provided by separate housing and a separate church suggests an autonomous community, the economy of these former slaves still depended on the Quakers. Because no businesses were established in the Guinea Woods settlement, resident freedmen continued to work for Quakers to make a living. Eliakim Levi, for example, was employed as farm manager for Sara Hicks, while many other men, such as Stephen J. Roe and Joseph Levi, Eliakim's brother, worked for the Hickses as nurserymen. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the women of Guinea Town worked as domestics in Quaker homes. The people of the village were legally free but subordinate economically, apparently not on the way toward economic or social parity.[21]

Antislavery Activism

There were still ninety years between 1776, when the yearly meetings began to oppose slavery, and 1865, when the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slaveholding in the United States, was ratified. In the decades that followed the manumission of their slaves, many Friends responded to their moral conscience by devoting themselves to the antislavery cause.

Several members of the Jericho and Westbury Monthly Meetings were well-known activists. One prominent voice against slavery, as discussed above, was that of Jericho's Quaker preacher, Elias Hicks, who for fifty years urged people to free and educate their slaves. Hicks was one of the several antislavery advocates who successfully petitioned the New York legislature to prohibit slave importations in 1788. When New York's gradual emancipation act of 1799 signaled success for the antislavery movement, he campaigned widely for a boycott of the products of slavery. His cousin, Isaac Hicks, the progenitor of the Westbury Hickses, often traveled with him as companion and "armour bearer." Before moving to Westbury, Isaac Hicks also campaigned against slavery and in

support of the slaves, speaking out against slaverunners and the kidnaping of northern free Blacks for sale in the South. As a member of the New York Manumission Society, he was instrumental in setting up the African Free School in 1785, the first public school for African American children in New York.[22]

By the 1840s, some members of the Post, Willis, Mott, Kirby, and Hicks families of Westbury and Cow Neck were active in the radical wing of the antislavery movement led by William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass. In their continuing crusade, many local Friends refused to buy the products of slave labor and boycotted rum, sugar, rice, tobacco, and cotton cloth. Amy Kirby Post, a signer of the 1848 Seneca Falls "Declaration of Sentiments," the first woman's rights manifesto, was a close associate of Frederick Douglass in her home in Rochester. When invited to speak on Long Island in 1849, Douglass stayed in Westbury with Amy Post's brother-in-law, Joseph Post. However, one measure of its ambivalence toward the antislavery cause was the community's refusal to allow Douglass to hold an abolitionist rally in the meeting-house. In Douglass's wry terms, "[the local Friends] were too Godly to favor goodness."[23]

Many homes, churches, and secluded areas in Westbury, Jericho, and other Quaker communities reportedly were stops on the Underground Railroad. Rachel Hicks and her siblings, who grew up at the "Old Place," the Seaman-Hicks homestead in Old Westbury, recalled that escaped slaves were hidden in the attic until they could be forwarded to Friends across the Sound on their way to New England or Canada. A prominent rise on the Underhill farm on Cedar Swamp Road is believed to have been a lookout post for escaped slaves. One unnamed runaway, given asylum by Valentine Hicks, of Jericho, had been told that men with broad-brimmed hats were Quakers and safe to talk with. New research indicates that the Westbury and Jericho Hickses were parts of a network of in-laws and extended family members who hid and protected escaped slaves from Westbury to Port Washington, Mamaroneck, Nantucket, and Rochester.[24]

The moral and religious fervor of the Society of Friends undergirded its ongoing advocacy of humanitarian causes. With the work of the Charity Society and the antislavery activism of the nineteenth century, the Friends were prepared to devote their money, time, and energy to the cause of emancipation. Their central belief that anyone, regardless of gender, age, or race could experience God directly and receive the spirit of the Lord, guided their actions.

However, the Quakers' unflagging engagement in humanitarian activism assured their black associates of neither economic nor social advancement. Living a righteous life required that Friends, in some sense, view the dispossessed black people as spiritual equals. Quaker doctrine urged them to treat African Americans working in their homes or on their farms as family, and, no doubt, many tried to do so. But, even as the Friends strove to walk the moral high ground, their unwillingness to challenge class and racial hierarchies undermined the realization of their ideal of equality. In fact, the assistance they rendered in the form of employment as domestics and farm laborers resulted in continuing economic dependency. Much as Quakers desired to aid freed people and their descendants, their own class interests had to be met. Advancing both agendas led to a network of complex and contradictory relationships.

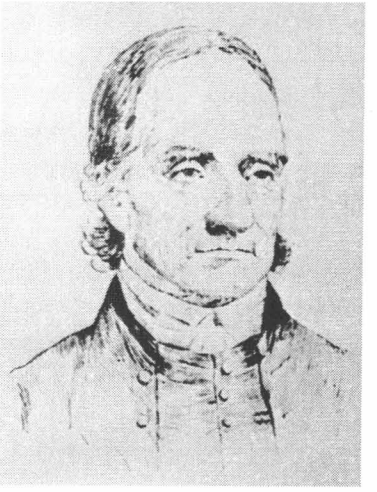
Unequal partners: the postslavery community

One of the most multilayered relationships was that of servants who lived in Quaker homes. Generations of African Americans and Quakers were linked through the quasi-familial relationship of domestic labor. Many black children were raised in Friends' homes as "apprentices," and did domestic work until they married. Sarah Valentine was described by Caroline Jackson Hicks as an "apprentice, housekeeper, and friend." She came to live with the Hickses as a child, probably in the 1840s. Caroline Hicks wrote that she came from "Guinea Woods," the freed people's settlement founded by the Jericho-Westbury Friends. Later in life and until she died, Sarah Valentine cared for Amy Post, the advocate of abolition and woman's rights, thus spending her entire life in the service of Quaker families.[25]

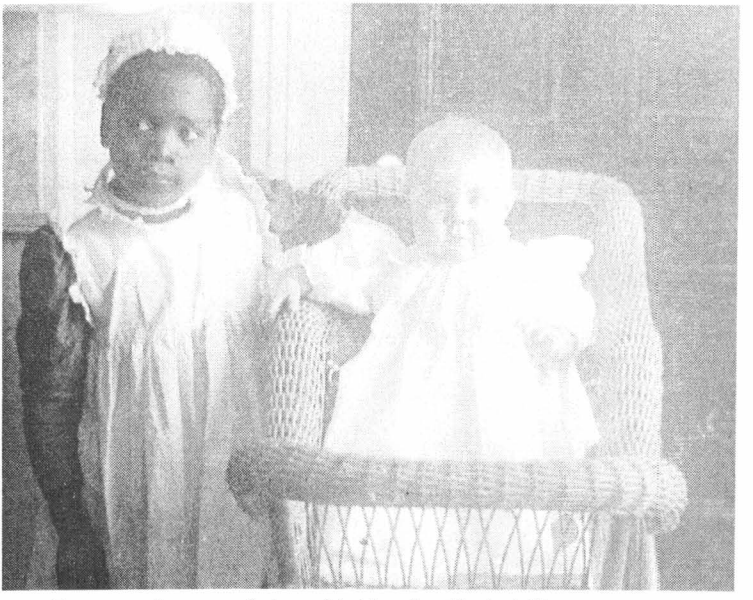
This apprentice relationship, although a secure form of employment, stands in marked contrast to apprenticeships arranged for Quaker youth, which involved learning a trade and not doing merely domestic work. One narrative discusses how the ship owner and entrepreneur, Isaac Hicks, took in the sons of his business associates and schooled them in shipping and commerce. They may have worked as cabin boys or messengers, but ultimately were "encouraged to undertake business 'Ventures' of their own when but little more than of age." The emphasis here was on independence and enterprise, rather than preparation for service, as was the case with the Quakers' black apprentices.[26]

In many cases, the intertwining relationships of Quakers and their African American domestic workers continued throughout the nineteenth century and until recently. Though they were servants, Quaker moral and religious precepts fostered a kind of filial loyalty toward them. In turn, African Americans who worked for Quakers responded with their own brand of consideration and loyalty.

The example of Florence Bates Tollaver, who lived with the Underhill sisters in Jericho from the time she was six until her marriage at the age of eighteen, illustrates the complicated relationships binding these families. Tollaver's mother, Jennie Bates, and her grandmother, Elizabeth Willis, worked as seamstresses for the Underhills of Jericho in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. Both Florence's father and mother were born in Jericho, and her mother, father, grandparents, and husband were buried in the Quaker cemetery in Jericho. In 1895, when Florence was four years old, she went to live with the Underhills and soon after began to care for their infant niece, Phebe Underhill Seaman. Though she worked at domestic duties, Florence attended the Jericho elementary school and received her fourth-and sixth-grade certificates. As one of only two black children, she attended classes with the Quaker children of the district. In the mode of the "apprentice" relationship, and given the fact that Florence saw her own mother only twice a year, the Underhill sisters acted as surrogate mothers. They made sure she practiced sewing every day after school, and, indeed, she became an accomplished seamstress like her mother and grandmother. She was expected to and did attend the Quaker Sunday School, as well as the A. M. E. Zion



Elias Hicks. Henry Inman, engraving, ca. 1830. Courtesy of the Nassau County Collection, Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University



Florence Bates at the age of six, with Phoebe Underhill Seaman, then nearly two. Photograph, 1897, courtesy of the Historical Society of the Westburys.

church, every Sunday. In her words, the Underhill sisters "raised" her.[27]

Even after she married and moved to Hempstead in 1908, Florence remained in close contact with Phebe Seaman She continued to work as a dressmaker, and for some years was employed in New York City's garment district. As an adult, Florence continued to sew for the Seamans and Underhills, making everything from clothes to drapes. Moreover, she would come to Jericho to care for Phebe when she was ill. Only Phebe's death in 1962 broke the tie that bound these two women. Florence always considered the Willets's house in Jericho her home; when the house was sold, she was given her choice of furnishings and keepsakes.[28]

In general, the Quakers maintained complicated relationships of mutual trust and support with the African-Americans around them. In other, often intimate ways, the black families of the Quaker communities enjoyed their trust. John Wheeler, who had escaped North with the help of the Quaker Underground Railroad network, was the grave-digger and caretaker of the Friends cemetery in Westbury. African-American women nursed Quaker women in childbirth and cared for their babies. Ann Mayhew, for example, was the midwife for Grace Jackson Woodnut's stepmother, and helped deliver Caroline Jackson Hicks in 1872. Henry Hicks, grandson of the founder of the Hicks nursery, was taught much of his knowledge of plants by descendants of slaves such as Stephen Roe and Joseph Levi, who worked on his father's farm. Charles Levi, son of the Reverend Eliakim Levi who, with the help of Isaac Hicks II, established the black church in Westbury, managed the Hicks's coalyard for many years before 1913. Kye Mayhew, son of Ann Mayhew, the midwife, worked at the Hicks's lumberyard in Roslyn early in the twentieth century.[29]

A recurrent theme, echoed by Quaker and African American memoirists alike, is that the Quakers and the Blacks who worked for them functioned as extended families. The African American domestics and farm laborers who had grown up in their homes and worked for them for years were treated as more than hired help. For example, it was customary for these workers to choose a new employer before the relationship with the old one was severed. In Roslyn, early in the twentieth century, Roy Moger's father was surprised to learn that his new hired man, Billy Jenkins, and Billy's wife, Sarah, were free to return "home" to William Willets's Old Brick farm until they could find a congenial place to work Moger recalled that, after six months of work, Jenkins said to his father, "Well, Boss, I think we'll stay," thus alerting Moger's father that, if dissatisfied, he could always go back to the Willetses.[30] Billy Jenkins lived with and worked for Quakers all his life, first at the Underhill farm on Cedar Swamp Road, where he was born in 1846, then at the Willets place in Roslyn, and finally at the Mogers, in Roslyn. Moger recalled that as long as he could remember, "Billy was a part of my family." As a small boy, Moger accompanied Jenkins as he performed his chores; Moger's reminiscences emphasize the values and practical skills he learned from Billy. Other stories refer to financial help the Mogers gave Jenkins's wife, Sarah, and the time Sarah eased Moger's mother out of an embarrassing social situation. The picture presented is one of mutual aid, understanding, and regard. Though much

of the poignant relationship between the Jenkins and the Mogers stemmed from unexpected deconstruction of the master-servant relationship, the fact is that they always took place within that framework.[31]

Another black family, the Jacksons of Jericho and Westbury, maintained quasi-familial closeness with the white Quaker Jacksons and Underhills of Jericho, for at least two generations. For many early years of this century, Alfred Jackson ran the dairy of a prominent Jericho farmer, Henry Underhill. As Jackson's son Curtis recalled in a 1980 interview, when he was in his eighties, all his eleven brothers and sisters were apprenticed to Quaker families in the Jericho area. Confirming that these Quaker homesteads functioned as extended families, he remembered that when he worked for Sidney Jackson in Jericho, before World War I, "It was like a family...like friends. There were white servants and colored servants and they all worked together like one family.[32]

Like Florence Bates Tollaver, Curtis Jackson attended the Jericho school along with the children of the Quakers. The Underhills gave Jackson's mother, Florence, a life right to a house on Cedar Swamp Road (opposite Jericho Turnpike), after her many years of dedicated service.[33]

Conclusion

It can be argued that the Friends provided educational opportunities, jobs, and even personal security to their former slaves and their descendants, and that such gifts were far from negligible in the mid-nineteenth century, when African Americans in many northern communities were on the edge of poverty, or destitute. However, Quaker assistance rarely extended far enough to challenge the relative class and social status of the parties involved. In spite of their many demonstrations of family spirit and concern for the welfare of Blacks, in the final analysis the Friends remained true to their class and social stratum. Indeed, the help they gave may have stemmed from a benevolence that assumed the continued existence of black poverty and dependence. Not that this was either conscious or overt, but the help they rendered essentially re-created the class structure of the past. Yes, black people once owned by Quakers were free, and probably better off than descendants of slaves of other than Quaker owners, but the economic gap between former owners and former slaves remained the same.

However, some Quaker families did transfer land to the African Americans who had worked for them. One elderly memoirist recalled that the North Merrick land on which she was born had been given to her great grandfather by Quakers: "When they liked there [*sic*] slaves they gave them a plot of land and house to live in. But they still worked for them, only they got paid."[34]

The most noteworthy example of this type of assistance is that of Thomas Jackson, of Jerusalem, who went beyond the primary loyalty to class demonstrated by his cobelievers. At the end of the eighteenth century, the time of Quaker emancipation, he gave land to a group of his former slaves, thus opening their door to opportunity on agrarian Long Island.[35]

Only by giving land to freed slaves did progressive Quakers transcend their

group interests. Most Long Island Friends found it far easier to seek spiritual rather than material equality, and moral rather than economic parity.

NOTES

1.See Sydney V. James, *A People Among People: Quaker Benevolence in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963) for the evolution of Quakerism from quietism to social activism; for Quakerism in New York, see Hugh Barbour et al., *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1995).

2. For the Jericho preacher whose views shaped the thinking of most Long Island Quakers, see Elias Hicks, *Letters of Elias Hicks, Including Also Observations on the Slavery of the Africans and their Descendants and on the Use of the Produce of Their Labor* (1811; reprint, Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Chapman, 1861), 10-15, and Bliss Forbush, *Elias Hicks, Quaker Liberal* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1956). According to Hicks, "The least that could be done...to effect the salutory end contemplated by the query, would be to declare freedom to every slave in the state, and to make provision by law for the education of all minors...compelling their masters, or those who have the charge of them, to instruct them so as to keep their own accounts, and that they be set at liberty, the males at 21 and females at 18 years of age: and some...step be taken to compensate such slaves as have been held in bondage beyond that age, for such surplus service" (Elias Hicks, *Letters*, 15).

3. Marietta Hicks, "Old Westbury and Jericho—a Closely Knit Quaker Community," typescript, 1940, Special Collections, Long Island Studies Institute at Hofstra University (LISI) n.p.; E. B. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, (Albany, 1851) 3: 861-86; Mary M. Mass, "The Hicks Family as Quakers, Farmers, and Entrepreneurs" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1976), 85.

4. William J. Frost. ed., *The Quaker Origins of Anti-Slavery* (Norwood Editions, 1980), 2; *The Journal of George Fox*, quoted in Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1980), 6, which addresses the antislavery struggles of Quaker activists; Manning Marable, "Death of the Quaker Slave Trade," *Quaker History* 63 (Spring 1974):32.

5. Jean Soderland, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1985), 1-5, 10; Frost, 2-12, 23.

6. Elizabeth Hitz, "The Long Island Quaker Community," in Joann P. Krieg, ed., *Evoking a Sense of Place* (Interlaken, N.Y.: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1988), 144.

7. For Elias Hicks as the central figure in the Quaker division into Hicksite (less formal) and orthodox wings, see Robert W. Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation: A Social Analysis of Religious Schism in Early Nineteenth Century America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1967.; Mass, 85-87; the vast majority of Long Island Friends endorsed the Hicksite branch of the division (author's interview with Roy Moger, 6 Mar. 1997).

8. Marietta Hicks; Barbour et al., 68.

9. Iris Gibbs and Alonzo Gibbs, "Black Tom, Oyster Bay Slave," *Long Island Forum* (Feb. 1955):25; John Cox Jr., ed., *Oyster Bay Town Records* (New York: Tobias A. Wright, 1916)

1:83, 2:335, 702; Historical Society of the Westburys; Sheila Resnick, interview with Eloise Hicks, 1 Oct. 1980, 2-6.

10. George Fox, cited in Marietta Hicks; see Edith Gaines, *The Charity Society 1794-1994* (Westbury: Charity Society of Jericho and Westbury Friends Monthly Meetings, 1994), 4.

11. Society of Friends, *The Charity Society of Jericho and Westbury Friends Monthly Meetings, Organized 1794* (the Society, 1920), 3, 5; John Shiel, "175 Years in One Book," *Long Island Forum* (Mar. 1970):45-50.

12. Gaines, 1-16.

13. Friends, *Charity Society*, 10; Gaines, 15-17.

14. Shiel, 50; Gaines, 18-22; author's interview with Eloise Hicks, Westbury, 10 Mar. 1995.

15. Historical Society of the Westburys; Resnick, interview; Henry Hicks, "Self Help Organizations," celebratory speech, A. M. E. Zion Church, Westbury, 9 Jan. 1941, typescript in collections of Long Island Studies Institute of Hofstra University,. and Historical Society of the Westburys. In Flushing, the charity school founded by Quakers was initially integrated. Later, as a respected school for black children, many of its graduates went on to secondary school and then to teaching careers. For Quaker schools on Long Island, see Carlton Mabee, *Black Education in New York State from Colonial to Modern Times* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1979).

16. Henry Onderdonk, *The Annals of Hempstead, 1643 to 1832*; see also *The Rise and Growth of the Society of Friends on Long Island and New York, 1657-1826* (Hempstead, 1878), 103; Resnick, interview; Marietta Hicks.

17. William B. Forbush, *Wantagh, Jerusalem and Ridgewood: 1644-1882, A Historical Sketch* (Wantagh: the Citizens, 1892), 13; Ruth Delamar Hendricks, "History of the Westbury A. M. E. Zion Church," one-page typescript, Nassau County Museum Collection, LISI (Hendricks, an activist and local historian, was born and raised in Westbury}; Ida Townsend Walker, "Lakeville," in *Manhasset: Three Hundred Years of History* (Manhasset: Manhasset Chamber of Commerce, 1980), 85-88; Marietta Hicks.

18. Karl Pfeiffer, "Cemeteries of Old Wantagh," unpaginated research book, Wantagh Public Library; Michael R. Pender to Richard V. Weddle, interdepartmental memo, town of Hempstead Dept. of Real Estate, 10 July 1975; Hendricks; for the Powell family, see William Hinshaw, *The Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishers, 1991):435-37; the nineteenth-century farmer Richard Powell was probably a member of the same family as the eighteenth-century Amos Powell mentioned above. .

19. *Cemeteries of Old Wantagh* (Wantagh: Wantagh American Revolution Bicentennial Committee, 1976); Ruth Colgrove, discussion at Oyster Bay Historical Society meeting, 25 Feb. 1997.

20. Hendricks; Lawrence Levy, "A Halfway House on the Way to Freedom," *Newsday*, 10 Dec. 1980.

21. Hendricks.

22. Gaines, 5; Hitz, 114-17; Mass, 53-54, 86-88.

23. Hitz 115, citing letter by Douglass, 22 April 1849, Mss. collection, University of

Rochester Library.

24. Mass, 169-70; Henry Hicks; Prof. Kathleen Velsor, Teacher Education Dept., SUNY at Old Westbury, is pursuing research on Quaker families and the underground railroad under a faculty development grant.

25. Inscription on back of photo of Sarah Valentine in possession of the Hicks family.

26. Mass, 13; Esther Hicks Emory, "Gleanings from the Past," n. p., Old Westbury vertical file, Special Collections, LISI.

27. Florence Bates Tollaver, interview questionnaire, 1978, reference dept., Jericho Public Library, Jericho, 16.

28. Author's interviews concerning Tollaver with Virginia Mayo Gordon, a resident of Jericho in the 1930s and 1940s, and Ruby Stern, former reference librarian, Jericho Public Library, Mar. 1997

29. Caroline Jackson Woodnut, ms. memoir, ca. 1870, n.p., in reference dept. collection, Jericho Public Library; "Due in part to the ability and reliability of Samuel Williams, Stephen J. Roe, Joseph Levi and other farm and nursery experts as Daniel O'Connor from Ireland and father and grandfather's ability in nursery and machinery, I was able to attend Polytechnic Institute in Brooklyn where my father had taught...Roe showed took pride in teaching me ...[he] showed me how to wrap a ball of earth in burlap and sew it tight and how to wrap a bale of trees in straw and keep the roots damp with moss" (Henry Hicks).

30. Roy Moger, "Reminiscences of My Childhood: My First Friend, Billy Jenkins, Parts I and II" *Roslyn News*, 24 September and 22 October 1981.

31. Author's interview with Roy Moger, 29 February 1988; the first article in the *Roslyn News* describes the time that Roy's mother, Edna, received unexpected visitors and was saved from the embarrassment of having nothing to offer them by Sarah, who, dressed in a maid's uniform, served tea and freshly made doughnuts to the astonishment of Edna, in whose home such formality was previously unknown.

32. African American Heritage Association; Curtis Jackson interview transcript, 15 November 1980, 24, 25.

33. Author's interview with Mary Davis, a long-time resident of Jericho, 11 March., 1988.

34. Hazel Viola Corse to Wanda Pease, of the African American Museum of Nassau County, 2 April 1986, when the eighty-one year old Ms. Corse lived in a nursing home in Florida; she wrote that she and her brothers, Ernie, Harry, Herbert and Ralph Corse, were born in North Merrick on land given her great-grandfather by Quakers at the time the slaves were freed.

35. Pfeiffer, 4-5; "Cemeteries," research notebook; Grover Ryder, "Hidden Cemetery Tells Historic Tale," *Sunday News*, 8 February 1976; Queens County Deeds, *Alpha Index Grantors Liber J*, 1688-1869, microfilm, Nassau County Museum Collection, Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University.

ENVIRONMENT VS. DEVELOPMENT: GROUNDWATER AND LAND USE PLANNING IN NASSAU AND SUFFOLK COUNTIES

By Lee E. Koppelman

The single unifying environmental element in all comprehensive planning work carried out over the past three decades on Long Island is that of groundwater. Nassau and Suffolk counties are indeed an island totally isolated from any external source of water importation, except for the purchase of bottled water. There are no underground rivers emanating from New England that move subterraneously under Long Island Sound to miraculously surface at Lake Ronkonkoma. There are no distribution tunnels and pipelines that can transport New York City water to the two counties. Nor for that matter is there New York City water. The city imports almost all of its water from upstate sources whose quantity often comes perilously close to crisis shortage in times of drought. There are no snow-capped mountains on Long Island that provide swollen rivers with spring waters. The so-called rivers and streams in the two counties are merely surface manifestations of exposed groundwater.

Rainfall, and that portion of the rain that permeates the ground in significant quantity, is the sole source of drinking or potable water. Perhaps the water regime is the greatest single factor in making the Island one of the finest natural settings for human settlement. For more than ten millennia the water cycle, which is impressive in its simplicity, has provided a renewable resource that has sustained the flora and fauna since the recession of the last glacier period. Rain falls, and a portion of it permeates the ground to be absorbed in the root systems of grasses, shrubs, and trees that provide shelter and food for animal life. The plant life contributes to air chemistry in the carbon dioxide/oxygen cycle, and in moisture transpired through its foliage. Water vapor from plants, combined with the general evaporation of surface waters, both fresh and saline, contributes to the formation of new rain clouds. A significant portion of surface and underground water finds its way to the marine waters of Long Island Sound and to the various bays, providing a mixing of saline ocean waters with fresh water, enabling a healthy shellfish population to thrive, and fostering the growth of marsh grasses that serve as spawning habitats for fish and shellfish. The combination of rainfall, soils, and moderate climate provide the mix on which farming and fishing sustain the framework for human existence.

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Whatever occurs in the course of building towns, villages, and hamlets rarely changes the basic water cycle, from a quantity point of view. Human activities can and have, however, changed the relationships between the components of the cycle—often in a dramatic and damaging way. Construction and paving can remove permeable ground, thereby reducing recharge in those areas. The installation and use of recharge basins can offset the recharge losses due to the removal of permeable surfaces. Overpumpage of potable water in near shore areas can accelerate salt water intrusion. Construction of sewage treatment plants and the discharge of sewage effluent water into the ocean or Sound can reduce the quantity that could have been recharged, thereby changing the quantity of groundwater and its level. A most obvious and immediate consequence is the lowering of water levels in surface streams with accompanying degradation of the surface water dependent wetland ecosystem. And so the simplicity of the generalized water cycle in terms of its symmetry is, in reality, exceedingly complex when impacted by the perturbations of human activity. These impacts affect quantity as defined by the terms *safe yield*, meaning how much water can be withdrawn before negative trends occur. These impacts also affect the quality of groundwater as measured by a variety of standards.

An early concern for Long Island's aquifer yield was expressed in a report of a study conducted by Russell Suter in which he assessed the problem of overpumping in Brooklyn and Queens and its impact on the supply needs of New York City. He concluded that portions of the Long Island aquifers should be restored through the curtailment of all commercial and industrial pumping in the two boroughs, and that use of the Nassau and Suffolk portions of the aquifers should continue at least until New York City could begin to tap the Delaware aqueduct from the Roundout reservoir.[1]

As the area was transformed after World War II, from sparsely settled to the fastest growing suburban counties in the country between 1945 and 1960, hydrologists and engineers—increasingly aware of the importance of groundwater—became active in Long Island groundwater research. Nassau County initiated a three-part study of its water resources in 1956,[2] followed by two Suffolk County studies in 1957. During the twenty-year period following this limited beginning, there has been an explosion of Long Island water quantity and water-quality research projects and studies carried out at every level of Long Island government.[3]

Colonel Thomas H. Wiggin attempted to address the issue of water quantity. His seminal study in 1957 estimated the percentage of water available for recharge into the ground based on annual rainfall data after discounting losses due to runoff and other factors. His elementary approach concluded that Suffolk County had a sufficient quantity of water to support a population of approximately three million people.[4]

During this same period, the county of Suffolk retained an engineering firm to address the growing problem of highway flooding. Although the origin and intent of the study were oriented to transportation, the consultants recognized that a

major component of drainage control was tied to watershed management. Among the firm's recommendations was a proposal that the county acquire sixteen thousand acres of land encompassing the four river valleys, Nissequogue, Connetquot, Peconic, and Carmans, in order to protect against encroachment by private interests. The report pointed out that, "A large volume of rainfall is caught and returned to the water table in an efficient and inexpensive way. Rainfall is the County's only source of water supply."[5]

Nothing happened until 1960, nearly two years after the voters had decided, by referendum in 1958, to change the form of Suffolk's government from a board of supervisors to a charter county headed by a county executive, and to change the planning board into a planning commission with new powers added to its existing advisory functions. The first study undertaken dealt with parks. Suffolk had taken over the dubious distinction of being the fastest growing county in the United States from Nassau County, and was faced with the entire array of urban and rural planning problems, e.g., the need for health, education, and governmental facilities and programs, inadequate transportation capacity, migrant labor and slum housing conditions, inadequate job availability, and others. Any of these topics could justifiably have been given preference. Open space was selected in recognition of the impact that development was having in transforming natural lands into built-up communities, and that if steps were not taken to bring development into harmony with environmental needs, the future quality of existence would be seriously impacted. The section on conservation repeated the 1957 recommendation to save the four river watersheds, observing that significant encroachment had occurred between 1957 and 1960. One of the factors cited was water conservation.[6]

The knowledge that Robert Moses, the powerful chairman of the New York State Parks Commission, intended to have a referendum placed on the statewide ballot calling for the creation of a $75 million bond issue for the purchase of park lands, provided a second important impetus for concentrating on open space.[7] H. Lee Dennison, Suffolk County's first county executive, was a close friend of Moses and was informed of his intentions before the issue was under consideration by the New York State Legislature. In fact, Moses assigned a key member of his staff on the Long Island Park Commission to work closely with the director of the Suffolk County Planning Commission, and suggested that Suffolk would receive at least $3 million of the $25 million that would be allocated to the fifty-seven counties of the state, or 12.5 percent. The successful vote in November 1960 launched Suffolk County's open space program well beyond the modest expenditures the county itself was making. The first purchases were in the Peconic River watershed.

Regional interest in drinking water was translated into political action in large measure as the result of a heavy drought in the Northeast during the early and mid-1960s. New York City, relying almost entirely on upstate sources, was concerned with dwindling water levels in its reservoirs; Long Islanders, not actually experiencing drinking water shortages, were nevertheless becoming increasingly aware of water issues. Suffolk County allocated $800,000 for a test well program to gain greater understanding of the underground aquifers. This program was

combined with a $340,000 grant from the New York State Health Department to enable the county to have consultants prepare a comprehensive plan for the best utilization of the fresh water resources. The study was undertaken during the latter half of the 1960s and released in three volumes between 1968 and 1970. A viscous fluid model was developed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to enable the consultants to have a stronger predictive capability than provided at the time by the United States Geological Survey's electrical analog model. The major conclusions regarding water quantity reinforced those of the Wiggin study, pointing out that continued and expanded ocean discharge of sewage effluent would reduce the level of surface waters even though Suffolk could rely on a safe yield for a population in excess of three million people. The report also examined a range of water quality issues, such as salt water intrusion, heavy metals and other toxic contaminants and the need for advanced water treatment if effluent was to be recharged instead of discharged to marine waters.[8]

This work was carried out with the participation of the Nassau-Suffolk Regional Planning Board (now titled the Long Island Regional Planning Board, LIRPB), which, between 1965 and 1970, was in process of developing Long Island's first comprehensive plan. One of the first issues confronting the planners was the number of people the two counties should accommodate by 1985-1990, the end of the planning period. This was not an abstract or rhetorical question. It lies at the heart of the entire process. Since there are obvious limits to growth—economic, ecological, geographical, political, and social—what should be used as the guide? The two counties encompass four times the land area of New York City. A continuation of the Brooklyn-Queens development pattern, which was already occurring in the town of Hempstead, could have resulted eventually in a population of ten million people. Unthinkable! An examination of the limits to growth based on job development was no more useful. These two fastest growing counties seemed to have an almost boundless capacity to create jobs and thus attract new residents. The only limit that could be quantified in any rational manner was the carrying capacity of Long Island as constrained by available potable water. Nassau County, which is approximately the same size as the five boroughs that make up New York City (300 square miles), had a population in excess of one million people and was experiencing a series of water problems including salt water intrusion from over-pumping in the southwest, and depletion of surface waters, such as Hempstead Lake, resulting from ocean discharge of sewage effluent, or closure of public wells due to contamination. In short, Nassau County appeared to be near or at the carrying capacity of the natural regime. It must be understood, however, that it is important to differentiate between carrying capacity based solely on water supply, in contrast with other environmental considerations pertaining to stream corridor and/or wetlands protection. Surface water depletion is not a measure of adequate quantity or safe yield of drinking water. It is an indicator of a much broader range of water related problems.[9]

By 1970, Nassau County reached a population of 1.4 million, which has decreased over the past twenty years. Concurrent with the rapid growth of the

county, various communities established independent water systems to meet the needs of the residents. Due to the individualized political communities that developed over several decades, coupled to the nature of the groundwater system, the county has fifty-one major water systems, with a total of four hundred supply wells. These separate systems provide adequate delivery of high quality water to their consumers, but the ability to provide water to adjacent areas is severely limited to short-term emergencies. The transfer of large quantities of water on an intracounty basis is constrained by the capacity of the inter-connection system. The Nassau County Department of Public Works (NCDPW) is currently addressing the issues of streamflow and saltwater intrusion that may require changes in the water system in order to provide workable solutions to the existing limitations.

In 1986, NYSDEC began imposing pumpage limitations on some water purveyors in Nassau County. This was undertaken upon recognition that consumptive use of groundwater was causing conditions such as streamflow decline (with some stream segments and wetlands drying up), aquifer water level declines, and saltwater intrusion in Nassau County. The imposition of pumpage limitations, while potentially a stopgap measure, came only after the documented loss of important surface and groundwater resources.

However, the state action and the perceptions it created must be placed in a proper perspective. For example, saltwater intrusion is not a major problem, since it has not affected public water supply wells. The main concern over saltwater intrusion is in the southern coastline of the county where the deep ocean saltwater pressure is greater than the inland freshwater pressure, thereby creating the condition for saltwater intrusion. Along this coastline, the movement inland of salty groundwater is relatively slow, almost stationary in most places. According to the United States Geological Survey (USGS), in a comprehensive study in the mid 1960s of this phenomenon, the position and alignment of the saltwater/freshwater interface in southern Nassau County is attributable mainly to natural conditions that prevailed long before the start of groundwater development in this area. In fact, it is mainly due to the sea level rise of three hundred feet during the past sixteen thousand years. Verification of these USGS findings has been documented by the county itself through the use of its highly complex three-dimensional computerized groundwater model, which simulates the saltwater intrusion phenomena. By using this same model, the county is in the process of investigating measures that can be taken to minimize saltwater intrusion in order to protect the public water supply wells.

The previous decline of the Nassau County water table due to increased consumptive use associated with urban growth and sewering decreased the available groundwater to feed surface water streams, lakes, and ponds. The current equilibrium level should remain stable due to important conservation programs instituted by the state, the county, and local water purveyors since 1987. Public pumpage has been reduced by over twenty million gallons from almost 190 to approximately 168 million gallons per day. NCDPW is also using its three-dimensional computerized groundwater model to identify other cost-effective measures that could be taken to restore freshwater wetlands along stream

corridors and minimize the threat of saltwater intrusion to public water supply wells.

Suffolk County, in contrast, has an area three times larger than Nassau's, and all estimates have indicated a safe yield for a Suffolk population of 3.5 million people. The legal limit to population, as expressed by zoning, would have allowed a combined population in the two counties of more than six million people. Obviously, a dangerous mismatch existed between allowable practice and sound environmental planning. The planning target became clear and inescapable. The population must not be allowed to exceed the carrying capacity of the aquifers. Initially, that would have meant a maximum population of 4.5 to 5 million (3.5 million people for Suffolk and a maximum of 1.5 million for Nassau). However, this number did not take sufficient account of the fact that any increase in water contamination would mean an effective loss in quantity, or major expenditures for treatment. The LIRPB set a maximum population for the two counties at a range of 2.5 million to 3 million. The decision was based on a simple application of the engineering concept of factor of safety. The board notified the various municipalities, even before the final completion of the comprehensive plan, that they should bring their zoning into compliance with this concept of water limits. A variety of parallel concerns —rising taxes, loss of open space, negative attitudes of residents toward continuing suburbanization, and growing environmental awareness, among others—now reinforced by the apparent potential crisis in water created the political climate necessary to create a movement for major upzonings, mainly in Suffolk County.[10]

After the release of the bicounty plan in the early 1970s, the planning staff made almost three hundred presentations of the plan to civic, environmental, business, and governmental audiences in order to gain the widest understanding and support for the plan's recommendations. The single greatest response to any of the substantive elements contained in the plan—other than the controversies over the housing portion—was the deeply felt need to more fully examine the quality aspect of Long Island's groundwater.

The enactment of the amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1972 was most timely in providing the means for Long Island to further augment its knowledge of the aquifer system. The act set new goals for water quality by stating as national purpose that the surface waters of the nation shall be fishable and swimmable, and the freshwater supplies drinkable by 1980. Section 208 of this act authorized funds for planning grants for states and/or area-wide regional planning agencies to undertake research and to develop comprehensive water quality management programs. Long Island was one of the first areas designated in New York State to receive a 208 grant, and in 1975 commenced work on the project which was completed in 1978.[11]

This plan (208 Plan) accomplished more than the basic requirements of the act. It helped to build a broad-based constituency and led to several significant actions. The findings of the study led the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to designate Nassau and Suffolk County's groundwater as a Sole

Source Aquifer pursuant to the Safe Drinking Water Act. The New York State Legislature, responding to the urgency for legislative action as recommended in the plan, created the New York State Legislative Commission on Water Resource Needs of Long Island to address these needs.

The 208 Plan introduced the concept of hydrogeologic zones based upon differences in groundwater flow patterns and related water quality. In essence, there are two types of zones. One includes the land areas that contribute recharge to the deep aquifers. The other includes the land areas that contribute shallow recharge or transmit recharge flows to surface waters. Eight hydrogeological zones were defined to more specifically describe differences of quality recharge or discharge within the two broad categories.

The zonal approach made clear for the first time the need for different protection criteria and approaches to address the differences in conditions within the various sectors of Long Island's overall aquifer system. Viral and organic contaminant research indicated the purity and freedom from viral infection of most of the groundwaters, and, conversely, the almost ubiquitous presence and contamination of surface and upper glacial aquifer sources from trace quantities of organics—many of which are potentially carcinogenic.

EPA satisfaction in the work was expressed by the award of unsolicited funds to undertake two additional research projects. The first was the implementation of 208 recommendations, and, among other activities, the creation of a Nonpoint Source Management Handbook to guide local governments in achieving the objectives of the 208 Plan.[12]

The second was the inclusion of the two counties in the Nationwide Urban Runoff Program (NURP). The Long Island region was among the first nineteen areas selected throughout the United States to address the role of storm water nonpoint runoff as a major contributor to water quality. It was an attempt to improve the adequacy of information concerning pollutant sources, areal accumulation patterns, washoff and transport mechanisms, instream behavior of pollutants and control measure effectiveness.[13]

Much of the land within the deep recharge area in Nassau and western Suffolk was already suburbanized by 1982, and the impact of development on the aquifer was clearly apparent. Only two areas in Nassau and seven in Suffolk remained relatively free of these impacts. New York State's Long Island Groundwater Management Program and the LIRPB's Nonpoint Source Handbook identified these nine areas as Special Groundwater Protection Areas (SGPAs), and called for the development of new management programs to ensure the preservation of the existing water quality and the continued recharge of uncontaminated water to these portions of the aquifer.

Further amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act earmarked 5 percent of each state's sewage treatment plant construction grants for planning purposes. The New York State DEC provided funds to the LIRPB, matched equally by the LIRPB, to undertake a pilot study of two of the nine SGPAs. It was a pilot study in several ways. First, there were not sufficient funds to undertake the study of all nine SGPAs. Second, this was another new area of planning and hydrogeological inquiry and a pilot approach would demonstrate the relative

success of such work. Third, there was the expectation that if the study proved successful and useful, additional funding would be made available by the Federal government and/or the State of New York.[14]

The LIRPB also sought support from the NYS Legislative Commission on Water Resource Needs of Long Island. The commission, which had been consistently supportive of the SGPA work from the beginning, introduced several versions of the Sole Source Aquifer bill during the 1984, 1985, and 1986 legislative sessions. Finally, the legislature acted positively in 1987 by enacting Article 55 of Environmental Conservation Law.

The environmental predicament confronting Long Island is that the development potential, including the inescapable modifications to the environment, continues to occur more rapidly than our ability to foresee or deal with the ultimate effects of such activities. Until a better match is achieved, prudence would mandate that, when in doubt, environmental values take precedence over development—particularly when the development would cause or contribute to an irreversible condition. Thus, rational comprehensive environmental planning must accomplish more than the prevention or correction of known environmental problems. Somehow, planning must strive to take into account the unexpected and provide for latent consequences. The preservation, maintenance, and enhancement of compatible environmental diversity must be the objective of planning.

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"THE VILLAGE of EAST-HAMPTON," A SKETCH by JOHN HOWARD PAYNE, EDITED with an INTRODUCTION and NOTES

By Robert P. Rushmore

In its "Home, Sweet Home" museum, the village of East Hampton has memorialized John Howard Payne (1791-1852) and his famous lyric "Home, Sweet Home." The song's immortality seems assured, but Payne, an early American literary celebrity, actor, and playwright, is otherwise forgotten. There is, however, another composition of Payne's that, though it has considerable literary and historical interest, has been undeservedly overlooked: a sketch of East Hampton village itself.

Payne's essay, the first literary portrait of East Hampton and one of the first descriptions of any American community for other than informational purposes, is an impressionistic description of the once isolated community on the South Fork of Long Island. In the sketch, which first appeared as a lengthy digression in another essay in 1838, Payne highlights the picturesque character of the village and then in several vignettes focuses on local manners and customs. Aspects of village life, such as a Sunday church service, formal tea parties, seine-fishing at the beach, are carefully recorded, and the tone of the piece, despite its occasional irony, is admiring and affectionate.[1]

From the evidence in the piece itself, the sketch appears to be based on a visit of several days' length sometime between the summer of 1832, when he returned to New York from a long sojourn in Europe, and late 1834, when he left on a tour of the United States from which he did not return until the end of December 1835.[2] East Hampton was not unknown to him. It had been the ancestral home of his mother's family for several generations, and as a child in the 1790s he had made annual summer visits to his grandparents there.[3] Perhaps he even attended the local grammar school for a time if the essay's picture of the village schoolmistress threatening her inattentive charges "with the terrors of sarpints and scorpings" in the school-house cellar be a personal memory.

But the thrust of the piece is not autobiographical. He makes no reference to his family's connection with the place and only one other allusion to his own early experience there—his childhood terror of the aggressive geese on the village green.

Rather, its purpose is best understood in the light of a project that was Payne's chief preoccupation for a few years after his return from England: the establish-

ment of an international journal to be published in London dedicated to strengthening Anglo-American relations and making British readers better informed about life in the United States. The East Hampton sketch was probably intended for an early issue of this new magazine. The magazine was to be called *Jam Jehan Nima,* a Persian phrase that Payne translated as "the goblet wherein you may behold the universe,"[4] an allusion to his patriotic faith that the democratic civilization of America was to become a model and inspiration for the whole world.

In particular, he wanted to counter the negative accounts of the United States by British writers. America, many of them reported, was a raw, barbarous land, its manners vulgar, its cities disorderly, and the Americans themselves an uncultured people who worshipped novelty and were indifferent to the past and tradition. One such account was especially fresh in his mind, for it was published early in 1832, the year he returned to America: *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, Frances Trollope's unflattering relation of her three-and-a-half-year visit to the United States. He had seen firsthand how it had fueled anti-American prejudice in England, and once home he became aware of the anger it had aroused in his native land.[5]

East Hampton, it must have occurred to him, was a perfect example of another side of American life that British writers, preoccupied with its cities and the western frontier, had largely ignored: a settled, traditional place, where the texture of life shaped by nearly two hundred years of history more closely resembled the rural world of Old England. To visit the place was to go back in time to an older, steadier America left behind, so to say, in the pell-mell rush of the country's westward expansion. Payne's East Hampton is a place of "quiet antiquity" (his phrase) and quaint old-fashioned ways. Although the specific features of the East Hampton scene would not be mistaken for England, it had a nostalgic charm like that his friend Washington Irving found in English rural places. In the town's communal and domestic life as Payne depicts it, the reader senses something like the moral order pervading English villages described by Irving in his famous *Sketch Book* essay "Rural Life in England."[6] Of the several vignettes of East Hampton life that make up Payne's piece, perhaps none makes the point more vividly than that describing the assembling of the congregation and the Sunday church meeting. With the dogs of the village in the meetinghouse, even brute nature participates.

His magazine, of course, was intended to be read on both sides of the Atlantic, and there are suggestions in the sketch itself that he had another motive as well: to remind Americans of sentiment and leisure that their country, too, had places of romantic inspiration much closer to hand than distant Europe. New York City, as Payne realized on return from his nineteen-year exile, had been transformed into a commercial hive, full of noise and bustle. To New Yorkers wearied by city life and nostalgic for simpler times, picturesque, quaint old East Hampton—just a day's steamboat journey away—would have a strong appeal. A living colonial relic, it could be seen as a kind of American Arcadia. Read in this way, Payne's "East-Hampton" is an early example of American tourist literature. Washington Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" had stimulated

John Howard Payne, "Eng[d] by G. H. Hall from a Daguerreotype by Brady." Frontispiece photograph in Gabriel Harrison, *John Howard Payne*...(rev. ed., 1885; reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969).

romantic interest in the Hudson Valley region, and leisurely excursions up the Hudson River were becoming fashionable. In his "East-Hampton" sketch Payne, in effect, was doing for eastern Long Island what Irving had done for the Hudson Valley and its old Dutch villages: enriching it with the color of romance and tradition. There is, of course, an important difference. Payne's local color is more objectively rendered, less fanciful than Irving's. Payne writes as a journalist: while the author of the *Sketch Book,* as Payne says, was a prose-poet.[7]

Late in 1834, after publishing a prospectus for *Jam Jehan Nima* and a list of prominent New York backers, Payne set out on a tour of the South and Southwest to gather material for the magazine and to enlist more subscribers, believing that he needed at least five thousand names at ten dollars each. But finding that number proved more difficult than he thought, and by 1837 he had abandoned the project. The financial panic of that year must have killed any lingering hopes he had.

Some of the material he had gathered he placed in the August and September 1837 issues of the *Ladies' Companion,* a New York weekly; for example, an article on four unpublished poems by John Keats discovered when he interviewed George Keats, the poet's brother who had settled in Louisville, Kentucky. But, by October, he had fallen out with that magazine's editor. The "East-Hampton" piece, which may have been written as early as 1832-1834 following his visit there but, if not, then in 1836 or 1837 from notes made on that visit, was now a manuscript in need of a publisher. The circumstances of its eventual publication are largely responsible for its fate.

In fall 1837 Payne had contracted with the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (1837-1849), a new Washington, D.C. publication, to do a series of articles under the general heading "Our Neglected Poets," also probably an idea left over from the *Jam Jehan Nima* project. The first article would introduce the work of an unpublished eighteenth-century American poet, William Martin Johnson (ca. 1771-1797). Because Johnson had lived in East Hampton for a few years in the 1790s, Payne saw an opportunity to get his "East-Hampton" sketch into print, and inserted it somewhat awkwardly into the middle of his essay on Johnson to depict the place he believed the poet had been happier than in any other in his brief wandering life. But the addition was disproportionately long, and he told John L. O'Sullivan, the magazine's founder and editor, to omit it if he felt it irrelevant. O'Sullivan should have done so. The discussion of the poet's life and work would have been more tightly focused, and the "East-Hampton" sketch, published separately at another time, could have been seen for itself, a pleasing example of American local color. Instead, Payne's lengthy article was divided into two parts, which appeared separately as "Our Neglected Poets, No. 1: William Martin Johnson," in the February and March 1838 issues of the magazine, the "East-Hampton" sketch taking up almost all of the February installment. But as Payne's effort to rescue Johnson's work from oblivion failed, so the article itself was forgotten and a wider audience for the "East-Hampton" piece buried within it was lost.[8]

Another reason was the negative reaction of East Hampton itself when the sketch appeared in excerpted form in the 10 March 1838 issue of the *Sag Harbor*

Corrector. Partly, no doubt, the local readers, discovering that their community had been the unwitting object of the author's scrutiny, felt that he had invaded their privacy and exposed them to the eyes of strangers. They must have especially resented his droll account of their Sunday church service, his attempts to reproduce their dialect, and his witty description of their house facades as faces without foreheads. But mainly they mistook the tone of the piece, seeing ridicule and facetious condescension in Payne's good-humored literary exercise.[9] They overlooked the author's admiration of the village's old-fashioned integrity, its love of neatness and order, and its independence, industry, and republican spirit. And they failed to appreciate the compliment implied when he described visiting strangers from New York City as "barbarians of aristocracy and fashion." Instead, misunderstanding the belletristic spirit of Payne's piece, they could only see themselves depicted as rustic curiosities and their village as an anachronism. So, when the "Home, Sweet Home" cult developed late in the century and East Hampton claimed Payne as a native son, the literary tribute the author of the famous song had paid the village had been largely dismissed and forgotten.

It is unlikely that Payne's plays will ever be revived, except perhaps as historical period pieces. But his Irving-inspired East-Hampton sketch deserves a better fate. The graphic description of East Hampton life in the early years of the Republic alienated respectable East Hamptoners at the time because they could too clearly see themselves in a picture for which they had not posed. But to us 160 years later, thanks to Payne's eye for the telling detail, the sketch is a wonderful window into the past that modern East Hampton and Long Islanders generally can surely appreciate.

The Village of East-Hampton
By John Howard Payne

It was settled, history says, at a very early period from the opposite shores of Connecticut.[10] It is situated on a gently undulating plain some score of miles from the extreme eastern point of Long Island and about seven from Sag Harbor. Within twenty minutes' walk is the Atlantic Ocean, the waves of which may be always heard throughout the village "swinging slow with sullen roar" and the influence of which upon the trees is pointed out to the visitor in the withered and discolored foliage of the two among those lining the street that stand exposed to the direct sweep of the sea-breeze.[11]

East-Hampton is a beautiful oasis so surrounded by sands and barrenness that the inhabitants are confined to farms barely sufficient to enable them with patient industry and rigid economy to draw thence the means of sustaining their families. The village is built on the two sides of a very wide grass-grown street.[12] Most of its houses are low, with one end to the street and the roof of that old-fashioned and unintellectual form like a face without a forehead shooting abruptly backward from the eyebrows to the high phrenological bump of veneration on the apex of the skull. The rooms are not lofty, their walls are wainscoted, and their ceilings crossed with massive beams; as you stand on some superannuated millstone

"fallen from its high estate"[13] into a door-step, you occasionally open upon a three-cornered closet under the stairway containing a venerable saddle and bridle often not yet divorced from the social and affectionate pillion of the olden time for the lady; the respectable seat of which saddle has sustained divers generations to tea parties at the neighbouring towns, to Sag Harbor to look after the news, or to Montauk to look after the cattle.[14] One small abode on a rising ground was pointed out to me as having been, within the memory of some of the townspeople, on its first erection the wonder of its day; for the pannels [*sic*] of the wainscoting were not only painted, but painted sky blue, and the panes of glass in the windows were actually so vast that the newborn child of the owner was once, to astonish the natives, put through a broken one; the magnificent magnitude of which, considering it was at least half the size of those now in common use, must have been looked upon with no little amazement. In the open way leaning against the side of a house, you will ever and anon encounter most creditable evidence of the universal honesty of the inhabitants: long logs of fire-wood standing on end to be taken down and cut and split as wanted. The foot of the pile is always strewn about with a semicircle of chips proving how steadily the healthful exercise of the axe is kept up in the family.

But it must not be inferred that there are no modern and even comparatively splendid mansions in East-Hampton, for there are some of later date which render the quiet antiquity of the rest even yet more striking. Nor must I omit to name the public edifices. Of these, a one-story wooden building, at least eighteen feet square, is perhaps the oldest; it has from time immemorial been alternately made use of as a school-house and town-hall. The presiding divinity of this temple of learning in ancient times was a celebrated dame who used to threaten her male and female little ones with the terrors of "sarpints and scorpings" in an awful cellar underneath if they did not mind their letters and their sewing.[15] There is another more towering edifice called Clinton Hall, an academy surmounted by a cupola and bell that has held a high rank among establishments for education.[16] I need scarcely add there is a meeting-house, too, put up more than a century since, still retaining the very steeple, bell, and clock that graced it on its first erection in the good old times of the Province and King George the Second.[17] A few years ago, after numerous town assemblies and perplexing and prolonged debates, it was solemnly concluded that the interior of the old meeting-house should for the first time pass under the brush. When adorned with new colors within, it seemed, like little Rip Van Winkle with his antediluvian outside and his new perceptions, as if actually exclaiming, "Is this really me?" It is asserted that upon this occasion an ancient maiden, whose sympathies with the meeting-house were those of a coeval and who could not bear to look upon her mother-church as a painted Jezabel, cried out in an agony of pious chagrin, "Aye, aye! jest like East-Hampton folks—all for show!"

At each end of the village stands a wind-mill, near one, a pond, and near both, an unfenced grave-yard; in the larger of which the first minister is buried, being laid in such a position by his own desire, it is said, as to enable him on his uprising to face his beloved flock. So endeared is this spot by the remembrance of the generations of the good whose remains repose in it that it is scarcely less coveted

for a last home by the humble here than is Westminster Abbey by the great in England. I have heard of but one exception, that of an eccentric old man of the vicinity who caused his remains to be deposited in his own orchard that the rascally boys whom he had found so troublesome about the fruit trees all his lifetime might be kept at a due distance by the dread of his ghost after he was gone.

The traditions of the place are few, but mysterious. I first sought them in the town records;[18] but vast indeed was my perplexity on encountering only notices of various inexplicable hieroglyphics granted to Zephaniahs and Ichabods and Jeremiahs through many generations for the respective "ear mark" of each. Eventually, however, it was relieved. I found out that these mystical "ear marks" were merely registers of the stamps upon the ears of their cattle under which the townspeople entered them for a proportion of pasturage at Montauk, to which each freeholder had a right. In my further researches for less matter-of-fact antiquarianisms, I was more fortunate. From unwritten history I learned that there is a spot in the road through the pine woods to Sag Harbor which is called the "whooping boy's hollow" because in the olden time it was the scene of a child-murder; ever since which, after nightfall, screams are said to be heard there, to the infinite discomfiture of stage drivers and belated urchins. There is a small excavation, also on the same wayside, said to be the very spot touched by the head of the last Indian sachem as his corpse was set down by its bearers to the burial, in which neither pebble nor dust nor raindrop nor fallen leaf ever remains, although the most untiring watchfulness has not been able to detect any human hand approaching it. There is also a Lebanon cedar tree on the wide sandy heath midway to Montauk uprising amid tall, thorny, tangled bushes whose close-knit branches can sustain the ominous number of thirteen persons as on a platform and which is immortalized by some wild tale of Indian massacre and miraculous escape. But the recollections concerning the succession of clergymen and especially those touching Dr. Buell, who was famous there during and immediately after the Revolutionary War and whose flowing gown and full-bottomed white wig still flourish in his portrait and are still gazed upon with undiminished reverence, form the most prolific and acceptable theme of conversation among the aged, whose stories of him prove how richly he was entitled to the gratitude and the respect in which the honest-hearted villager ever holds the good man's memory.[19]

This worthy pastor, the little old meeting-house of which he is the unforgotten ornament, and the worship there as it is maintained even to the present day can never find such a chronicler as they merit unless they should meet with some new Oliver Goldsmith like our own Washington Irving. The verse-poet of sweet Auburn or the prose-poet of the Sketch Book could have brought the Sunday of this village vividly before the mind's eye, and none but they. Either could have shown the congregation assembling from far and near; either could have pictured the ancient wagons filled with families jolting onward in their high-backed chairs of the fashion of the days of the Lord Protector Cromwell.[20] The old horses stop without a hint from the rein at the very spot—and each pair plant themselves

under the very tree—to which they have been for so many years respectively accustomed. The cross-board is drawn out of the back of the wagon, and a chair dropped to the ground, upon which the grandmothers and mothers and aunts are first carefully helped down; then the younger wives and daughters spring over the seat jauntily with a light touch on the husband's or the favoured suitor's hand or shoulder and post themselves in readiness to catch the little ones of the latest generation as they jump into their arms and are thence lightly launched by them upon the ground. The train move slowly to their places, and the old dogs of the establishment follow and stretch themselves in silent and reverential slumber during the whole service. Every hearer—from the labourer and the common sailor-boy who is on his return to pass the interval between two whaling voyages in his humble cottage home up to the solemn and consequential justice of the peace—appears neatly clad, and all join in the exercises with attention and devoutness. There is one parishioner, a respectable townsman who could be seen driving a stage-wagon of a morning and on the evening of the same day showing the hospitalities of the village to some of his stage passengers at his own comfortable cottage whom I have noticed shining brilliantly on these occasions in black pantaloons of what is called "everlasting." I was told that this worthy person, when commissioned by his wife to make a purchase of the stuff for this garment at New York, being puzzled to remember its appellation, told the shop-keeper, "Well, I think it is *tarnity* cloth, or some name o' the sort," and upon this description got the material with which he dignified himself on Sunday and at funerals and at merry-makings.

In the psalmody of the meeting-house every voice seems to join. Though the singing may sometimes seem like the motions of the down-easter who said his dancing was "not for pretty, but for tough," nevertheless it is sincere, and sincerity, however unadorned, is always impressive. I have observed the ancient deacon of the congregation, whose venerable locks, now grown thin and white, have been swept by a hundred winters, during the entire exercises stand in the pulpit just below the preacher with the best of his twin listening organs so upturned as to enable his dulled hearing not to lose a single syllable of the long prayer nor of the longer sermon. I have also been amused with the struggle upon the lip and in the eye of some roguish little damsel as the long windmill arms of the excited divine with an unconscious sweep would force the deacon, of a sudden, to duck down his aged head in order to evade the risk of an unintentional box on the ear. The very dogs of the village know the precise length of the service by instinct and at the regular moment for the benediction rise up and depart, never committing the irreverence of shaking themselves until they get outside of the great door.

Though on the way to and from the meeting-house on Sundays the wide street of East-Hampton looks thronged and sparkling with cheerful faces and bright dresses, the habits of the people are too industrious to break its silence and solitude much during the week. Excepting on Sundays, you will scarcely meet any groups of promenaders throughout the day-time, unless it be large flocks of geese. The same multitudes of the tribe of saviours of the Roman Capitol[21] which are remembered as strutting over the grass a century ago are still conspicuous there,

and a visitor, after an absence of at least thirty years, fancied he could recognize among the numbers that were engrossing the area, as if theirs by prescription, some of the acquaintances from whose disdainful beaks he had often sheered away in great terror and tribulation when a child.

That quaint good feeling—that exemplary ambition to do their best in their own quiet and domestic way—which marks the manners of the East-Hamptoners at the meeting-house also appears in their mode of showing hospitality to each other and to strangers, to the most welcome of whom their highest compliment is that they are as happy to see him as if he were General George Washington. At the little parties made by ladies there is a minute observance of their own notions of fashion, both in dress and etiquette. Perhaps there is no place in the world where the tea-table epicure could be gratified with equal variety in the forms of tea-table luxury. Every cake and tartlet and tart and pye is made at home, for the most part by the fair hands of the lady hostess herself, whose ambition to outrival her neighbours in cookery is only comparable with her anxiety to make her attentions acceptable to her guests. It is delightful to mark the triumphant gladness which glistens in the good lady's eyes as she sees her dainties devoured; and it is curious to observe how character and even the effects of local and sometimes political partisanship may be read in the silent but eloquent eagerness with which some of the kind-hearted neighbours will show their friendship by eating away most unconquerably though they are full; others will show their jealousy and ill will by most invidiously and slanderously only nibbling though they are empty. The various dishes and the various degrees of skill shown in preparing them are of course a subject of animated gossip the next day, especially if there be a quilting party anywhere, and established in her domestic glory, indeed, is the newly-settled-down young wife after her first tea party if she escape unscathed the ordeal of the prophesying petticoat critics upon it. She may then hope for the standard epitaph, whenever she shall take her place in the grave-yard by the pond, that she was "a virtuous woman, and a crown to her husband."[22]

There is another form in which honest pride displays itself among the female villagers—that of excelling each other in the manufacture of their own bed-quilts, curtains, fringes, carpets, and rugs. At a house furnished by the handiwork of beautiful young girls—a homestead where, from the very sheep upward,[23] every material was home-made—I could not resist the desire to seek a sight of the fair artists and their famed productions. Although half afraid of a repulse upon such an errand, I found the grace and the good nature of my reception quite on a par with the surpassing beauty of the work I was asked to look at. There was a manifest pride in this evidence of a reputation for industry. How much more in character with the republican spirit of our institutions is such a pride than that of an heiress in her diamonds and equipage and millions! Yet in spite of the devotedness of these village females to domestic duties and their love of order and of neatness, no lack appears among them of mental acquirement. A young girl capable of adorning the best society has been seen there scrubbing her floor with one hand and pushing forward one of Miss Edgeworth's volumes which she was reading to keep it in the dry spot with the other. I have perused from the pen of

another native female yet resident there scraps of sentimental, satirical, and patriotic poetry which sweet L.E.L. in her happiest inspirations might have been proud of producing.[24]

The entertainments of the men at East-Hampton are, of course, of a severer character. The greatest among them is that of drawing the seine on the Atlantic. A horn is sounded at day-break whenever the sea gives promise of abundance, and men of all orders and conditions hurry to the beach in their boat toggery; from head to foot all "suffer a sea-change"[25] so thorough that the well-dressed yeoman of the preceding night is not to be recognized. The boats put off, and ere long all hands are pulling at the net-ropes, waist-deep in the water, and the sands are swarming with heaps of fish of every description, the greater part of which are left to decay upon the fields for manure. The hideous and poisonous sting-ray is usually among the captives, and I have seen from fifteen to twenty sharks strewn upon the shore from a single haul. Even the whale will occasionally appear in the distance, completing the majesty of the ocean prospect. These scenes are ever sources of no ordinary excitement on this part of the coast, and such is the inspiration of the sound of the horn-call to the sea that all the male creation of the village rush forth on the instant. A Connecticut notion-monger who announced the arrival of his peddling cart there one morning by the sound of his own horn was astonished to find every house suddenly depopulated of all the holders of the purse strings. The signal had been mistaken for a call to the seine-drawing.

It may be that a taste for the adventures of the ocean is awakened in the younger villagers by these sights of grandeur and the stir of these minor dangers; for their first thoughts are generally turned to a ship-board life, and they early wander far, most frequently upon whaling voyages. "There lives a man," said a young East-Hamptoner to me as we rode by a cottage a few miles from the village, "who has made a competency by whaling and retired from *public life!*" I have listened upon the sands, as the surf was dashing and sparkling at our feet, to harrowing narratives of bright hopes broken by this irrepressible thirst to tempt fortune on the deep. I have heard a warm-hearted and intelligent sister disclose in faltering accents the sad story of her younger brother who would not be dissuaded from the peril even by a lovely relation who, when yet a mere child, remonstrated with him in a letter, of which the ready memory of the sister retained the following sweet burst of artless eloquence: "Recollect, a mariner's life is one of hardship, toil, and danger. Think of the many anxious hearts you will leave among your friends. Even I, in some cold, stormy night when the wind whistles so mournfully about the house and seems to bid defiance to the other elements—even I shall then think of my poor little cousin exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, rocked by Boreas in his hammock, and perhaps thinking or dreaming of his dear native village and the cheerful fireside he has left to learn his lesson of life and mayhap to find his grave in its bosom with nought but the billow to sing his death song." The apprehension was prophetic. The poor lad, when his ship was sweeping before a gale through the Indian Ocean, ran aloft to furl a sail as the mast broke, and he was heard to exclaim, "God save me!" as the ship uncontrollably dashed onward, and he was seen no more!

Volumes might be filled with the romances of real life which sometimes

beguile the evenings on this wild ocean border, and often have I desired the graphic power to detain on paper a scene of the sort in which I was once a sharer. The gentle monitor of her lost cousin sat with his sisters and some others on the beach. Anecdotes of the sea had made the time glide away unperceived, and the conversation was wound up by an unaffected song from the innocent girl in which devotion so beautifully mingled with touchingly appropriate allusion that no taste, no science, no execution of the finest melodists in the world could have rivalled the pathetic influence of the untaught music. To imagine its spell, it must be associated with the impressive recollections: with the soft breeze rippling over the calm ocean; with the waves mildly breaking, then falling back in diamond sparkles as they met the moonbeam; and with the vast wilderness of outstretched waters beyond, gradually more and more confused by distance till at length they undistinguishably blended with the black mist over the horizon, which seemed the only veil between the beholder and eternity.

It may be readily inferred that in such a village as I have described the aged must naturally feel extremely sensitive about any omen of innovation. The old families are devoutly attached to their old homes, and though I have known but fifteen dollars a year to be asked for the only house to be hired at one time in the place, the same cost and trouble which would secure a lot in East-Hampton might obtain one of ten times the marketable value elsewhere—so much beyond lucre do the inhabitants prize their modest independence. With such feelings, we cannot wonder at the distaste for all intruders. Hence it happened that when a steamboat from New York to Sag Harbor made the seclusion readily accessible to city rovers in quest of sea air and rurality, the irruption of the barbarians of aristocracy and fashion gave the old settlers evident concern; and when an accident abruptly stopped the new-fangled facility of approach, it was a source of exultation among some. East-Hampton need no longer tremble for her purity because the madness was over; the good old ways were returning; the old stage coach had gone out, as formerly, with a passenger and a portmanteau; and there were no more arrivals of the unknown from vicious large cities to stir up extravagant ideas in the well disposed and unsettle the husbandman from his dependence on his plough by dreams of speculation.

It is true, there might have been grounds for uneasiness. Some alarming cases of genius had actually broken out among them. Many a head is even to this day shaken at the sad delusion under which an old inhabitant who invented a combined flour mill and threshing machine and another who fashioned an orrery imitating by mechanism the movements of our planetary system in their exact proportions have both not only wasted time but actually expended money! For such prejudices, however, the generation in which they prevail are scarcely to be held accountable; these good people have communicated but little with the wider world—so little, that an aged one among them, after having been inveigled in a mischievous young friend's wagon for the first time to the neighbouring town of Southold, is said to have exclaimed in amazement, "Who could have thought that Amerikey had been so big!" This wonderer may have been of the same tribe with the maiden of three-score-and-ten, who, after a hurricane which succeeded a grand scholars'

exhibition of dialogues[26] in the Clinton Hall Academy, cried out with sanctimonious consternation, "This is that plaguy 'cademy work, I know! A judgment is fell upon the town!"

But I apprehend that it would be impracticable for even much more potent jealousies permanently to shut out the dreaded changes. The sweet solitude of East-Hampton is inevitably destined to interruption from the city, and many an eye, wearied with the glare of foreign and domestic grandeur, will ere long lull itself to repose in the quiet beauty of this village. It will revel in its daybreak ocean sports. It will delight in its summer sunset which, as the gazer from the rising ground to the western extremity[27] looks down the long and ample street, flings giant shadows upon the grass and gilds the tree-tops and the nearer windmill, the chimneys, the academy cupola, and the little meeting-house spire opposite, the distant tavern-sign swinging between two posts in the centre of the road, and the far off windmill;[28] while the geese strut with slow and measured stateliness to their repose, and the cottagers upon the benches projecting from before each side of many of the cottage doors talk news or scandal or pertinaciously bicker away about politics and religion, though they are said never to have voted but on one side and never to have listened to a sermon out of their own sect.

NOTES

1. John Howard Payne, "Our Neglected Poets, No. 1: William Martin Johnson," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 1: 3 (Feb. 1838), 293-306. A description of East Hampton in Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New-England and New-York* (New Haven: the author [posthumous] 1822) 3: 307-16, notes some of the same things that Payne does, such as the quiet antiquity of the place and its cultural insularity, but Dwight's inspiration is essentially utilitarian. In recording his observations of the social and economic life of the places he visits, his aim is to be as objective, impersonal, and "scientific" as he can. Payne's sketch, on the other hand, is a belletristic composition, self-contained and freestanding, meant to entertain as well as inform.

2. The "visitor [to East Hampton] after an absence of at least thirty years" (see below) is, of course, John Howard Payne himself. Referring to his description of East Hampton in the paragraph following the end of the sketch in the "William Martin Johnson" essay, Payne writes: "Such, then, was East-Hampton when the hapless 'neglected poet' of this narrative became...a member of this quiet, simple and primitive little community. Such at least it was a few years ago, and with the exception of the slight changes I have specifically recorded above, I may safely guarantee that such it was at the time referred to." As this comment was written in fall 1837, "a few years ago," referring to his own visit to East Hampton, can only mean the 1832-34 period.

3. Grace Overmyer, *America's First Hamlet* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1957), 31; Payne's birthplace was New York City, but his affection for East Hampton was real, and in later writings he sometimes referred to himself as an East Hamptoner (see Overmyer, 327).

4. John Howard Payne, "Prospectus of a New Periodical" (1833), quoted in Gabriel Harrison, *John Howard Payne: His Life and Writings* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1885), 147.

5. Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832; reprint, edited with a List of Mrs. Trollope's Adventures in America, by Donald Smalley [New York: Alfred K. Knopf/Vintage, 1949]).

6. Washington Irving, *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (1819-20), contains Irving's essays on English life and places.

7. See ibid. for "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow."

8. John Howard Payne to J. L. O'Sullivan, 11 December 1837, in the John Howard Payne Papers Collection, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University (hereafter cited as Payne Papers). A nine-page manuscript described as a historical sketch of East Hampton, New York, by John Howard Payne, n.p., n.d., is listed for sale at auction in "Catalogue No. 912, in the papers of John Howard Payne Belonging to Howard T. Goodwin, Dec'd, Seven from Other Sources, to be Sold Tuesday, April 26, 1904" (Payne Papers). The "East-Hampton" sketch takes up about eight-and-a-half pages of the article's first installment, with the caption "The Village of East-Hampton" at the top of the four right-hand pages; whether this was Payne's title is unknown. John Louis O'Sullivan was an ardent champion of manifest destiny, the rationale for divinely ordained expansion of the United States; he coined the famous phrase in an editorial in the July-August 1845 issue of his magazine.

9. Henry P. Hedges, *A History of the Town of East-Hampton, N.Y.* (Sag Harbor: J. H. Hunt, Printer, 1897), 168-69.

10. East Hampton was settled in 1648 by nine of the original settlers of Southampton, who arrived there in 1640 after a short sojourn in Lynn, Massachusetts; the governors of Connecticut and New Haven colonies first purchased the land for East Hampton from the sachems of the Montauk, Shinnecock, Corchaug, and Manhansett Indians, and conveyed it to the emigrants from Southampton (see William S. Pelletreau, "East Hampton," in *History of Suffolk County* [New York: W. W. Munsell, 1882], 3-4).

11. In the February 1838 *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, where the East-Hampton sketch originally appeared, *village* was printed as *valley*, a typesetter's error that Payne pointed out in a 10 February 1838 letter to the magazine's editor (Payne Papers); "Swinging low with sullen roar": John Milton, *Il Penseroso* (1632), line 76.

12. Present-day Main Street.

13. John Dryden, *Alexander's Feast* (1697), line 78.

14. Sag Harbor was a port of entry and famous whaling town; Montauk was grazing land until late in the nineteenth century.

15. If, as seems likely, this characterization is based on Payne's personal recollection, then "the celebrated dame" was either Phoebe Filer or Fanny Huntting, the town's schoolmistresses in the years 1772-1807 (see Jean Edwards Rattray, *East Hampton History* [East Hampton, 1953], 79). The building is still standing, maintained by the East Hampton Historical Society.

16. Clinton Academy, where Payne's father, William Payne, taught from its founding in 1784 to 1790, was the first secondary school chartered by the New York State Board of Regents; the building, which still stands, is operated as a museum by the East Hampton Historical Society.

17. The Second Church, built in 1717 during the reign of George I, and torn down in the early

1870s, stood where the Guild Hall does today.

18. There is little of general interest about the town's early history in the annals of the town. Payne was looking for "less matter-of-fact antiquarianisms" than he found there; that is, local stories and legends with a supernatural turn, a favorite subject for Romantic writers in the nineteenth century.

19. The Reverend Samuel Buell (1716-1798), third minister of the town, was the founder and first principal of Clinton Academy.

20. Auburn was the imaginary English village of Oliver Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village* (1770), created by the poet to nostalgically revisit his own childhood village in Ireland; for Irving, see notes 6 and 7 above.

21. Sacred geese kept on Rome's Capitoline Hill, whose cackling alerted the garrison to an attack and saved the citadel during the sack of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C.

22. Proverbs 12:4.

23. *Sheep* was printed as *sheet* in the first printing of this essay, a typesetter's error noted by Payne in a letter to the editor of the magazine where the essay first appeared (see note 11 above).

24. Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849), was an Irish novelist best known for *Castle Rackrent* (1800); "another native female" is probably Cornelia Huntington (1803-1890), of East Hampton, a poet and, under the pseudonym of Martha Wickham, author of *Sea-Spray: A Long Island Village* (New York, 1857); Letetia Elizabeth Landon (1802-1838), a British novelist and poet, wrote under the initials L. E. L.

25. William Shakespeare, *The Tempest* I:ii:38.

26. That is, student debates or declamations.

27. Pudding Hill.

28. "The nearer windmill," built in 1771 and in Payne's time probably located on the north side of the village green across from the Maidstone Arms today, now sits in the yard behind the "Home, Sweet Home" museum on James Lane. "The far-off windmill" was the Old Hook Mill at the east end of Main Street, built in 1806 and most recently restored in 1986.

WHO SAYS THE MONTAUK TRIBE IS EXTINCT? JUDGE ABEL BLACKMAR'S DECISION in *WYANDANK v. BENSON* (1909)

By John A. Strong

Editorial note: Because we believe that this article is of special interest to our readers, we obtained Prof. Strong's permission to reprint it from the American Indian Culture and Research Journal 16:1 (1992) 1-22

At the October 1910 session of the New York State Supreme Court, sitting in Riverhead, Judge Abel Blackmar announced his "findings of fact [and] conclusions of law" in the case of Wyandank Pharaoh, chief of the Montauk tribe of Indians, plaintiff, versus Jane Benson and the estate of the late Arthur Benson, defendants. The Montauk people in the crowded courtroom sat in stunned silence as the judge announced that the Montauk tribe no longer existed. The tribe, he said, "has disintegrated...They have no internal government, and they live a shiftless life of hunting, fishing and cultivating the ground and often leaving Montauk for long periods to work in some menial capacity for whites." The tribe, continued the judge, had been in decline for decades, and the purchase of their residence rights by Arthur Benson and his family merely gave the "final death blow."[1]

There is a tragic historical irony in Judge Blackmar's ruling. During the first century after the establishment of European settlements in North America, the Native American people were forced to give up their hunting grounds, language, religion, political and economic systems and accept roles as domestics or unskilled laborers in expanding settler communities. The "good" Indians were those who became Christians and adopted the outward appearances of submission to the dominant culture. The Indians lost their land, they were told, because the whites knew better how to use it and make it productive. Now, two and one-half centuries later, the judge was telling the descendants of those "good Montauk" that, because they had abandoned their culture, they had lost the right to their last small piece of land. The one consistency is that, in both cases, the Montauk lost their land.

The crucial issue here is the way in which tribal status is determined. After the unexpected victory of the Passamaquoddy in Maine, where tribal standing was not

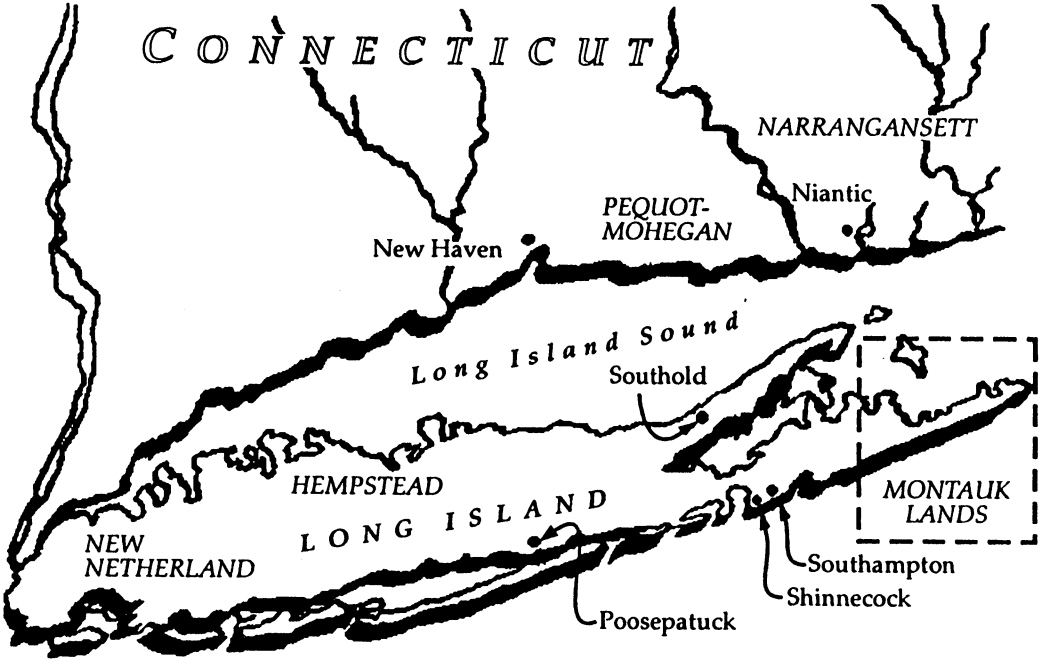
challenged, land cases brought by eastern tribes such as the Mashpee on Cape Cod have turned on this question. The Montauk case was one of the first to be tried in the eastern states following the landmark decision in *Montoya v. United States* (1901), which set down the legal definition of a tribe. The lawyers representing the Montauk allowed the defendants to expand the Montoya criteria and to play on racial stereotypes. The strategy, which enabled the Long Island Railroad and a consortium of developers to win, has important implications today for contemporary Indian land cases, particularly those involving landless Native American communities in the eastern states.

Historical Background

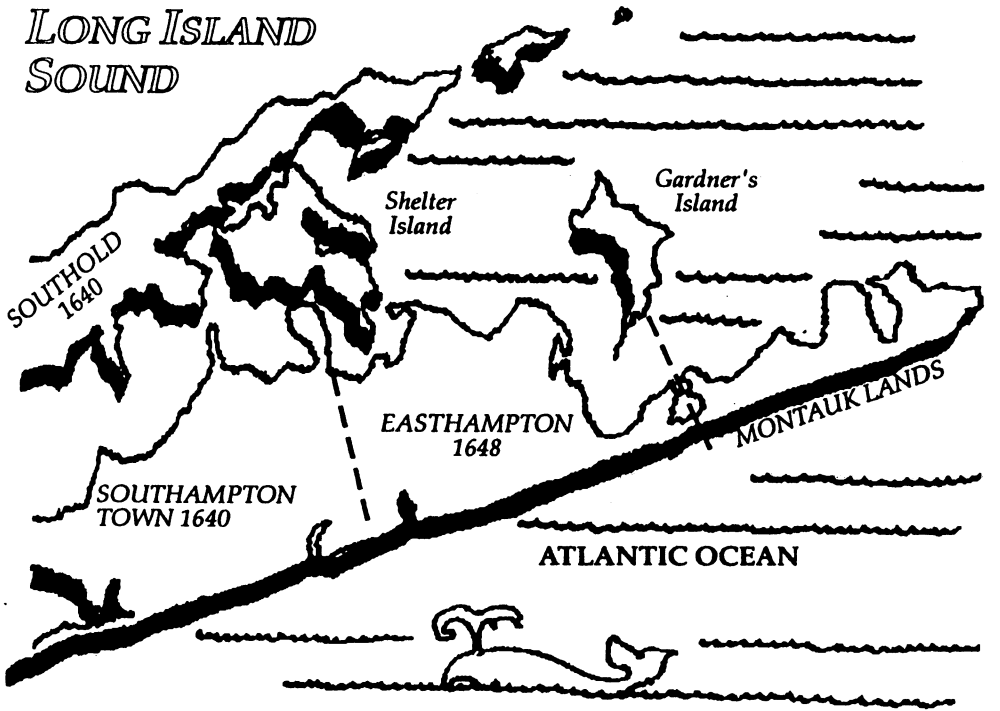
The Montauk, an Algonquian-speaking Native American community, were living on the South Fork of Long Island when the English settlers arrived in the mid-seventeenth century (see map 1). They lived in a number of small villages located near fresh water streams along the coast. The Montauk grew some domestic crops but relied primarily on hunting, gathering, and fishing for their survival. Their political and economic systems were essentially egalitarian, with few specialized roles.[2]

The English established the settlement of East Hampton in 1648 on a thirty-thousand-acre tract of land purchased from the Montauk. This tract ran from the eastern boundary of Southampton, the first English town on Long Island (1640), to Napeague Bay, west of East Hampton. In 1661 and 1670, two more tracts of land east of the original purchase were obtained, leaving unclaimed only the areas where the Montauk located their principal settlements and planting grounds (see map 2).The settlers jealously guarded their exclusive right to purchase the rest of the Montauk land when they needed it. In 1686, a patent issued by Governor Thomas Dongan officially recognized this right of purchase but established, in the same patent, a body of public officials called trustees to supervise and monitor all relations with Native Americans.[3]

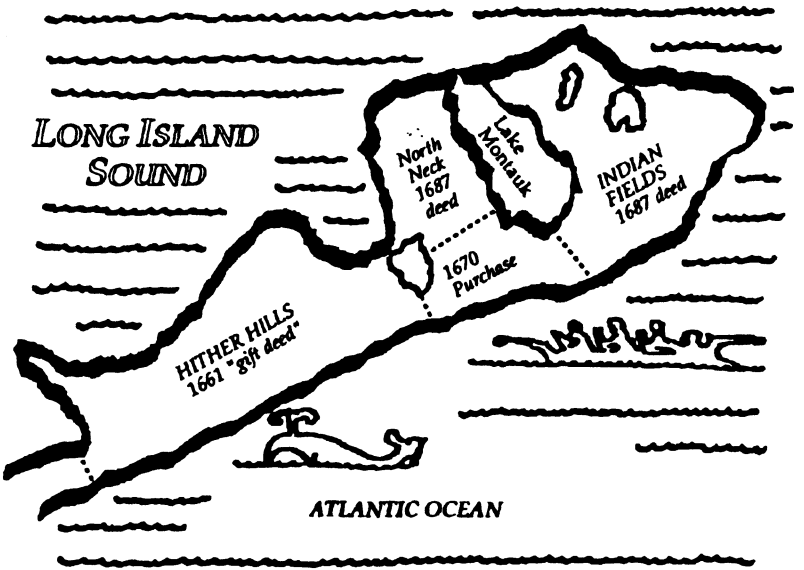
The following year the trustees, on behalf of a group of private proprietors, bought the remainder of the Montauk land for one hundred pounds sterling. The negotiations included a counter bond in which the trustees guaranteed residence and planting rights to the Montauk and their heirs in perpetuity. This bond therefore established a legal relationship that obligated the duly elected town officials to guarantee the Montauk rights. The Montauk were to pay a token fee of one ear of corn "upon demand, unto the trustees of whom shall be appointed in Easthampton." Acting as a referee in the relations between private citizens and the Montauk, the town assumed a responsibility that could not be voided by either of the two principal parties. Both parties agreed to this arrangement because of a long history of distrust, cultural misunderstanding, and broken agreements.[4]



MAP 1. Southern New England (Long Island 1640)
Map by David Martine.



MAP 2. Deeds of 1661, 1670, and 1687. Map by David Martine.



MAP 3. 1661 "gift deed"
1670 "9 score acre" deed
1687 Montauk deed
Map by David Martine.

In spite of the arrangement, controversy later erupted over the schedule of payments, and the town was forced to intervene in 1703. The Montauk, claiming that the payments had not been made and that their grazing rights were not being adequately protected, precipitated a crisis by selling all of Montauk to Rip Van Dam, a wealthy New York merchant and close associate of the colonial governor, Lord Cornbury. The town moved quickly to block the sale and opened a new round of negotiations that resulted in a more detailed articulation of the rights and obligations of all three parties. These negotiations resulted in four separate agreements: a confirmation of the 1687 deed; a new bond in which the trustees acknowledged that proprietors were "justly indebted" to the Montauk and a payment schedule of forty shillings in interest, paid annually, on the one hundred pounds; a promise by the Montauk to honor all clauses in the new agreements; and, lastly, a carefully worded agreement about the specific land use rights at Montauk.[5]

The land use agreement permitted the Montauk to choose between acreage on either side of Lake Montauk, but prohibited them from occupying both sides at the same time. Quotas were set for grazing rights, which limited the Montauk to a total of fifty cattle and/or horses and 250 swine. The Montauk then established the custom of leasing back to local whites, on a yearly basis, any of the rights that the Montauk did not use. These leases became a major source of cash for the small community. Most of these rights were allocated to individual members of the Montauk community, but some were reserved for the tribe as a whole. Timber, a vital source of fuel for cooking, heating, and fencing, could be harvested from adjacent wood lots if the Montauk experienced a shortage on the reserved area.[6]

Both colonial and state authorities advised the East Hampton trustees on several occasions to designate the land in the 1703 agreement as an official reservation and to appoint an Indian agent who would supervise tribal affairs, but this advice was never taken. The trustees and proprietors apparently expected that the Montauk would gradually die off or abandon the area. They did not want to establish an institutional structure that might limit their control over the Montauk or encourage the growth of the Native American community. In fact, over the years, the proprietors did many things to squeeze them out.[7]

Many of the Montauk men worked for the English as whalers until the end of the whaling era in the nineteenth century. A small number left in the eighteenth century to join Samson Occom's Brotherton community, and eventually settled in Wisconsin. By the turn of the present century most of the Montauk remaining on Long Island worked as domestic servants, cattle herders for the proprietors, or laborers in the nearby white communities. The population at Montauk did not decline, however, because Native Americans from New England end from the Shinnecock and Poospatuck reservations on Long Island married into the community.

In 1719, the East Hampton trustees pressured the Montauk to block off this vital link with other Native American communities. Under penalty of a one hundred-pound bond, Native Americans who were not members of the Montauk community were prohibited from living at Montauk or using any land there. This prohibition was a devastating edict for a small, exogamous community that had

always depended on marriages with neighboring bands to maintain its population base and reinforce economic, social, and political networks. The long-range impact of the prohibition was so destructive that one wonders what sort of inducement was used to obtain Montauk agreement. Unfortunately, the records are silent about this.[8]

The population at Montauk dropped to about 160 people in thirty-two families by 1741. Many of the Montauk, recognizing that community survival depended on exogamous marriages, began to marry African American people from nearby. Prevailing racial prejudices, of course, would not permit intermarriage with whites. In 1754, the trustees, fearing that the decline in the Montauk population might be reversed if new people were absorbed into the local community, again pressured the Montauk to accept a restriction on their population growth. A similar population restriction was imposed on the Mashpee in 1788 by the Massachusetts General Court. The Reverend Gideon Hawley, a missionary serving the tribe, argued that this edict would serve to strengthen the "Christian and Indian character" of the Mashpee and was, therefore, for their own good. The result, of course, was to reduce the population base at Mashpee and free more land for the whites.[9]

Samson Occom, the Mohegan missionary who had been living at Montauk since 1749, was present during the negotiation of the new agreement. Ironically, Occom himself had violated the population control edict of 1719 when in 1751 he married a Montauk woman named Mary Fowler. The Montauk elected a committee of seven, led by Sirus (Silas, Cyrus) Charles, to meet with the trustees. This time there was no mention of a bond that could be forfeited if the agreement were broken; instead, the trustees wrote into the agreement the threat of arrest and prosecution for trespass. Women who married "foreign Indians, Mustees, or Mulattos" lost their right to live at Montauk, and their children could not inherit any land claims." In addition, all of the Montauk were prohibited from selling their grazing rights to "foreign" Native Americans or African Americans.[10]

This agreement was in direct violation of the 1687 bond, which guaranteed land rights to all Montauk and their posterity forever. Now women could lose their ancient rights through marriage. The children of said marriages lost the right to claim their inheritances from their mothers. Even though the trustees designed the agreement to reduce the Native American presence at Montauk, Occom signed as a witness. He may have been concerned about the possibility that the presence of African Americans at Montauk would be used by the whites to undermine the Montauk land claims. Undoubtedly, he would have defended his actions with words similar to those of Reverend Hawley; certainly the result of the policy was similar. Unfortunately, Occom did not write about these affairs in his diary, and his biographers do not mention them. Occom left Montauk in 1761 to accept a commission on the Oneida Reservation.[11]

The East Hampton town trustees managed the Montauk lands without much opposition from the proprietors until 1851, when it was discovered that the trustees had been putting the fees charged for hunting privileges on Montauk into the town coffers. The proprietors sued he trustees, charging dereliction of duty and

mismanagement. Any profit made from the land at Montauk, argued the proprietors, belonged to the owners, not to the town government. The court agreed and ordered the town to turn over all of the documents to the proprietors and to cease from interfering in the management of the Montauk lands. The rights of the Montauk, however, were explicitly recognized by the court in the ruling.[12]

When the proprietors applied to the state of New York to form a private corporation to govern Montauk, they were required to include a clause protecting the Montauk residence and planting rights. The act of incorporation turned over the responsibility of protecting the Montauk rights to the state of New York, but the state had no mechanism for resolving such disputes. The only recourse, therefore, was through the state courts.

In 1870, David Pharaoh, acting as chief of the Montauk, and his counselors, Elisha Pharaoh, George Pharaoh, and Jeremiah Wright, sued the proprietors on behalf of "all the individual Indians residing at Montauk," charging that the trustees were cutting timber that belonged to the tribe. The Montauk, stated Chief David, had been given the right in the 1703 agree to fence in a general field for their planting and to cut fencing material and firewood. The fencing required a considerable number of. mature trees every year, and the Montauk had no other source of supply. The whites, who could easily find wood elsewhere, were depleting a vital resource and causing irreparable damage to the Montauk community. Chief David asked the court to restrain the proprietors from taking any more wood from Montauk and requested an injunction prohibiting any cutting by the proprietors until the case was tried.[13]

The court granted the plaintiffs an injunction prohibiting the trustees from taking wood until the case was heard. The proprietors filed an immediate appeal to vacate the injunction. The judge refused, but he did modify the area designated in the prohibition to a twenty-acre lot identified as the primary source of wood on Montauk. The case was referred to court referee Justice Benjamin Downing on 27 April 1871. The following autumn, Downing reported his findings, recognizing David Pharaoh as chief of the Montauk tribe, which was "occupying the same premises known as Montauk, at the time of discovery and early settlement of that part of America by the white people and that said Indians were then entitled to the entire of all said lands, including the premises described in the complaint."[14]

Justice Downing recognized the Montauk tribe and did not question their right to bring suit in the New York courts, but he ruled against them, arguing that they had sufficient timber supplies for their needs. Although it would appear that an important legal precedent had been set, a court referee's findings do not carry the weight of a judicial decision. More importantly, the question of tribal status was not at issue in the case.

In 1878, several of the proprietors sued, in the case of *Grinnell v. Baker,* to obtain "the right to sell the common lands at Montauk to the highest bidder." The court granted them this right, but Judge 0. Dykman ruled that the Montauk residence and planting rights remained protected. In one of his findings of fact, the judge further ruled that the Montauk tribe was a legal entity and that David Pharaoh was the duly appointed chief. The highest bidder was Arthur Benson, a wealthy Brooklyn businessman who wanted absolute, unencumbered title to the

Montauk peninsula. Benson had his agents begin negotiating with individual Montauk in 1885, offering them cash settlements and new homes in the village of East Hampton if they would sign away their residence and planting rights.[15]

The Montauk families later testified that Benson's agent, Nathaniel Dominy, had told them that the residence rights in the 1687 and 1703 agreements could not be voided by Benson's purchases, Dominy later confirmed this under oath. The wording in the deeds, however, was very explicit, calling for the Montauk to "remain away permanently from the said Montauk and not to enter upon the same for any purpose whatever." Dominy explained the deeds to the Montauk, because most of them were unable to read or write. Only Maria Pharaoh, the matriarch of the tribe, was able to sign her name. All of the others made an X, which was designated as a legal signature.[16]

By 1893, all of the Montauk residing on the lands had signed away their rights. When Benson began selling large parcels of land at high prices to real estate developers and to the Long Island Railroad, many of the Montauk who lived in nearby communities joined together in 1896 under the leadership of Wyandank Pharaoh, David Pharaoh's son, to bring suit against Benson and the Long Island Railroad. They charged that the deeds were invalid and that whites were illegally occupying their lands.[17]

The lawyers for the defense filed a demur, arguing that the tribe had no legal standing before the New York State Supreme Court. The Montauk lawyers appealed to the appellate court, but the justices agreed with the demur and ruled that "the plaintiff is not a natural person or a corporation authorized by law to maintain an action as a tribe." The Reverend Eugene Johnson, a member of the Montauk tribe who was living in Philadelphia, entered a second suit in 1898. The reverend was a citizen and therefore a "natural person," but his case also failed, because the judge ruled that a tribe may not sue in court unless it has the permission of the New York Legislature. Legislative approval finally came in 1906, and the case reached Judge Blackmar's court in 1909. This time, the Montauk did receive a full court hearing on the basic charges. Charles Maas, the lawyer for the Montauk, made two primary arguments:

1. The Montauk tribe exists, and Wyandank Pharaoh is the duly recognized chief. The existence of the tribe was established by the judge's finding of fact in *Grinnell v. Baker* and is exempt from challenge. [Curiously, there was no mention of the 1871 trespass case.]
2. The deeds signed in 1885,1893, and 1903 were all invalid.
    A. The deeds were obtained under fraudulent circumstances. The Montauk were led to believe that they could return to Montauk whenever they wished. They were encouraged to view the sale of the rights as no different from the leases of pasturage traditionally sold to whites on a yearly basis.
    B. The deeds were never approved by the New York state legislature as required by the 1777 constitution and subsequent statute.
    C. The deeds were negotiated with individual members of the tribe and

therefore violate state law prohibiting the purchase of Native American land from individual tribal members.

But, once again, the Montauk suffered a crushing defeat. They appealed their case, but the appellate court agreed with Blackmar and added that the Montauk had mixed with "inferior races" and had become "impaired by racial miscegenation, particularly with the Negro race." A new appeal was filed, but the court denied it in 1917 without opinion. A third appeal was also denied without comment by Judge James Van Sicely on 8 March 1918.[18]

Although Blackmar's decision would undoubtedly be read as arbitrary, outrageous, and racist today, it reflected the attitudes of the times. Blackmar, it should be noted, was a liberal who had ruled in a landmark case that the state of New York had the right to impose limitations on the working hours of women in the textile mills. When the mill owners argued for the sanctity of private property, Blackmar replied that the state had an obligation to intervene on behalf of the exploited women. That obligation, he argued, carried greater constitutional weight than the property rights of the mill owners. The construction of his arguments in the Montauk case, therefore, cannot be dismissed as a strained attempt to rationalize the seizure of the Montauk land for private developers. The judge's reasoning in his decision takes on additional significance because this was not a jury trial. The full weight of the case was on Blackmar's shoulders, and there is every indication that he took his responsibility very seriously and considered his arguments carefully; it is also painfully evident, however, that he did not take the time to inform himself about the historical context of the early documents, nor did he appreciate the cultural complexities of such terms as *tribe* and *Indianness.*[19]

Blackmar's Ruling: Dongan and Dartmouth

Blackmar began his list of findings with a review of the historical documents presented to him by the plaintiffs and the defendants. One of the crucial documents was the Dongan Patent, issued by the New York colonial government to the town of East Hampton. In 1686, Governor Dongan required all of the towns on Long Island to obtain new patents. The governor was seeking to gain more central control over the colony and to establish a greater degree of uniformity in administrative procedures. Dongan was particularly concerned, as were his predecessors, Nicolls and Lovelace, with the disruptive potential in conflicts over land purchased from Native Americans. The governor realized that the parcels of town land that still belonged to Native Americans could become the center of future turmoil.

Consequently, the East Hampton officials were granted, for a fee of two hundred pounds, a new patent that vested the trustees with the power to supervise and sanction the purchase of land from the Montauk and to manage all of the undivided land in the town. The patent was a practical compromise between the feudal concept of crown property and the newly emergent concept of private property that was becoming a sacred icon to the colonial settlers. Private citizens

must have a license to purchase Native American land, and the appropriate public agency would monitor the process. In return for the settlers' accepting colonial authority, the patent protected East Hampton's exclusive purchase rights. The purchase of Native American land was, therefore, clearly distinguished from all other real estate exchanges. This policy was consistent with the administrative strategy established by Richard Nicolls, the first governor of New York colony, to tighten colonial control over all relations between Native Americans and whites.

The next two documents that Blackmar examined were the 1687 deed conveying the rest of the Montauk lands to the proprietors from East Hampton and the counter bond guaranteeing residence and planting rights to the Montauk people. These documents, both negotiated by the trustees, clearly indicate the intent of the Dongan Patent. The deed was negotiated on behalf of the proprietors for the purchase of North Neck, Indian Fields, and Point Field at Montauk. The process firmly established public control over all private land purchases from Native Americans.

A week later, on 3 August, ten Montauk men were called back to confirm that they and their people fully understood the meaning of the deed and the counter bond. This endorsement was written on the bottom of the 25 July deed. Undoubtedly, the trustees' assurance, described in both documents, that they would be responsible for protecting the rights of the Montauk was a factor in persuading the Montauk to accept the settlement. This interpretation is confirmed again by events that followed sixteen years later and resulted in the 1703 agreements.[20]

Blackmar, however, argued that the Dongan Patent was both a public action and a private grant. The public action established the trusteeship system, and the private grant was a license to purchase land from the Montauk. Once the proprietors had this license, he argued, no approval for any future purchase could be required. This grant, said Blackmar, was similar to the colonial charter granted to Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. In the historic Dartmouth College case, the Supreme Court ruled that the charter could not be altered by the new state government after the American Revolution. There was no need, therefore, to obtain approval from the state of New York, because the permission given to the proprietors in East Hampton by Governor Dongan had been passed along to Benson when he purchased Montauk from the descendants of the former proprietors.

There is considerable irony in citing the Dartmouth case against the Montauk. Samson Occom had intended to use the money he raised in England to build an Indian college on or near Montauk lands. He never forgave the Reverend Eleazer Wheelock for taking the funds to establish Dartmouth on the northern frontier of New Hampshire, far away from his people in southern New England. Now a case involving that college was being wielded against his Montauk descendants.

In their appeal, the Montauk's new lawyer, Allen Caruthers, attacked Blackmar's application of the Dartmouth case. The Dartmouth case, countered Caruthers, involved a contract between a government body and a private corporation. John Marshall wanted to guarantee that state governments could not

arbitrarily alter private business contracts. Maas pointed out that the Dongan Patent was an agreement between a municipality and the colony of New York; there was no private party involved. The patent clearly states that the newly appointed trustees were given the license to buy the unpurchased lands. The East Hampton trustees gave the proprietors permission to buy the land, but the colony of New York, later the state, was sovereign. These sovereign bodies had an undisputed right to overrule municipal ordinances and did so regularly. The Dongan Patent, therefore, did not absolve the defendants from obeying the state requirement to obtain its permission prior to the purchase of Indian land. In fact, the patent, by its very definition, established the legal precedent of control over Indian purchases by a public body superior in authority to the town of East Hampton. No one could dispute the fact that the United States government and the state of New York assumed all of the sovereign power previously held by the crown.

The appellate judge did not respond to these arguments. He simply repeated Blackmar's contention that the Dongan Patent conveyed a private property right that could be passed along to anyone who would thereafter purchase the said property. Benson therefore did not have to seek approval for his purchase, because the Dongan Patent protected him from any interference with his private property rights.

The judges had made a radical departure from existing interpretations of New York state Indian law. Section 37, article I of the 1777 New York state constitution, which prohibited the purchase of Indian lands without the approval of the state legislature, had been written by John Jay to protect Indians from "the frauds too often practiced towards the said Indians in contracts for their lands." This provision was a continuation of the colonial policy that called for supervision of all trade and treaty relations between colonists and Native Americans.[21]

The Dongan Patent reasserted the intent of the colonial authorities to monitor all purchases of Native American lands. The proprietors were granted a license by the colonial authorities to purchase land at Montauk under this general policy. Benson therefore bought the land from the proprietors of Montauk, but he could not buy the license to purchase Montauk residence rights, because that was a colonial action and the colonial authority was now replaced by the state of New York. Blackmar's ruling that this was a "private property" right runs counter to Jay's reasoning.

The eminent New York jurist, James Kent, also commented on these issues a generation later:

> [Tlhe protection of the property of the feeble and dependent . remnants within our limits [is] a fundamental article of government [Tlhe British Crown granted charters and issued patents for large tracts of land before the Indian right had been extinguished; and these instruments purported to convey the property in fee But these grants were not intended to convey, and the grantees never pretended that they had acquired, an absolute fee in the land.

Kent also noted that the states had assumed all of the rights to enter treaties and acquire land vested in the previous colonial governments. "They exercised the power," Kent continued, "which had before been vested in the Crown, to treat with the Indians, and this they did independently of the government of the United States. This was notably true of New York state."' Blackmar never addressed the contradictions between the interpretations of these historic jurists and his own opinion on the Dongan Patent.[22]

Blackmar's Ruling: Fraud and Desultory Conversation?

Blackmar then turned to the charge of fraud. He apparently believed that even if the state had reviewed the Benson purchases, they would have been approved. Blackmar did not consider the testimony that the Montauk families had been misled by Benson's agents to be convincing evidence of fraud. Even though Dominy admitted telling the Montauk that they could return to Montauk whenever they wished, there was no evidence that Benson had instructed his representative to say this. The deeds, said the judge, had been negotiated in good faith by Benson, who had been, Blackmar believed, quite generous and had acted in the Montauk's best interest. The fact that most of the Montauk were illiterate and dependent on an oral interpretation of the deeds was not considered by the judge. Blackmar dismissed Dominy's advice to the Montauk as "desultory conversation." The appellate judge agreed with Blackmar and told the Montauk that they were clearly much better off now that they had been "assimilated" into civilized society than they had been when they were scratching out a meager existence on Montauk.

Blackmar's Ruling: the Judicial Application of an Anthropological Concept

When he came to the crucial question of tribal existence, Blackmar rejected the plaintiff's arguments that Judge Dykman's findings in *the Grinnell* case established the legal status of the Montauk tribe. Blackmar agreed with the defendants that the ruling merely accepted the unchallenged assertion of fact by Chief David that he was the leader of a tribe of Indians called Montauk. Had the 1871 ruling on the trespass case been introduced, it would have been dismissed on the same grounds.

The question of tribal identity remained open, and the burden of proof, said Blackmar, was on those claiming to be tribal members. The defense had cited the criteria in the case of *Montoya v. the United States*. The Supreme Court had ruled that a tribe was a "body of Indians of the same or a similar race, united in a community under one leadership or government, and inhabiting a particular though sometimes ill-defined territory." Benson's lawyers then expanded on Montoya and presented a list of characteristics that they urged Judge Blackmar to apply. In order to be recognized as a tribe, the Montauk must be in conformity

with statutes or a treaty, be governed by a leader whose orders must be obeyed, must consist of members who have turned their back on civilized society, must be able to make war and peace on their own, punish crime, or administer civil justice among themselves, must be recognized as a tribe by any public agency in the past thirty years, and must have a continuous history of regularly scheduled meetings for tribal business." Such criteria, if universally applied, would probably deny tribal status to most tribes in North America.[23]

Blackmar did not accept the defense's list, but he did apply an artificial standard that reflected the prejudices of his day. In his twenty-third finding of facts, quoted at the beginning of this article, the racial biases and cultural confusions that played such an important role in the case emerged. The Montauk, said the judge, had lost their Indian traits. The comment tells us more about Blackmar and the class and racial prejudices of the times than it does about the "Indianness" of the Montauk. Ironically, this very same description often appears in the colonial records in reference o Native American peoples. Whites frequently commented contemptuously about the "lazy" Indians who hunted and fished while their women tilled the fields.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ethnographic accounts by English observers also commented on the "lack of leadership" and the absence of anything similar to their own governmental institutions among the native peoples. These negative stereotypes, which had been used to describe the native peoples during the colonial period, were now cited as evidence that the Montauk were no longer Indians. In both instances, the stereotypes were part of a rationalization defending the alienation of Native American lands.

The leadership criterion is particularly ironic, because the hierarchical model presented by the defense had never existed among the Long Island bands before the English arrived. The concept of an absolute leader or "grand sachem," first introduced by Lion Gardiner as a mechanism to facilitate the purchase of land, was now turned upside down: The Montauk were denied their right to protect their lands in court, because they did not have a chief whose every order must be obeyed.

Blackmar had actually demonstrated that there were still many aspects of the Montauk culture that had survived generations of acculturation. Some of the changes, cited by Blackmar as evidence of tribal disintegration since 1885, had actually taken place during the early eighteenth century. The integration of the Montauk into the fringes of the English economy as menial laborers, for example, was not a pattern that had developed in the late nineteenth century, as Blackmar implied. This accommodation to the English economy began soon after the arrival of whites in North America and remains a common pattern among most Native American groups on the continent. These cultural adjustments to the economic realities have seldom been used in a court of law as a criterion for determining "Indianness."[24]

The findings by Blackmar that the Montauk were no longer a tribe were invalid anyway, said Caruthers in his appeal, because the court had ruled in *Buttz v. Northern Pacific Railroad* (119 U.S. 55) that "[neither lapse of time, allotment of a portion of the tribal lands in severalty, immigration of a majority of the tribe,

nor the fact that habits and customs of the tribe has *[sic]* changed by intercourse with whites will authorize the courts to disregard tribal status."[25]

Caruthers neglected to cite two other relevant cases that would have supported his position. In *Tiger v. the Western Investment Company,* 221 U. S. 286 (1911) and *United States v. Rickert,* 188 U. S. 432 (1903), the court held that only Congress can determine when changes in customs are sufficient to invalidate tribal status.[26]

The historical fact is, continued Caruthers, "that the tribe at the present time consists of over 377 beings, 237 adults, forty-eight minors, all of whom are accounted for, and ninety-two whose place of residence is unknown, this appears in the files in Washington. Blackmar therefore had overstepped his authority when he declared the Montauk tribe to be extinct. A tribal ledger of uncertain date recently was discovered by the descendants of James Waters, one of the Montauk leaders during the long court struggle. There are well over four hundred entries, which appear to have been made between 1915 and 1920. Caruthers may have been referring to this list in its early stages before it was completed. The Montauk may have continued to collect names in preparation for the third appeal, which, unfortunately, was dismissed without an opinion. The tribal roll will be published in spring 1992 by the Suffolk County Archaeological Association in the new edition of *The History and Archaeology of the Montauk.*[26]

In their response to the Montauk appeal, the defense hammered away on two themes. The Montauk, they said, did not meet the Montoya criteria because they did not live in a united community under one leadership or government, and they had disintegrated from their aboriginal tribal status because they had adopted "habits of civilization" and intermarried with African-Americans. The criteria were again inflated beyond Montoya but not so grossly as in the original trial. The defense expanded the reference in *Montoya* to "unity in a community under one leadership" to read "maintaining an organization in conformity with statutes, or in conformity with a treaty." In other words, the Montauk had to come forth with minutes of meetings, a constitution, or a treaty to satisfy the defense"s definition of a tribe. These arguments struck a responsive chord in every judge that the Montauk faced from the beginning of the struggle, when Wyandank sued the Long Island Railroad in 1895.

The *Montoya* criteria were required, said the defense, because of the absence of any official governmental recognition of the Montauk. Tribes often establish their existence through actions by the legislature, the executive, or the judiciary, but none of these, said the defense, had ever recognized the Montauk. "So much for govern-mental recognition," concluded the defense lawyer with a glib and arrogant assurance. Had Caruthers attacked these arguments head on, he might have had a stronger case. It would have been fairly easy to establish that the Montauk met the criteria set in Montoya and the subsequent rulings on tribal status.

It is possible, of course, that the climate of opinion at the time made it unlikely that a stronger Montauk case would have resulted in a different outcome. The nation was committed to the goal of unrestrained economic growth and develop-

ment. The Montauk were a poor community of farmers, handymen, and domestics facing the giant engine of a new industrial age, an irresistible force fired by the ideology of "progress." The Montauk were the proverbial "dogs in the manger," standing in the way of a "better life" for all. The judges clearly spoke the minds of a vast majority of white Americans when they implied that Benson had actually been generous to a fault and that the white fathers knew what was best for their little brown brothers.

NOTES

1. *Wyandank v. Benson*, "Cases and Points," East Hampton Public Library Archives, 56. This edition, printed by the Daly law firm, is not paginated consecutively. The citations here are keyed to the author's table of contents in a typescript insert in the East Hampton Library files; see case file 3576, Suffolk County Civil Court Annex, Riverhead.

2. John A. Strong, "The Evolution of Shinnecock Culture," in *The Shinnecock Indians: A Culture History*, ed. Gaynell Stone (Lexington, MA: Ginn and Company, 1983), 36-38

3. Joseph Osborne, ed., *Records of the Town of East Hampton* (Sag Harbor: Hunt, 1887)1: 2-4; Raymond Smith, ed., *In Re Montauk* (East Hampton: East Hampton Town Trustees, 1926), 25-29, 32-34, 36-45.

4. Osborne 2: 213-14; Smith, 48-49.

5. Smith, 49-56,

6. Ibid., 54-56; Trustees of Montauk, "Fatting Field Books," East Hampton Library Archives, (1854-1879), see also 1855.

7. John A. Strong,"How the Montauk Lost Their Land," in *The History and Archaeology of the Montauk*, ed. Gaynell Stone (Stony Brook: Suffolk and Nassau County Archaeological Associations, 1995), 77-142..

8. "Montauk Deeds," Brooklyn Historical Society Library, folder 10.

9. Samson Occom,"An Account of the Montauk Indians of Long Island,"in *History and Archaeology of the Montauk*, 149; William S. Simmons, *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore, 1620-1984* (Hanover, NH: Univ. of New England, 1986), 20.

10. Smith, 59-61.

11. See Harold Blodgett, *Samson Occom* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Manuscript Series 3, 1935), and W. Deloss Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1899).

12. Henry Hedges, *Memories of a Long Life* (East Hampton, 1909).

13. *Pharaoh Trespass Case*, East Hampton Library Archives; see also File 881, Suffolk County Historical Documents Room, Suffolk County Center, Riverhead.

14. *Pharaoh Trespass Case.*

15. Smith, 234-39.

16. Samuel Pharaoh deed, subcommittee hearing, Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, 22 September 1900 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, on file in SUNY at Stony Brook Library Records Room, SIN, 56C, drawer 14, A32), 53-54.

17. Ibid., 24-127; see also file 2171, Suffolk County Historical Documents Room, Riverhead County Center.

18. Ibid., 125, 127.

19. Robert Snyder, " Women, Wobblies, and Worker's Rights," *New York History* 61 (1979): 29-57.

20. Osborne 2: 214.

21. Charles Lincoln, *The Constitutional History of New York* (Rochester: Lawyer's Cooperative, 1906) 4:153.

22. Ibid., 167, 170.

23. *Montoya v. United States, United States Reports* (New York: Banks Law Publishing Co., 1901) 180: 266; *Wyandank v. Benson*, "Cases and Points," Defendant's Brief, Case on Appeal: 26,43-44.

24. See William Hagan, "Full Blood, Mixed Blood, Generic, and Ersatz: The Problem of Mixed Identity," in *The American Indian*, ed. Roger L. Nichols (New York: McGraw Hill, 1992), 279 (an 1869 order of New Mexico Supreme Court stated that if they are indolent or violent they must be Indian).

25. John A. Strong," From Hunter to Servant: Patterns of Accommodation to Colonial Authority in Eastern Long Island Indian Communities," in *To Know the Place: Exploring Long Island History*, eds. Joann P. Krieg and Natalie A. Naylor (Hempstead: Long Island Studies Institute, 1986).

26. *Wyandank v. Benson*, "Cases and Points," Appellants Points in Court of Appeals: 510f, 26; L. R. R. Weatherhead, "What Is an Indian Tribe? The Question of Tribal Existence," *American Indian Law Review* 8:1 (1980): 9.

27. *Wyandank v. Benson*, "Cases and Points," Appellants Points: 28.

PROMISES KEPT: EMPIRE STATE COLLEGE ON ITS TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY

By Barbara Kantz

Alternative public education, an obscure concept before the late 1960s, had its roots in New York State in Empire State College (ESC). Few public institutions of higher learning had systematically addressed the highly personalized needs of a small percentage of its students. This article recounts the history of ESC, one institution that did, through the first quarter-century of its existence, from 1972 through 1997. Prepared by a faculty member and her students as part of an ongoing oral history project, the article draws on the experiences and re collections of some of those associated with the college, including persons who shared in its founding and growth; student-beneficiaries of its programs; and faculty and staff.

Institutions, like organisms, have origins. They are conceived, live, and evolve within a context. The conditions that lent themselves to the founding of ESC reflected the history of the United States. The university system underwent a major transformation midway through the twentieth century. Two decades later came an equally influential reformation.

The end of World War II resulted in unprecedented economic expansion , and a demand for educated employees in industry, business, and government. Simultaneously, the harnessing of atomic energy was exigent, with or without the real and perceived threats of the Cold War, which itself spawned accelerated pursuit of rocket science and the conquest of outer space. The postwar university was molded to serve these emergent masters.

The 1940s and 1950s witnessed the founding of state university systems that fit the mold, including the vast State University of New York, which offered both undergraduate and graduate programs. The research university was born.[1]

A major social aspect of the cataclysm of the 1940s and 1950s was suburbanization, one of the greatest population shifts in American history. On Long Island, the pace of movement from city to suburb expanded rapidly after 1945. The guaranteed, low-interest mortgages opened to veterans by the G. I. Bill of Rights, combined with road, rail, and subway improvements created a population explosion. Low-to-moderate income families migrated in droves from the city to the new communities on the Island that sprouted from former potato fields. Overwhelmingly, the bulk of these "bedroom communities" income was derived from employment in New York City. In short order came demands for

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schools, shopping areas, cultural, religious, and recreational facilities, and various goods and services.[2]

In addition to aiding home-buyers, the G. I. Bill empowered veterans to obtain a college education, thus establishing a pool of somewhat older students with a greater range of life experience than that of previous generations. The state legislature, with the support of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, responded to the vastly enlarged demand by founding the State University of New York, the nation's largest and last state university, in 1948. The second dramatic change occurred in the 1960s, when a markedly different set of circumstances influenced the goals, role, and curriculum of the university. Effective response to the issues raised by the civil rights, feminist, and anti-Vietnam War movements, together with the sexual revolution, Kennedy assassination, and coming of age of often iconoclastic "war babies" and "baby boomers," demanded a recasting of the postwar research university.[3]

The ideal of student-centered pedagogy was a central theme of the 1960s; nontraditional education became a goal of the progressive university. Access, relevance, and low-cost consumer delivery became the new molding forces that shaped the university and its curriculum. It was during this tumultuous and exciting era that ESC was founded in 1971; it was truly a product of its times.[4]

An innovative educator, and one who remained so throughout his career, was fortuitously the chancellor of SUNY in 1971. Ernest Boyer was interested in developing a program that would emphasize individual, student-centered needs. He worked closely with James Hall, an assistant vice president of policy and planning at the SUNY central administration, who shared many of Boyer's educational ideals. Hall was appointed director of SUNY's bold new experiment at ESC. As a young man of thirty-three, Hall became the college's first president, and has effectively led the institution for twenty-five years, a record term of office for SUNY institutions.[5]

ESC was among the first nontraditional public institutions of higher education. It was nontraditional in the students it served, its model of pedagogy, and, most especially, its service delivery system. It was a mentoring system—individualized, flexible, ungraded, and with continuous admissions. It offered college credit for demonstrated prior learning, accrued in a variety of formal or informal settings. It was designed to fit the program to the student, and allow a student to design his or her own degree plan within a range of nine broad academic areas of study. Decentralized centers were established throughout New York State to assure access. On 9 July 1971, an article entitled "State Will Open College Without a Campus in Fall" announced the establishment of the college on the front page of the *New York Times*. Perhaps unwittingly, ESC's specialty became adult learners, those who wanted a second chance. Older students in traditional colleges with inflexible daytime scheduling were forced to turn to the limited offerings of "adult education," typically taught at night as extension programs rather than to obtain degree-bearing college credits.[6]

Choosing a Site: Old Westbury

The first regional sites of ESC opened in 1971 in Albany and New York City, soon followed by the Long Island Center in fall 1972.[7] Other SUNY branches on Long Island, at Old Westbury, Farmingdale, and Stony Brook, were experimental products of expansion in the 1960s. Stony Brook was heralded as "the Berkeley of the East," and Old Westbury was acclaimed for its nontraditional curriculum. These institutions, as well as the two community colleges, Suffolk and Nassau, arranged to share libraries, facilities, and resources with ESC as part of the cooperative plan of SUNY Central.

From the beginning, nontraditional ESC was housed in a family home on a college campus. Trainor House, which served originally as the administrative offices of the SUNY College at Old Westbury, is of historic interest. Trainor House was just that—a horse trainer's residence, set on the lush, four-hundred-acre estate of F. Ambrose Clark, whose family rose to wealth in the nineteenth century through its innovative management of the Singer Sewing Machine Company. Clark, also prominent in the world of horse racing, named his estate Broad Hollow and had it designed with Georgian and Dutch Colonial architectural elements. In 1962, parts of the estate were donated to the State University of New York. Trainor House, a smaller version of the mansion house, remains a beautiful edifice, set amidst adjoining horse farms. Staff and students frequently comment on the extraordinarily evocative experience of approaching the college through the stone and brick gatehouse and the colonnade of trees that border fenced pastures for thoroughbred horses. Some students who live in the city choose to drive to and from the Old Westbury campus rather than go to the Manhattan Center.[8]

As suburbia mushroomed eastward and the student population expanded, satellite centers were set up at SUNY at Stony Brook and in Hauppauge. The Hauppauge Center was funded by Suffolk County to service its employees on the premises of the State Office Building. Formulating contacts and contracts with unions and creating collaborative ventures with businesses and colleges were among the methods for attracting students employed by the newly formed college. Empire was housed on the Selden campus of Suffolk County Community College until space became insufficient and offices were opened on the SUNY at Stony Brook campus. Eventually, the entire operation in Suffolk County moved to the State Office Building in Hauppauge, except for an office at Stony Brook.[9]

Faculty Recruitment and Programs

Recruiting a faculty to embark on this new venture was a challenge. The flavor and style of the applicants was captured by Ken Abrams, a professor at SUNY at Stony Brook who served as a consultant to ESC when it opened on Long Island. He described prospective faculty as rebels of the academic world who were themselves dissatisfied with the way conventional higher education had dealt with students needs. I don't think they thought of themselves as adult educators...Many...didn't know what it was they were adopting. They only knew what

it was they were rejecting.[10]

Recruitment of faculty had nontraditional aspects as well. Several mentors learned of the college from the *Times* article, which detailed the establishment of an exciting institution backed by powerful funding sources. Fernand Brunschwig, one of the original Long Island mentors, was a graduate student at Berkeley whose advisor showed him the article and suggested he apply. Betsy Steltenpohl, an adult educator hired in 1973, also read the article: she was so favorably impressed by substantial Ford Foundation and Carnegie Corporation grants for planning the college that she applied.[11]

Some mentors were recruited from other SUNY institutions. Gary Goss, a graduate student at SUNY at Buffalo and one of the first mentors hired by the Long Island center, reported that his advisor told him about the job. Word of mouth and excitement in the academic community prompted Rhoada Wald, employed at Teachers College of Columbia University, to write to Arthur Chickering, vice president of SUNY and a founding member of the college, concerning her interest in teaching Educational Studies at Empire. He replied that a department of educational studies was not planned, nor did he feel that students would be interested in that area of study. He soon changed his mind; when the college began receiving inquiries about majors in educational studies, Chickering invited Wald to join the faculty. Twenty-five years later and semi-retired, Wald oversees a program for New York City teachers who study at Empire during their sabbatical leaves.[12]

Patricia Lefor, the college's dean for the past fourteen years, was living in Chicago when she was recruited from the Woodrow Wilson Fellowship Program. Dean Lefor's job interview, like many, was conducted in Saratoga Springs, New York, the administrative center of ESC. She did not know to which center she would be assigned, as several were scheduled to open between 1972 and 1973.[13]

Drawing from a variety of sources, the central administration of SUNY did the initial hiring of a largely youthful and independent faculty, which enthusiastically set out to forge the college. The first dean, Ron Corwin, who had no role in hiring the faculty he was to lead, opened the Long Island Center in fall 1972 with eight-one students.[14]

The People at the College: Mentors, Administrators, and Students

Using a sound set of principles rooted in learning theory, and adapting the mentor/tutor model, this exuberant group of "60's" people expected to teach like-minded people, only to find that their students were more typical of the 1950s, seeking traditional education but flexible scheduling. Defining the mentor role—what it was, how it functioned—became the focus of the center's efforts. Gary Goss, a mentor in Cultural Studies, recalls the first days in this way:

> The college set out to invent itself...There was a lot of freedom,

> but we weren't completely free. Saratoga had clear ideas about what it wanted. It was a guessing game. You would invent a new contract, but you wouldn't know if Saratoga would buy it...You'd bumped up against some hidden wall, invented in Saratoga. The academic side wasn't so troubling. There were no traditions, not the usual power structure. No departments, chairs. There were deans, active vice presidents, and faculty who came for a wide variety of reasons..Mentors had come from traditional programs. We had faculty meetings twice a week. One dedicated to educational issues. We spent a lot of time sitting around the table talking back and forth, trying to figure out what to do, what was a good learning contract, what was a bad one.[15]

Pat Lefor, mentor and dean, described the struggle to balance practicality and acceptability:

> It was a conceptual college that was invented in the center and between centers. It took five years to develop the by-laws, to invent the structures and infrastructures, for contracts, evaluations, portfolios, approval systems, and governance. We spent a lot of time talking about it. It required a lot of debate, about what worked and what was acceptable. We learned by doing it.[16]

Rhoada Wald stated that:

> As soon as ESC opened, the complexity of the contract process was apparent. For example, some students needed structure and direction; others were able to study independently. There were students who clarified their goals before they came to the college, while others explored alternatives after admissions. The setting required faculty to be responsive to a whole host of individual differences. And yet, few faculty had experience with the concepts inherent in an individualized educational environment.[17]

Jim Robinson, a mentor in Historical Studies who joined the faculty in 1976, recalled, in the college's literary magazine, *Golden Hill*, how he adjusted to this new system:

> The path of my career in mentoring can be described as a "recursive" activity. I learned how to be a mentor by being put in a situation in which I was unable, in the classic sense to "teach."... I had to discover how to foster the discovery of knowledge on the part of my students. I was not going to teach;

> therefore I had to examine how and why I learned, and teach that to my students instead.[18]

As is typical of emerging institutions, hammering out structures, defining operational procedures, and assigning roles and functions can be both exhilarating and frustrating. Inevitably, a collision of ideas and personalities occur. At ESC, intense disagreement, ideological conflict, and personal dissension began. Factions arose. One of the most serious house cleanings occurred early in the center's history, in 1973, resulting in what one person described as "a purge of the faculty." Dean Corwin acted quickly to diminish the possible disintegrating and centrifugal forces that early factionalism created. Individual mentors attested to the strength and rigor of his leadership. Corwin, who had no part in hiring, swiftly recommended the non-renewal of contracts of one faction which, he felt, could not carry out the Empire mission:

> There were faculty who were immature...they didn't understand that the students weren't angry at education. They didn't really understand that the students who came were really 180 degrees out from that. The students wanted a degree...These folks failed to understand that the student's really weren't there because they resented traditional education. And several faculty tried hard to make the students that way; and that becomes a kind of demagoguery.[19]

Corwin's interpretation paralleled the view of Rob Hassenger, a mentor at the college who studied the institutional history of Empire. Hassenger suggested that the ideological differences and firings may have been a response to "young faculty members who aligned themselves with students and linked their dissatisfaction with their abstract and irrelevant studies." This line of thought was consistent with the 1960s' ideology of educational reform; many faculty members had been graduate students who protested Pentagon funding of university research during the Vietnam War, and who found their own studies now to be stifling and unrewarding.[20]

Another interpretation, endorsed at other SUNY campuses, held that the non-renewals were in response to faculty participation in union activities, another conflictual area of college life. In 1976, 10 percent of ESC-wide faculty contracts were not renewed. The AFT/AFL-CIO, headed by Noam Chomsky, condemned SUNY and especially ESC as union busters.[21]

At the conclusion of the "factional wars," presumably a more settled faculty returned to work with their students and continued to hammer out the foundations of student- centered learning in a nontraditional setting. The faculty took a largely pragmatic approach. Milder ideological and pedagogical conflicts persisted. Some favored using the best aspects of traditional education in a nontraditional setting—primarily the study group and an emphasis on reading and writing—while others focused on innovative resources and individual experiences, convinced that one-on- one mentoring defined the Empire process. Both models

of pedagogy exist side-by-side in 1997, viewed as standard fare. Attesting to a variant model, one mentor ascribes ideological differences to conflicting points of view between relativists and absolutists. To relativists, wherever a student starts and can progress from is college-level learning; to absolutists, such learning must be acquired in a methodical, disciplined manner.[22]

A critical aspect of institutional development is external evaluation and internal self-study. Chancellor Boyer, in 1971, anticipated that, "The college itself has to be continually assessed and improved from the first." A mentor self-study was conducted by Rhoada Wald, a mentor in Educational Studies and one of the original mentors, who videotaped thirty-three mentor/student conferences and did an interactional analysis. Not surprisingly, the mentor-student interactions were compatible with the core values of the college, which centered on collaboration and individualization. One of her conclusions was that the student's personal life story, rather than academic content, drove the process of contract design.[23]

Alternative and nontraditional institutions throughout the country have grappled with what has long been regarded as unchangeable legitimate academic learning: the uniform curriculum. standardized testing, teacher-directed learning, and formal group instruction. The question, "To what extend is ESC a scholarly institution?" reflects doubt about its academic legitimacy. Despite its seemingly successful venture into non- traditional public higher education, some do not view it as a serious college. What alternative education offers is a personalized, individualized curriculum, a variety of ways to measure competency, and student-centered pedagogy not bound by time, space, or place. The conventional notion of teacher as one who instructs a class and imparts information dies hard, as do challenges to precepts about space, place, and time. The personal, individualized curriculum is viewed as suspect, adhering to a lesser, variable, and waffling set of standards. The mythology of "easy credits" stands.

An early criticism of ESC was its innovative practice, now accepted and duplicated nationwide, of granting credit for prior learning. One basic assumption of the program is that adult learners accumulate college-level knowledge outside the traditional classroom, and should have the opportunity to demonstrate college-level competence by means of essays. The essays, for which an evaluation fee now is paid, are rigorously assessed by experts in the field for evidence of skill, style, vocabulary, theoretical knowledge, and documentation. Variable credit, typically from one to four college-level credits, can be granted. Critics maintain this is too subjective, contending that credit may be granted in an area that would not appear as a legitimate course taught in a mainstream institution.

Another controversy involves the relationship of theory to practice. Are credits for skill-based prior learning permissible if they lack theoretical underpinning? For example, a student employed as a counselor in a human service agency can write an essay to qualify for three credits in "Counseling Skills." The essay must identify the agency and client base, and demonstrate knowledge of the helping relationship and the technique of administration and counseling. Documentation which verifies the learning must also accompany the essay. This student might be registered in the academic area called Community and Human Services. Critics argue that the student may have practical knowledge, but lacks the theoretical

background to underscore and integrate both knowledge and skill. At Empire, this situation would be addressed by encouraging the student to include a course in counseling theory in his or her individualized program to broaden the skill-based knowledge. Conversely, a traditional college course in counseling teaches theories and techniques but does not require experience in the field.

As business downsizes, it is significant that employers are moving toward removing space, time, and place as barriers to job performance. Thus, an Empire graduate, used to working independently with self-imposed boundaries, has an advantage over graduates from more traditional settings. As colleges become more competitive, former critics have come to adopt certain nontraditional aspects; some traditional colleges now grant credit for prior learning, in an effort to enroll more students. ESC's motivation was clearly different: prior learning was embedded in the philosophy of adult learning.

These ongoing criticisms and controversies inform the internal debate at the Long Island Center, driving the faculty to revisit the mission of the college and constantly question what is of value in a liberal arts education. In general, mentors interviewed for this study reported being satisfied with their teaching positions. Autonomy in determining some of the conditions of their work is important. As one mentor put it,

> I am the whole department. With that goes both autonomy and tremendous responsibility. Mentors tend to be generalists, often teaching a broad range of topics in their fields. In more traditional programs, professors tend to be specialists, teaching only a few subject areas. Most of all, mentors report liking their work with students. Each new student is an individual.[24]

One seasoned mentor encouraged a novice by suggesting that, "You will learn a lot more from your students than they will learn from you." The author of this article was that novice, and can attest to the truth of the observation. The collegiality of adulthood and the opportunity to learn about the careers and lives of accomplished adults is one of the most rewarding aspects of the student-mentor relationship.

The early years witnessed a manageable ratio of students to faculty. More recently, the response of faculty suggests that workload is an increasing, persistent problem. To one mentor, "it is my greatest single disappointment." The number of students has consistently risen, while the number of full-time faculty has been reduced. Mentors have more students, responsibilities, and stress. Increasing demands are made on mentors to serve on committees and participate in advisement, recruitment, and assessment. While these are legitimate duties, they detract from what mentors want most—to teach in their disciplines. Some have grudgingly accepted a gradual change from mentor-as-teacher to mentor-as-broker, in which some of the teaching is farmed out to other internal programs and to tutors, a strategy of adjustment to the workload. The recent shift toward the brokering model is symptomatic of the state economy, fostering the concept of

doing more with less. This view is documented by the independent agencies which conducted accreditation proceedings. ESC has received consistently high marks from these agencies, but each report contended that the faculty workload seemed unreasonable.[25]

While the faculty set out to invent the college through its work with students, the administration faced different challenges, at different times. Changes in the dean's role over time is also reflective of fewer resources and a broader range of responsibilities. The first dean, Ron Corwin, oversaw the successful launching of the college. The second, George Dawson, was described by faculty and staff as academically energetic and a good role model. He was very student-centered in what sounds like a flourishing period at the center. By the early '80s, when ESC was firmly established, Martin Lichterman became dean. He had a hands-off style, feeling that the well-rooted program could sustain itself. Pat Lefor, the associate dean at the time, followed Lichterman upon his retirement. Her term has been marked by fiscal cutbacks, requiring expertise in budget and resource management, and a move toward technology. Dean Lefor describes the '90s as a period during which the college became a business, functioning in an environment of perceived competition and performance-based systems.[26]

Students

The students of this nontraditional institution were not the expected ones. The college anticipated youthful, rebellious, voluntarily disfranchised, drop-out types. From the beginning, the average age of the students was thirty-nine, hardly that of nontraditional high school graduates. The enrollment was 90 percent white, with women outnumbering men. Betsy Steltenpohl, a mentor in Educational Studies, describes the early student body as adults who were

> already quite accomplished. They were performing ahead of their educational backgrounds. A degree would validate what they had already accomplished...They were mature, capable people. The students were vocationally based.[27]

In the 1970s, nearly half the students were registered in two of nine possible areas of study; Business, Management, and Economics garnered 28 percent; Community and Human Services 22 percent; Interdisciplinary Studies and Science, Math, and Technology 20 percent; the other five areas of study (Cultural Studies, Educational Studies, Social Theory, Human Development, Historical Studies) shared the remaining 30 percent. Although nontraditional students were expected to aim at the short-term goal of associates degree, more sought the longer goal of bachelor's degree. These aspects of enrollment have remained fairly constant throughout the twenty-five years. Two significant aspects, however, have changed: from 1972 to 1975, the number of full-time students exceeded the number of part-timers; from 1972 to 1974, bachelor of arts degrees outnumbered those of bachelor of science. This quantitative description of ESC students'

choices of areas of study and types of degrees sheds light on demographic and economic profiles of Long Island itself, where population density, suburbanization, and the connection to New York City require human services and service-related businesses.[28]

Mentors uniformly report that more part time students are registered than ever before. In 1995, for example, 80 percent of the student body was registered as part-timers. Relatively few minority students attend, a situation some faculty members attribute to lack of public transportation to Old Westbury. Women have traditionally attended the college, possibly because of its nearness to suburban and family-centered communities like Levittown.[29] In recent years, police officers have enrolled in significant numbers as their departments require more college credits to maintain or advance in rank.

What students say about Empire is remarkably positive. In 1994, a student opinion survey conducted by the State University of New York, was sent to recent graduates of all SUNY institutions; ESC ranked first in student satisfaction.[30] Graduates of the Long Island Center also responded to a twenty-fifth-anniversary questionnaire. The following statements, chosen because they are typical rather than unique, offer a sampling of what their ESC experience meant to many adult Long Islanders: "It has been both an honor and privilege for me to attend a school whose entire staff of professionals demonstrate loving kindness while pursuing academic excellence" (Michael Byrne, class of 1983); "Since I began my studies at Empire State, I have received three promotions in five years" (Marianne Gilewski, class of 1989); "Empire was a joy to me. From my studies...a larger world evolved" (Myrtle Kaplan, class of 1977); "My education at Empire taught me to get organized. It made me appreciate my own accomplishments and gave me courage to follow a career I love" (Helga Katz, class of 1974).

> I was concerned that the ESC degree would not be recognized for admission to graduate or law school. The transcript was unusual-without grades, and the tutorial type program not widely known. However, Fordham Law was my goal and Fordham is where I went...I found my Empire independent study skills a great resource for the law program (Elizabeth McGuire, class of 1979).

Since word of mouth is the major recruiting tool, what students say about ESC assumes major importance. On a lighter note, students responded to a question on the same survey concerning writing ads for the Long Island Center. One said succinctly, "They make it easy to work hard"; another, "Stamp adult on my forehead."

The awarding of degrees is a special time at the college. From 1973 through 1995, the number of degrees awarded has doubled.[31] Unlike traditional commencements, at which proud parents and siblings celebrate the event, an ESC graduate is more likely to be cheered by spouses and children. Though caps and gowns are not required, graduations are personal days of family celebration. As

the number of graduates has grown, commencements once held behind Trainor House, under a tent in the horse pasture, have been indoors, first at SUNY at Old Westbury, and most recently in a larger, more centrally located facility on Suffolk Community College's Brentwood campus.

In her graduation speech in June 1992, Joanne Migliore summarized many experiences of the Empire student. She called on her classmates to

> celebrate the commitment to the process that brings us here today; we celebrate the perseverance that made it possible. We celebrate our past, whatever it may have been; we celebrate and live today purposefully—our tomorrows depend on it. May we always dedicate ourselves to honoring and expressing the best that is within us, as it was honored here at Empire, so that honoring and respecting what is within others becomes a way of life. I know that I speak for each graduate when I say how grateful I am for the Empire experience. We thank all of the mentors and other Empire staff who were part of our process. To ESC, thank you for being what you are.

Roger Wunderlich, a 1982 graduate, addressed the graduating class of 1996 for the college's twenty-fifth anniversary. In his speech, "Living Your Life to Prepare for College," he contrasted the usual sequence of going to college with that of most Empire students:

> Most people go to college to prepare for life, but I took the opposite course of leading my life to prepare for college...Our precious, unique institution reorganized my life by welcoming me back to school...It is the ideal [place] to ease one's way from independent to disciplined study...Think of it as the Empire State-of-the-art Utopia for self-motivated students.[32]

Though the dropout rate is similar to that of traditional institutions in the area, it can be argued that adult learners have different goals which cannot always be measured in degrees. Some seek promotions, some new skills, some personal growth, and some come and go from the college rolls as adult life permits.

Data collected from the twenty-fifth-anniversary survey suggest that nearly half of ESC students go on to a wide range of graduate schools, and credit Empire with being a prime contributor to their professional success. Some choose other nontraditional graduate programs, such as Union Institute, in Cincinnati, Ohio; Fielding Institute, in Santa Barbara, California; or Vermont College of Norwich University, in Montpelier, Vermont. However, the majority of Empire graduates continue to live, work, and contribute to their local communities while attending graduate programs on Long Island or in New York City.[33]

The experience of undergraduates shows that graduate students have many of the same needs, including flexible scheduling. In response to the Long Island workforce of professionals seeking advanced education, the Long Island Center

offers two master's degree programs. M.A's in Culture and Policy, Business and Policy, and Labor and Policy, were initiated in 1984, while the M.A. in Liberal Studies began in 1992.

The Future

The institution born of the 1960s, a product of an expansionist economy and social revolution, has survived social and fiscal retrenchment. It must now maintain itself in an environment of downsizing, outsourcing, the move toward performance-based outcomes, contractual disputes between labor and management, and an assault on the SUNY budget by the governor and board of trustees. President Hall recently announced that he is leaving ESC in January 1998 to become chancellor of Antioch University, one of the oldest private, nontraditional institutions in the United States.

An internal debate and schism may well alter the college's path. The original mission placed the student at the center of academic decisions, and identified mentoring as the relationship between student and teacher best suited to the process. To some members of the faculty, the introduction of technology and new concepts of distance learning and computer-to- computer contact, will compromise the human contact once considered central to nontraditional education. Conversely, others view technology as a creative expansion in line with the college's mission to increase access across time and place, expand instructional possibilities, and supplement scarce resources.[34]

President Hall has strongly supported SUNY's technology initiative. Fernand Brunschwig, a mentor in Science, Math, and Technology, and one of the original mentors at the Long Island Center, is the cochair of the college-wide committee on developing and shaping ESC's technology initiative. Increasing numbers of students study computer related subjects, while they continue in the areas of Community and Human Services, Business, Management, and Economics. This reflects demographic, economic, and cultural changes on Long Island as it becomes a "pink collar community," a competitive technology center for small, computer-related industries. The Long Island Association (LIA) is the Island's "Chamber of Commerce," a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that develops and supports policies for public, business, and economic interests. A recent LIA report urges the augmentation of the workforce in high-technology industries, notably biotechnology, computer technology, and electronics. In recognition of this perceived future, the Long Island Center plans to open a third site on Eastern Long Island in February 1998, in Riverhead. It will utilize a long-distance, asynchronous- technology learning model, featuring telecommunications technology that removes time, place, and distance as barriers to interaction between students and mentors. Dean Pat Lefor supports SUNY's initiatives, noting that technology presents a powerful force for change. As the college integrates technology and redirects itself, new tensions grip those to whom past practice is entrenched and innovation is anti-Empire.[35]

SUNY promised truly relevant education with the formation of ESC; the more than seven thousand graduates of the Long Island Center can attest to promises kept. Many other nontraditional programs have passed quickly into oblivion, so the success of ESC is a testament to the soundness of its mission, and the unflagging commitment and resourcefulness of its administrators and faculty to meet the needs of self-motivated, adult students in an ever-changing society. From the beginning, ESC attracted a student body it did not expect, composed mainly of ambitious, working adults, in sharp contrast with the anticipated enrollment of young people alienated from mainstream society during the turbulent 1960s. The college remains an outstanding leader in the field of nontraditional, adult education. At the college-wide twenty-fifth anniversary celebration at Saratoga Springs, President Hall predicted that ESC will not only survive but expand, because the student remains at the center of its learning process.. Hall captured ESC's model of alternative education in two words: "It works."[36]

NOTES

The author thanks ESC students Richard Buckman, Theresa Eberling, William Gloffke, Paul Paoli, and Norma Samorodin for their assistance in writing this article.

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2. Report from the Board of Trustees and the Chancellor of the State University of New York, "SUNY 2000: A Vision for the New Century," September 1991, 18; for change on Long Island during the post-World War II period, see Barbara Kelly, ed., *Long Island: the Suburban Experience* (Interlaken, N.Y.: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1990).

3. For Long Island during the turbulent 1960s, see Charles F. Howlett, "Long Island Confronts the Vietnam War, Parts One and Two," in the Spring and Fall 1995 issues of *LIHJ*, and "The Long Island Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s, Parts One, Two, and Three," in the Spring and Fall 1996 and Spring 1997 issues.

4. Hall, 25; Mayhew, 43.

5. *Empire State College News* 23 (Spring 1996): 3-5.

6. *New York Times*, "State Will Open College Without a Campus in Fall," 9 July 1971; Hall, 30.

7. Richard Bonnabeau, *the Promise Continues: Empire State College, the First Twenty-Five Years* (Virginia Beach, Va.: Donning Publishers, 1996), 33.

8. For the Clark family, see Alfred D. Chandler Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1977), 408, 414; for the Clark estate, see Monica Randall, *The Mansions of Long Island's Gold Coast*, (New York: Rizzoli International Publishing, 1987), 109-12, and Liisa Sklar and Donald Sklar, *Beaux-Arts Estates: A Guide to the Architecture of Long Island* (New York: Viking Press, 1980), 131-34.

9. Author's interview with ESC Dean Patricia Lefor, 27 June 1996.

10. Bonnabeau, 31.

11. *New York Times*, "College Without a Campus"; student in Social Change Study Group, interview with Fernand Brunschwig, 2 November 1995; author's interview with Betsy Steltenpohl, 27 June 1996.

12. Author's interview with Gary Goss, 12 June 1996; Norma Samorodin, interview with Rhoada Wald, 11 Dec. 1995.

13. Lefor interview.

14. Patricia Lefor, "Welcome," Long Island Commencement Ceremony, 9 June 1996.

15. Goss interview.

16. Lefor interview.

17. Rhoada Wald, "Confronting the Learning Contract," *Alternative Higher Education* 2 (3 1978): 224.

18. James Robinson, "Twelve Years in the Life," in *Golden Hill* (ESC) 4:(1986): 63.

19. Bonnabeau, 67.

20. Robert Hassenger, "All-College Presentation," in *All About Mentoring: Newsletter of the Suny Empire State College Mentoring Institute*, 6 May 1995, 19.

21. Bonnabeau, 94.

22. Richard Buckman, interview with Carole Turbin, 13 Dec. 1995, and with Paula Silver, 30 Nov. 1995.

23. *New York Times*, "College Without a Campus"; Wald, "Confronting the Contract: A Study of Mentor-Student Interaction During Contract Planning," from Report on Research Project, Ernest Palola, Project Director for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, April 1976, 36. Two Empire State college-wide self-studies were prepared for the Commission on Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Schools: "Access, Innovation, and the Quest for Excellence: Empire State College in 1979" (ESC, Saratoga Springs, N.Y., 1979), and "Retrospect and Prospect: Strengthening Learning at Empire State College 1989" (ESC, Saratoga Springs, N.Y., 1989); see also Middle States Association's response to the 1979 self-study "Report to the Faculty, Administration, Trustees, and Students of Empire State College, 1979," ESC Archive.

24. Silver interview.

25. Turbin interview; Bonnabeau, 67-72.

26. Lefor interview.

27. Statistics for Long Island Center provided by office of institutional research, Mary Edinburgh, director, Saratoga Springs, N.Y.; Steltenpohl interview.

28. Office of institutional research.

29. Samorodin, interview with Rhoada Wald.

30. American College Testing, "Institutional Summary Report for Empire State College of 1994 SUNY Student Opinion Survey Project," January 1995.

31. Office of institutional research

32. Joanne Migliore, "Graduation Speech," 7 June 1992; Roger Wunderlich, 'Living Your Life to Prepare for College," speech at Long Island Center Graduation and 25th Anniversary celebration, 9 June 1996.

33. Survey made by Barbara Kantz, interpreted by Susan Ferber, and distributed by the 25th Anniversary Committee.

34. See Fernand Brunschwig and Walter Frykholm, co-chairpersons, Educational Technology Committee Report, "Prelude to the 21st Century: SUNY Empire State College Technology Plan 1996-99."

35. Long Island Association, "Long Island Action Plan," presented at Long Island Summit, 21 September 1994, and *Long Island Business News,* 1 July 1996, 18; Kantz, Lefor interview; William Gloffke, interview with Patricia Lefor, 15 Jan. 1996.

36. James Hall, *Empire State College News* 23 (Spring 1996): 4, and speech at Twenty-fifth Anniversary Convocation, Canfield Casino, Saratoga Springs, N.Y., 11 April 1996.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: VOTING PATTERNS on LONG ISLAND

By Howard A. Scarrow, with the assistance of Dawn Walsh

With the next presidential election scheduled for the year 2000, the time is appropriate to look back and assess presidential election voting patterns on Long Island throughout the twentieth century. This article focuses on how voters on Long Island (Nassau and Suffolk Counties) have distributed their votes between Republican and Democratic presidential candidates, looking especially for changes in that distribution over the years. Comparisons between Long Island and the rest of the state are also considered, along with comparisons between the two counties, Nassau and Suffolk. Finally, for the period 1960 through 1996, presidential voting patterns on Long Island are contrasted with congressional voting patterns. Although the major focus of the article is descriptive, selected voting patterns are interpreted in the context of the relevant literature in the field of American voting behavior.[1]

Presidential results during the century: Republican dominance

For the first half of the century, Long Island was a bastion of Republican strength in presidential elections. The election of 1912 was an exception only because Republicans divided their votes between the nominee, President William Howard Taft, and former President Theodore Roosevelt, the insurgent who ran as the candidate of the Progressive "Bull Moose" Party. Because of that split in Republican ranks, both Nassau and Suffolk gave the Democrat, Woodrow Wilson, a plurality of their votes.

Even throughout the 1930s and 1940s, while the state as a whole recorded majorities for Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman. Long Island remained solidly in the Republican column. In the Democratic landslide of 1936, for example, FDR polled 59 percent of the statewide vote, yet on Long Island his portion was only 42 percent.[2]

Not until the decade of the 1960s did Long Island begin to show signs of becoming a competitive political region. In the 1960 election, the Democratic presidential candidate, John F. Kennedy, attracted what was then seen as a surprisingly high percentage of the Island's vote; his 43 percent contrasted sharply with Democrat Adlai Stevenson's 28 percent in 1956 and 29 percent four

years earlier. Change in 1960 was also registered when, for the first time in history, a Suffolk congressional district sent a Democrat to Washington, with Otis G. Pike's defeat of the Republican incumbent, Stuyvesant Wainwright II, in the First District. Thus the Nassau/Suffolk three-member congressional delegation changed from completely G.O.P. to a mix of two Republicans and one Democrat.

The election of 1964 removed any doubt that politics on the Island were changing. For only the second time in the century, both counties recorded victories for the Democratic presidential candidate, with the Island's total for Lyndon B. Johnson an impressive 59 percent of the vote. Johnson's coattails, or, at least, anti-Goldwater sentiment, was sufficient to carry into office three Democratic congressional candidates, so that for the first time the Island's congressional delegation became weighted in favor of the Democrats (three-to-two).

Beginning in 1968, dominance on Long Island returned to the Republican Party, which won the first of six consecutive presidential elections, often by huge margins. For example, in 1984 the Republican candidate, Ronald W. Reagan, won 61 percent of the Island's vote. During the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, Long Island Republican leaders could boast that their two counties cast more Republican votes than any other two in the nation.

Even the 1976 successful Democratic candidate, Jimmy Carter, who carried New York State, did not dent Republican control of Nassau and Suffolk Counties. But, in 1992, Long Island Democrats brought an end to Republican domination by recording the first of an unprecedented two consecutive presidential victories in Nassau, and came close to winning Suffolk. If the Nassau and Suffolk vote were counted as one, the Democrat, Bill Clinton, carried the Island with 51 percent of the two-party vote, and a plurality of all votes, including those for the independent candidate, Ross Perot.[3]

Clinton's 1992 victory was marred by his failure to carry Suffolk, but he remedied that in his 1996 re-election bid, when he carried both counties with 60 percent of the two-party vote and 54 percent of all votes—only the third time in the century that a Democratic presidential candidate performed such a feat.

Long Island vs. the rest of the state

Long Island's votes for the office of president have come to constitute an increasing percentage of the state's total vote. In 1960, the Island accounted for only 12 percent of the statewide total, a figure that by 1996 rose to 17 percent. The higher portion reflects both Long Island's increased proportion of the state's population and, equally important, its relatively high rate of voter participation, as compared to the declining turnout in New York City.[4]

Because New York State tends to vote Democratic in presidential elections, the Island's contribution to the statewide Republican vote has been much more important than its contribution to the statewide total vote. Its 1960 portion of 14 percent increased to 18 percent in 1968, and, by the 1990s to more than 20 percent. Any Republican presidential candidate hoping to win New York State's electoral votes must now count heavily on support from the postsuburban

Republican stronghold which is Long Island. In 1984, when Reagan carried the state by 540,000 votes, more than 60 percent of his margin came from the Island.

Such dependence not withstanding, Long Island's Republican strength sometimes counts for little in presidential elections. In gubernatorial and senatorial contests, in which every vote counts, a candidate must cultivate and mobilize the areas of party strength. However, because of the electoral college system, a presidential candidate may ignore areas of party strength if the state appears unwinnable. Thus, in 1996, former Senator Bob Dole conspicuously campaigned on Long Island during New York's Republican presidential primary, but, once he became the candidate, remained absent from the area throughout the fall campaign against Clinton.

Nassau vs. Suffolk

Historically, Suffolk County has been a slightly stronger Republican bastion in presidential elections than neighboring Nassau, although the difference is now very small. Thus, in 1960 Republicans captured 61 percent of the two-party vote in Suffolk, compared to 57 percent in Nassau, while in 1996 the respective numbers dwindled to 39 and 37 percent.

The increasing similarity reflects the fact that, by 1996, the two counties are increasing alike in population size and demographic characteristics. In 1960, Suffolk provided 32 percent of the Island's presidential vote, but 46 percent in 1996. In 1960, four of the Island's five congressional districts were entirely within Nassau County, with the fifth composed of parts of both counties. By 1996, each county contained two congressional districts entirely within its borders.

Congressional elections since 1960

In two respects the biennial congressional elections have presented patterns of voter preferences quite different from those in the quadrennial elections for president. First, Democratic strength has been much more in evidence. In the nineteen congressional elections from 1960 through 1996, only four resulted in a lopsided, four-to-one Republican edge. Eight elections yielded three Democrats and two Republicans, and seven resulted in three Republicans and two Democrats.

The second deviation from the voting patterns of presidential contests has been that Suffolk County—containing the First and Second Districts, and, since 1972, a portion of the Third (which became the Fifth District in 1992)—has been more of a Democratic stronghold than has Nassau. A Democrat, Otis Pike, held District One from 1960 until the election of 1978, and in 1986 another Democrat, George J. Hochbrueckner, won the first of his four successive victories in that district. Thomas J. Downey held the Second District seat from the election of 1974 until

his defeat by the Republican, Rick Lazio, in 1992. And, with one two-year exception, the Third District was held by a Democrat from the 1974 election until the election of 1992: Jerome A. Ambro Jr. won three times, beginning in 1974, and Robert J. Mrazek won four times, beginning in 1982.

Split-ticket voting

To some extent, these contrasts between presidential and congressional election outcomes reflect the effect of districting: in presidential elections, pockets of Democratic strength have been swamped by surrounding Republican areas, while in congressional elections those areas have been able to demonstrate their strength. A more important reason for Democratic congressional victories in a period dominated by Republican presidential victories is that many Long Island voters developed the habit of "splitting the ticket"—usually manifested by voting Republican for president and Democratic for Congress. Otis Pike won his district in 1960 by attracting the support of many who voted for the Republican presidential candidate, Richard M. Nixon. Thus, Pike garnered 49 percent of the vote in Suffolk County, while Kennedy, the Democratic candidate, received only 41 percent. When combined with the Nassau County portion of the First District, his Suffolk advantage gave Pike a narrow victory.

Almost all other Democratic congressional victories in presidential election years can be attributed to split-ticket voting. In the fifteen Democratic district victories in presidential elections from 1968 through 1992, a majority voted Republican for president and Democratic for Congress. In 1996 it was the Republicans' turn to benefit from split-ticket voting; each of the three congressional districts that elected a Republican to Congress cast the majority of its presidential votes for the Democrat, Bill Clinton.[5]

The many instances of split-ticket voting on Long Island are part of a national pattern. In the first half of this century, fewer than 20 percent of the districts elected a congressman of one party while favoring the presidential candidate of the other. However, by the 1970s and 1980s this proportion reached as high as 45 percent.[6]

Advantages of incumbency

There are various explanations for this trend. Some political scientists argue that many voters prefer divided government, with the presidency controlled by one party and Congress by the other. However, the best explanation for Long Island's split-ticket voting appears to be incumbency.; almost invariably, incumbent congressmen carry their districts despite voter preference for the rival party's presidential candidate. Of the seventeen split results noted above, all but one (Democratic Allard K. Lowenstein's Fifth District victory in 1968) featured the re-election of an incumbent.[7]

In New York, as elsewhere in the nation, incumbent congressmen enjoy

enormous electoral advantages over their challengers. These advantages have become increasingly important as partisanship within the electorate has declined, and explain why more than nine of every ten congresspersons seeking re-election are usually successful. Incumbents are able to point to their record of constituent services, and of bringing federal dollars to the district. They also enjoy long periods of media exposure, franking privileges, the benefits of a large staff, and superior fund-raising ability. In New York, the bi-partisan district gerrymanders—the product of split party control in Albany—have also benefitted each party's incumbents.

Becoming an incumbent

A major question is how Democratic candidates on Long Island won election in the first place. The chance of timing played an important role. In 1960, Otis Pike was able to take advantage of a factional split within the Suffolk Republican party. Tom Downey had the good fortune to run for Congress in 1974 in the wake of the Watergate scandal. In 1986, George Hochbrueckner was able to capitalize on the strong public opposition to the opening of the Shoreham nuclear plant, contrasting his position with that of the Republican incumbent, Robert Carney, who favored the plant's opening and decided not to seek re-election.

At least as important as timing has been the fact that most of the successful Democrats were well-known public figures before they entered the contest for Congress. Hochbrueckner served eight years in the state assembly, while Carolyn McCarthy, a registered Republican who ran and won as a Democrat in 1996 in the Fourth District, had become a leading advocate of gun control after her husband was shot to death in the massacre on the Long Island Railway.

A more general explanation applies to Downey, Mrazek, and Ambro, all of whom held office in local government; Downey and Mrazek as Suffolk County legislators and Ambro as Huntington town supervisor. Each took advantage of the fact that town and county elections were held in odd-numbered years, allowing each to enter the even-year congressional contests without having to give up his local office. A major explanation for Suffolk County's producing more Democratic congressmen than Nassau is that in 1969 Suffolk created a district-based county legislature, while Nassau retained its board of supervisors until 1995. A district-based legislature makes possible the election of minority party members from areas of their party's strength, allowing successful candidates to use their established core of electoral support to launch campaigns in the larger congressional district. Indeed, it was a popular incumbent county legislator, Rick Lazio, who defeated incumbent Congressman Downey in 1992.[8]

Decline of partisanship on Long Island

As we anticipate the presidential election of the year 2000, an obvious

question is whether the penultimate election of the twentieth century marked a turning point in the Island's political history, or whether that Democratic victory marked no more than a pause in the history of Republican dominance. One way of answering that question is to examine the changing partisan disposition of the Long Island electorate.

One of the most prominent themes in contemporary studies of American politics is that of declining partisanship within the electorate. The available evidence of partisanship on Long Island reveals a trend which parallels that of the nation.[9]

One measure of declining partisanship is provided by figures retained by the county boards of elections, showing party enrollments of voters as well as the number of these who express no party preference on their voter registration forms. In 1960 these so-called "independents" amounted to about 10 percent of all registered voters, but by 1996 their numbers more than doubled, reaching 27 percent in Suffolk and 22 percent in Nassau.[10]

Another yardstick of independence is provided by voters who take no action concerning the office of supreme court judge. As most voters are unfamiliar with even one of the several candidates nominated by each party, only voters with partisan preferences are motivated to participate. It is reasonable to assume that voters who skip this part of the ballot have no strong party preference. Like the blank enrollment figures, these uncast votes dramatically increased after 1960. In the 1960 presidential election, blank ballots in both Nassau and Suffolk accounted for only 5 percent of the voting participants, but a decade later the number had doubled, and, by the 1990s, doubled again. In 1992, blanks amounted to 25 percent of ballots in Suffolk, and 20 percent in Nassau, while in 1996 the respective portions were 22 and 18 percent.

The decline of Republican advantage

At the same time that the Long Island electorate has become less partisan it has become less Republican. The 1960 enrollment figures showed a two-to one advantage of Republicans over Democrats: 60 to 30 percent in Nassau, and 60 to 27 in Suffolk. By 1996 the Republican edge declined to half that amount, or ratios of to 31 of percent in Nassau, and 41 to 27 percent in Suffolk.

Because voters are often reluctant to reveal their true partisan leanings when filling out registration forms, a much better indication of partisanship is provided by voting patterns for state supreme court candidates. By that measure, too, the Republican advantage has declined. In 1960 votes for Republican supreme court candidates outnumbered those for Democratic candidates by more than 15 percent. By 1988, the year of the last Republican presidential victory on the Island and thus when presidential "coattails" could inflate Republican votes for supreme court candidates, the Republican advantage had dropped to half that amount. In 1996, for the first time in history, in both counties the total Democratic votes for the various Supreme Court exceeded the Republican votes.[11]

Conclusion

There seems little question that by the end of the twentieth century Long Island has become a fairly competitive political region in New York State, in stark contrast to earlier times. Moreover, as the effect of the newly created Nassau County Legislature takes root, as well as anticipated change from at-large to district elections in Hempstead and other towns, conditions on Long Island for a competitive party system will be even more propitious.

NOTES

1.For a useful summary of this literature, see William Flanigan and Nancy Zingale, *Political Behavior of the American Electorate* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1994).

2. Unless otherwise noted, a party's percentage is stated in terms of the total valid vote, rounded off to the nearest whole number; significant votes for third party candidates such as John Anderson in 1980 or Ross Perot in 1992 and 1996, are reported in terms of the two-party vote. Republican and Democratic totals may include votes cast on other party lines—the Conservative or Liberal lines respectively;, in 1996, 11 percent of Dole's vote in Suffolk was cast on the Conservative line, and 3 percent of Clinton's on the Liberal line. Totals are based on figures in the series, Richard Scammon,ed., *American Votes* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly), or appropriate volumes of the *New York State Legislative Manual.*

3. Charles Zehren, "Campaign '92," *Newsday,* 10 Oct. 1992.

4. See Howard A. Scarrow, *Parties, Elections, and Representation in the State of New York* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1983), 89.

5. Comparisons in this paragraph are confined to presidential elections beginning in 1968; the 1996 outcomes are calculated from figures obtained from the Suffolk County Board of Elections, or from those provided by the office of the elected representative. For presidential votes in congressional districts, see *The Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal), beginning with the first of that biennial series in 1972. Split district results in this paragraph do not include the Second and Fourth Districts in 1992, when the large Perot vote may have accounted for the difference between the Republican majority vote for Congress and the Democratic plurality for Clinton.

6. Morris Fiorina, *Divided Government* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 13.

7. Ibid.

8. Another Democratic Suffolk County legislator, Nora Bredes, unsuccessfully ran for Congress in the First District in 1996.

9. The theme of declining partisanship has become a conspicuous component of all studies of the working of American democracy, including introductory textbooks. Fewer Americans than in earlier years identify themselves as Democrats or Republicans, and of those who do, fewer do so as "strong" partisans, according to a question asked of voters every four years by the University of Michigan's National Election Study; see also Martin Wattenberg, *The Decline of American Political Parties* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1988).

10. Some of this increase was probably due to change in the voter registration form in the early 1970s (see Scarrow, 11-12).

11. The 1960 Republican advantage in Nassau was 57 percent to the Democrats' 39 percent; in Suffolk it was 55 percent to 38 percent; the respective 1988 figures were 44 to 36 percent in Nassau, and 44 to 33 percent in Suffolk. Some of the Republican decline is because of the growth in Conservative Party strength, although by 1996 that party's enrollment amounted to only 2 percent of registered voters. However, in 1996, as in other years, Republicans won judicial and other offices because of the votes they received as Conservatives.

WHO HAS DONE MORE? VINCENT F. SEYFRIED AND THE DISCOVERY OF QUEENS HISTORY

By Jeffrey A. Kroessler

Over the past quarter century there has been an explosion of interest in regional history. This is a national phenomenon, cutting across local boundaries, races, and classes. From Long Island's East End to Weeksville in Brooklyn, individuals have looked to identify the historic landmarks around them, and to reestablish their links to them. The success of the *Long Island Historical Journal*, a scholarly publication devoted to the study of Long Island as America, is one manifestation of this resurgence; the annual conferences of the Long Island Studies Institute at Hofstra University are another, successfully bringing together local historians, academics, and the public. So strong is this interest that communities actively promote "heritage tourism," and elected officials are anxious to be seen as supporters, using, and at times misusing, history to suit their purposes.

But all of this activity must rest upon the solid foundation of research, research, and more research. Someone has to dig into the archives, decipher the old property records, plow through the brittle newspapers, and make sense of old prints, photographs, and postcards. And of all those who have labored in that vineyard, who has done more than Vincent F. Seyfried? Over the past half century, he has published a seven-volume history of the Long Island Railroad; a series of trolley histories; five works on individual Queens communities; and two picture books on Queens, with another about the Rockaways in the works. In addition, he has indexed the *Long Island City Star*, the *Newtown Register*, and the *Flushing Journal*, and also compiled several research guides. In short, it is impossible to research any aspect of Queens history without encountering Vincent Seyfried. Most telling of all is the fact that he contributed more entries to the authoritative *Encyclopedia of New York City* (Kenneth Jackson, ed. [New York: Yale Univ. Press, 1995]] than any other author; indeed, Seyfried participated in many of the early discussions and compiled the list of entries for Queens.

Although Seyfried is an accomplished author, it is through his lectures that most people have come to know him. There is seemingly no Queens neighborhood for which he cannot assemble a slide presentation, always with several images previously unknown to even the most informed member of the audience. In the years since his retirement from Jamaica High School, where he taught English, he

has generously donated his time to many organizations, particularly the Queens Historical Society, which he serves as vice president, and the Greater Astoria Historical Society. He is also the historian of the Garden City Historical Society, the village which has been his home for more than three decades. I came to know him in 1980, when I was associated with Richard K. Lieberman's Community History Program at La Guardia Community College. Vincent's expertise in identifying the most obscure details in photographs and instantly providing useful anecdotal information enriched our effort. It showed me that it was essential for university trained scholars to work with regional historians, rather than qualify their efforts as that of mere chroniclers.

When I completed my dissertation on the history of Queens in 1991, I naturally dedicated the manuscript to Vincent ["Building Queens: The Organization of New York's Largest Borough," Ph. D. dissertation, CUNY, 1991]. His newspaper indexes saved me innumerable hours of bleary eyed tedium in front of a microfilm reader. He read every word of my thesis, filling in missing first names, correcting my misreading of unclear passages in arcane texts, and providing dates where appropriate (how should I have footnoted that?)..No one else, certainly no one on my committee at the CUNY Graduate School, would have picked up those minor factual errors. But for Vincent, no errors are minor. The whole point of doing local history is to tell the story and get the facts straight.

Seyfried began his first systematic research endeavor in the late 1940s, a multi-volume series about trolley lines in Queens and Nassau. In the introduction to the first volume, *The New York and Queens County Railway and the Steinway Lines, 1867-1939* (1950), he wrote:

> It has long been a cherished hope of mine to publish a series of studies of the trolley lines of Long Island. In a day when electric traction is rapidly disappearing, it seems all the more urgent to record the colorful and always interesting events that surround the building and growth of Long Island's electric railways. This year saw the disappearance of the last Queens line.

In one sense, the stimulus was nostalgia for a rapidly disappearing world; actually, for some time he had been carrying his 16mm movie camera aboard the streetcars and elevated lines in Queens to document their last days of operation. Those films are priceless, and much of the footage has been transferred to videotape and deposited in the La Guardia and Wagner Archives at La Guardia Community College. At the same time, these trolley histories are the work of a diligent historian dedicated to telling a complete story. They also set the pattern for his subsequent efforts. Each volume is organized chronologically, providing a mile-by-mile, day-by-day account of the line from its incorporation to its demise. Each also includes detailed maps of the routes, with dates, and a complete inventory of the rolling stock.

Seyfried's magnum opus, the work for which he is best known, is his seven-volume history of the Long Island Railroad (1961-1984). He is, in fact, the

LIRR's honorary historian, and was a valued participant in its 150th anniversary celebrations in 1986. Despite the fact that the LIRR, chartered in 1836, is the third oldest in the nation, there had been only two previous historical accounts before Seyfried's work, both written under the auspices of the line. In 1898 Elizur Brace Hinsdale, long-time counsel to the company, published his brief *History of the Long Island Railroad Company, 1834-1898*, and Felix Reifschneider, a chronicler of trolleys and railroads, compiled a "History of the Long Island Railroad," released in installments in the *Long Island Railroad Information Bulletin* beginning in the issue of 31 August 1922 and ending in that of 16 March 1925. But surprisingly, there had been no serious, systematic study of the nation's busiest commuter line. Considering the LIRR's impossibly tangled corporate history, one quickly understands why.

The history of railroading on Long Island is the story of cutthroat competition, local boosterism, overblown expectations, personal rivalries, a few notable successes, and several spectacular failures. Rather than attempt to tie the confusing threads of the LIRR's history in a single narrative, Seyfried tackled each corporate entity separately, telling the story of its incorporation, expansion, and demise. In 1900, of course, the Pennsylvania Railroad purchased the line and financed its modernization, a program which included the East River tunnels and construction of that grand urban monument, Penn Station. Seyfried documents that era in his last, and to my mind best volume, *The Age of Electrification, 1901-1916*. But he is no social historian and stopped abruptly in 1916, when the Pennsylvania Railroad's electrification program was completed. While there are inventories of rolling stock, maps, and a chronology, the full story of the connection between the railroad and suburbanization is only hinted at, and the history of labor relations is largely absent.

Seyfried's third great body of work is his Queens Community Series, beginning with *The Story of Queens Village* (1974) and continuing through *Elmhurst: From Town Seat to Mega-Suburb* (1995). Each profusely illustrated volume traces the community from the earliest colonial settlements, through the transportation revolution of the nineteenth century, and ending in the 1930s. While encyclopedic in scope, listing businesses, residents, and churches, in no case does he bring the story up to the present. Perhaps that is understandable, as the period from the 1930s onward brought about the destruction of the historic communities he so lovingly describes and the elimination of the trolley lines he so dutifully chronicles. For a "steel on steel" man, the changes wrought by the automobile are nothing to cheer about. As he writes at the close of his most recent volume on Elmhurst, "The modern era for better or for worse had begun" (145).

Elmhurst: From Town Seat to Mega-Suburb is a valuable trove of names, dates, and places, much of it gleaned from the *Newtown Register*. The chapters on the construction of the sewer system in the first decade of the century and urban development between 1900 and 1930 are particularly informative, as is his discussion of the implementation of a new system of street names and numbers in 1911 and 1915. Even today, both the visitor and the long-time resident find the borough's street system impossible to decipher. But it's really quite logical.

According to Seyfried, "the chief engineer of the Topographical Bureau enlisted the services of the poet Ellis Parker Butler, and together they came up with this ditty:

> In Queens to find locations best
> Avenues, Roads and Drives run west.
> But ways to north or south, t'is plain
> Are Streets of Place or even Lane;
> While even numbers you will meet
> Upon the west or south of street (107-109).

I don't think Bloodgood Cutter could have written finer verse.

Most fascinating is the story of the name Elmhurst itself. First settled in 1642, Newtown was organized as one of the original towns of Queens County, in 1683. Unlike Flushing and Jamaica, however, Newtown never developed a vibrant commercial center, nor was it ever incorporated as a village. In the 1890s, the brothers Cord and Christian Meyer purchased the estate of Samuel Lord, founder of the Lord & Taylor department store and resident of Newtown since the 1840s; in the following years they purchased additional acreage around the sleepy community, and proceeded to subdivide it into building lots.

But there was a problem with the name. As Seyfried describes the situation:

> Cord Meyer, like every Newtowner of his day, was well aware of the unsavory reputation of Newtown Creek, prominent in the press for its stomach-turning stenches, open sewers and acid sludges from refineries that fouled waters and corroded even the paint on ships. A name like Newtown would hardly go along with the image of a high-class suburb such as the Meyers hoped to create, and would seriously impact on the reputation and sale of real estate (73).

Meyer solved this dilemma by journeying to Washington and convincing members of the Cleveland administration to change the official name of the place to Elmhurst (presumably inspired by the stately American elms lining Broadway). Without consulting any other local citizens, the officials acceded to Meyer's request, and on 1 April 1896 the name of the post office was officially changed; the Long Island Railroad followed suit the next year, changing the name of its station to Elmhurst. Ironically, when the IND subway opened in the 1930s, the decorative tilework in the station read "Grand Avenue-Newtown."

While one could wish for additional maps to show the relationship of Newtown/Elmhurst to other communities and route maps of the railroad and streetcar lines so painstakingly chronicled, while the photographs do not always correspond to the chapter where they are found, Seyfried's volume is likely to remain the key source for anyone looking at the community. It is a brand of local history which will satisfy the curiosity of the general reader while stimulating academics to further inquiry.

Vincent F. Seyfried's body of work has served students, researchers, the public, and scholars well. We all owe him a debt of gratitude, for no one has done more. But as he well knows, there is always more to be done.

Editorial note: Prof. Kroessler has compiled the following list of Vincent F. Seyfried's works, with their publication dates: unless otherwise specified, all were published by the author, by choice. The most recent books are Elmhurst: From Town Seat to Mega-Suburb. Garden City, 1996), and The Story of Corona: From Farmland to City Suburb (Garden City, 1986), each $25.00 (paper) plus $1.74 for postage, from the author, 163 Pine Street, Garden City, NY 11530.

LONG ISLAND TROLLEY HISTORIES

Vol. 1, *The New York and Queens County Railway and the Steinway Lines, 1867-1939* (1950).
Vol. 2, *The Story of the Long Island Electric Railway and the Jamaica Central Railways, 1894-1933* (1951).
Vol. 3, *New York & Long Island Traction Company* (1952).
Vol. 4, *Jamaica Trolleys* (1953).
Vol. 5, Third Avenue Railway System: Roster of Equipment, 1853-1953 (1953).
Vol. 6, *New York & North Shore Traction Company, Trolleys in Whitestone, Flushing, Bayside, Roslyn, Port Washington, Mineola, and Hicksville* (1956).
Vol. 7, *B.R.T. Trolley Lines in Queens County (1959).*
History of the Trolley Lines of Long Island and Manhattan from Horse Car Days to Motorization (1949).
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THE LONG ISLAND RAIL ROAD

The Long Island Rail Road: A Comprehensive History (1961-1984). Part 1, *The South Side Rail Road of Long Island.*
Part 2, *The Flushing, North Shore and Central Railroad.*
Part 3, *The Age of Expansion, 1863-1880.*
Part 4, *The Bay Ridge and Manhattan Beach Divisions.*
Part 5, *The New York, Woodhaven & Rockaway Rail Road; the New York & Rockaway Beach Railway; The New York & Long Beach Rail Road; the New York & Rockaway Railroad; Brooklyn Rapid Transit Operation to Rockaway of the L.I.R.R.*
Part 6, *The Golden Age, 1881-1900.*
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"The Civil War in Queens County." *Long Island Historical Journal* 5 (Spring 1993): 146-56.

RESEARCH GUIDES

The Geipel Collection; and inventory of Long Island City memorabilia of Miss Dora Geipel (1980).
Index to Armbruster's Photos of the Town of Newtown, taken 1922-1924 (1985).
Collection of Vincent F. Seyfried, photocopy of typed manuscript (1986).
Vincent F. Seyfried and Jon A. Peterson. *A Research Guide to the History of Queens Borough and its Neighborhoods*. Queens College of CUNY, 1983, rev. ed.1987.

NEWSPAPER INDEXES

Index to the First Volume, *Long Island City Star*, and transcript of news articles, 1864-1871 (1980).
Index to the Second Volume, *Long Island City Star*, and transcript of news articles, 1880-1885 (1982).
Long Island Weekly Star, index and transcript of news articles, 1886-1890, 1891-1895.
The Newtown Register, index and transcript of news articles, 18 vols., 1880-1885, 1886-1890, 1896-1900, 1901-1905, 1909-1916, 1917-1920 (1983).
Index to the *Flushing Journal*, 1841-1850; 1851-1855; 1856-1860; 1861-1865 (1995-1997).

ENTRIES IN *THE ENCYCLOPEDIA of NEW YORK CITY*

Addisleigh Park, Alley, Alley Pond Park, Aqueduct, Arverne, Astoria, Auburndale, Bayside, Bayswater, Beechhurst, Bellaire, Belle Harbor, Bellerose, Berlin, Blissville, blizzard of 1888, Broad Channel, Brooklyn Manor, Brushville, Calvary Cemetery, Cambria Heights, Charlotteville, Clarenceville, College Point, Columbusville, Corona, Creedmoor, Culver Line, Douglaston, Dunton, East Elmhurst, East Williamsburgh, Edgemere, elevated railways, Elmhurst, Far Rockaway, Flammersburg, Floral Park, Flushing, Forest Hills, Forest Hills Gardens, Garden Bay Manor, Patrick Jerome Gleason, Glendale, Goose Creek, Hallett's Cove, Hamilton Beach, Hammels, Hillcrest, Hillside, Hollands, Hollis, Holliswood, Hook Creek, Hopedale, Howard Beach, Hunter's Point, Ingleside, Jackson Heights, Jamaica, Jamaica Estates, Kew Gardens, Laurel Hill, Laurelton, Lindenwood, Little Neck, Long Island City, Long Island Rail Road, Malba, Maspeth, Melvina, Metropolitan, Cord Meyer (i and ii), Middletown (ii), Middle Village, Morris Park (ii), Mount Pleasant, Murray Hill (ii), Nassau Heights, Neponsit, Newtown, Newtown Creek, New York and Sea Beach Railway, North Beach, Ozone Park, Conrad Poppenhusen, Queens, Queensborough Hill, Queens Village, railroads (flow charts), Raunt, Ravenswood, Rego Park, Richmond Hill, Ridgewood, Rockaway, Rockaway Park, Rosedale, St. Albans, Schuetzen Park, Seaside, South Jamaica, South Ozone Park, Springfield Gardens, Strattonport, streetcars, Sunnyside (i), Trains Meadow, Utopia, Waldheim, Wavecrest, Candace Wheeler, Whitepot, Whitestone, Willets Point, Winfield, Woodhaven, Woodside.

JULIA PETTEE'S YEAR IN BROOKLYN AT THE PRATT INSTITUTE LIBRARY SCHOOL: 1894-1895

By Mario Charles and Sandra Roff

Slightly more than one hundred years have passed since Julia Pettee completed the training program for librarians at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn. This young feminist and her classmates exemplified the "new women" who enrolled in professional schools to pursue careers uncommon for earlier nineteenth-century females. Pettee reveled in the rich political and cultural life of turn-of-the-century Brooklyn, forthrightly taking her stand as an opponent of Tammany Hall in the election of 1894, and, one year later, as a sympathizer with labor during the Brooklyn trolley strike. After completing her studies at Pratt she enrolled and then worked at Vassar College, unusual accomplishments for a woman by contemporary standards.. Eventually, Pettee achieved a nationwide reputation for her significant contributions to the profession of librarianship. This article examines the year at Pratt and later career of this progressive defender of female equality.

Julia Pettee was born in 1873 in the middle-class town of Salisbury, a rural community tucked away in Connecticut's northwest corner. After her mother died when she was a child, her father remarried and Julia was reared by her step-mother, as well as encouraged by a teacher, Almira Cleveland, who recalled that the girl "love[d] school and thought to continue [her] education." After graduating from high school Pettee prepared for college at the Academy Building School in Salisbury, Lakeville's sister town, and then attended Mt. Holyoke Seminary. When encouraged by another teacher to go beyond her seminary education, she enrolled in the recently founded Pratt Institute School of Library Training.[1]

Pratt Institute opened in 1887 with the objective of promoting "manual and industrial education, and to supplement this later by advanced work in science and art." It was the third institution of higher education established in Brooklyn, preceded by Brooklyn Collegiate and Polytechnic Institute, and St. Francis College. The Pratt Institute School of Library Training was the second school in America founded to educate librarians. A Brooklyn newspaper reported that, "A class in library-training is organized, not for comparative study at present, but for that of the methods of the Pratt Library." At the time of its opening, 4 January 1888, the Pratt Free Library was Brooklyn's only public library. Consequently,

this early venture in library education, conceived to train library staffers, evolved into a library school with students enrolled from all over the country.[2]

Pettee came to Brooklyn in 1894, her twenty-first year, to train for a career in librarianship, an emerging field in an era when libraries still were defining their mission and evolving into cultural and educational institutions. The Pratt Institute School of Library Training had been founded four years earlier, "to supply the need of trained workers for its own staff as [*sic*] also in response to a demand from other libraries for trained assistants."[3]

Graduation picture, Pratt Library School Class of 1897.
Courtesy of the Pratt Institute Archives, Brooklyn.

Pettee lived in Clinton Hill, a fashionable neighborhood whose "leisurely pace was typified by pram-pushing-ladies-and not even a horseless carriage marred the scene." Schools, churches, and lecture halls helped to make it a stimulating cultural center that boasted newly built apartment buildings, Pratt Free library, and Pratt Institute. Brownstones exemplified the Romanesque design of rock-faced and smooth-faced stone with Roman brick and terra cotta, while other buildings exhibited Renaissance-inspired designs, neo-Renaissance facades, and "such forms as cartouches, foliate piers, pedimented doorways, swags and classical mouldings."[4]

Soon after settling in, she wrote to her parents about her life as a student at the library school:

> Mama's letter just came to night and I was glad to get it for I was quite disappointed when I came home from Pratt. Miss Avery one of our teachers has a course ticket to lectures at the Brooklyn Institute and as she doesn't have time to go herself has offered the use of it to members of the Library class. These lectures are something fine often given by the greatest lecturers in the country and tonight I had set my heart on going to hear Olive Thorne Miller lecture on birds—but another girl got the ticket first and wanted to take her mother ahead of me (one ticket admits two). I felt provoked about it for the ticket was given to the Library girls and not all their [sic] relations out side....Sunday I went to hear Dr. Abbot at Plymouth Church. I was much surprised to find Mr. Beechers old church so plain and homily [*sic*]. It is a great square red brick barn like building with no ornamentation what ever. I would never have taken it for a church but might think it a fine company's quarters or something of the sort. The church was so full and the people kept coming & coming in and making such a continual disturbance I could not catch half of his fine sermon.
>
> The other boarder here or one of them (there are three) is an Episcopalian [?] is going to the church. I went the first Sunday I came. This church is very aristocratic one of the finest churches in the city in fact and I prefer a smaller church below here but their is a little pleasanter not to go alone. In the church below St. Marks (perhaps I told you) there are to be a series of lectures on the reformation which I want to attend. They are in the evening but they say it is quite proper for a young lady to go out unattended in the evening to lectures or any place like this. I think I'll go this week though I hated to go alone last Fri night and so staid [*sic*] at home.[5]

Churches provided acceptable social activities for single women at the close of the nineteenth century, and in Brooklyn, "the city of churches," their abundance of lectures and sermons rivaled the popularity of programs of other cultural

institutions. Gifted pastors attract followings, as did the Reverend Lyman Abbott, the pastor of Plymouth Congregational Church after Henry Ward Beecher's death in 1887. Plymouth was known as Beecher's church, and it was difficult for Abbott to assimilate to his new position. In his autobiography, he cited the *Boston Advocate*'s unfavorable comparison of him with his famous predecessor:

> Though totally lacking in that gift of well-nigh magical eloquence which for forty years astonished and thrilled and held spellbound the packed thousands in that Brooklyn meeting-house, though having none of that personal magnetism, that intuitive knowledge of human nature, that all-creative imagination, which made their former pastor the pulpit phenomenon of his time, it may be found that he upon whom that prophet's mantle has fallen is destined to do a work as great and exert an influence no less widespread and abiding.[6]

However, by the time Julia Pettee visited Plymouth Church in October 1894, Abbott was well-established. She remembered 1894-1895 as a happy year: "Lyman Abbott was preaching in Plymouth Church, and there was the great city of New York just across the River." An image emerged of a city congenial to a young woman with academic interests, and Julia Pettee fit this picture well.[7]

By the close of the nineteenth century, Brooklyn had developed a substantial literary and cultural life. Julia's exposure to lectures at the Brooklyn Institute and in Brooklyn churches was a rewarding social experience and an opportunity to enjoy the wealth of intellectual pursuits the city sponsored. The Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences had long been part of the cultural life of Brooklyn. Incorporated as the Brooklyn Apprentices' Library Association in 1824, it broadened its scope and changed its name in 1843: "For many years thereafter the Institute was a most important factor in the social, literary, scientific and educational life of Brooklyn." This golden period lasted until 1867, when financial problems forced the Institute to curtail its programs. Not until 1887 was it free of debt and able to resume a place of importance in the educational enrichment of the citizens of Brooklyn. By the time Julia came to Brooklyn, the Institute operated successfully. In the 1894-95 season, "The number of members was increased from 3,457 to 3,764; the total number of lectures, conferences, class exercises and Department meetings was 2,621, as against 2,212 in the previous year." The varied offerings during the year of Julia's residence ranged from a course on the literature and religion of India to addresses on American literature, including one by Julia Ward Howe, to the program on birds that Julia complained about missing in her letter to her parents.[8]

During Pettee's first weeks at Pratt, the *Brooklyn Citizen* noted a meeting of the Brooklyn Literary Union, the opening of the Brooklyn Art School, and a meeting of the Brooklyn Woman's Club. Although she took full advantage of Brooklyn's cultural stimulation, Julia focused on her library work, which proved

considerably demanding, as she remarked to her parents:

> You can't imagine how busy we are. I get up about seven and dress pick up my room etc before breakfast which comes at eight. Then after eating it we put up our lunch. Miss Walkins and I put ours up together. Then hurry off to Pratt. Then from nine till one we have four lectures. At one o'clock [*sic*] we have an hour or as much of it as we can afford to take to eat our lunch and then something the rest of the after noon till dark. This afternoon it was stenography and type writing. The principles of shorthand are very simple but it takes any amount of practice [*sic*] to get the characters fixed in your head. We have already had several lessons in cataloguing book [*sic*] and it is positively amazing how much their is to it. You would be surprised to find how much red tape there is in simply giving out a book in a large Library like Pratt's where there are 50,000 vols and sometimes 1,000 are borrowed in a single day. I received my Library card tonight and I was borrower No. 24,927.[9]

During her year at Pratt, her correspondence with parents and friends furnish a personal account of the community where she lived, studied, and took a keen interest in public affairs. In her own words, she aspired to become "more of a woman, and more what a woman ought to be—ready to enter upon those new fields of activity which providence [was] plainly opening for all who [had] heads, hands, and hearts." Her letters about housing, the condition of labor, churches, politics, and the intellectual environment reflected her willingness to savor the intellectual and scholarly benefits of living in Brooklyn.[10]

The Brooklyn Street Railway strike of 1895, also known as the "war of the trolleys," which pitted labor against management, evoked Pettee's feminist sympathy for the "weaker side," comparable to woman's struggle for equal access to education and employment. The strike resulted in the calling of the militia and the breakdown of the transit system, then consisting of an elevated railway in addition to trolleys serving the more remote areas lacking elevated service. The strike had an immediate impact on residents of Brooklyn, many of whom relied on trolleys every day, especially working people in low-rent, outlying sections like Coney Island, East New York, and Newtown. As one reporter described it:

> There are forty-eight trolley railway lines in Brooklyn, most of them operated nominally by different companies, but all grouped under the leadership of the Brooklyn Railroad Company for the purposes of the struggle with their employees [sic]. These comprise an army of 500 men, including conductors, motormen, and workmen in the electrical power plants. They presented to the companies at the beginning of the year the demands that ten hours should constitute a day's labor, that every man should be allowed to leave his car long enough to eat

> luncheon, and the wages should be advanced from $2 $2.25 a day. These the employers refused to grant.[11]

The strike began Monday morning, 14 January 1895, when more than six thousand men stopped work and the owners hired scabs to run the trolleys. Strikers honored trolleys carrying U.S. mail, but objected to running the cars for any other purpose. The assistant U.S. attorney decided that only government mail cars would be protected, which eventually induced owners to request military protection from the mayor and the police force. On the evening of 18 January, the mayor called out the Second Brigade of the National Guard, numbering three thousand men. A contemporary account reported that, "The strike was pretty well broken up after Mayor Charles A. Schieron of Brooklyn ordered out the militia. They took possession of the car barns and of almost everything."[12]

In a letter to her more conservative cousin, Julia took a feminist, pro-labor stance on the strike:

> I was quite delighted to have your opinions on the strike so fully expressed because they do not coincide with mine and I like to be a little disputatious some times...[W]e look at it from quite different objective points. You are inclined to see the question from the capitalists standpoint...I from the laboring men's... perhaps because I always feel as most women do an innate sympathy for the weaker side.
>
> In Brooklyn...public sympathy is undoubtedly with the strikers though the editorials undoubtedly of the two leading papers read as if they [were] under the direct supervision of the corporations. Even the *New York Tribune* admits of the justice of the strikers claims. The point at issue is not as I thought you intimated the advance of .25 per day claimed be promised them by the corporations and which they considered an 8 per cent dividend on matured stock justified. They carried this demand at the very beginning and only insisted that...they be not required to work more than the 10 hrs within 12 without extra pay also prohibited by a state statute.[13]

Julia was different from many college educated women of her generation, who, after attending college, returned home to assume domestic responsibilities for the family that had released them from four years of household obligations. Instead, she continued the independent life she enjoyed in Brooklyn, participating in social activities available to single women of her era. In spring 1895 she graduated from Pratt and joined the sparse ranks of newly trained librarians in a profession just starting to open for women. Because education and the moral improvement of society were goals of American libraries, women, with their supposedly nurturing qualities, were considered well-suited for the profession. Reminiscing about her

year at Pratt, Julia wrote:

> At that date the only opening for women to earn a livelihood was by teaching or in domestic service. A frustrating year in teaching had made me feel disqualified for that work and I must earn my own living...Pratt, always practically minded, recognized the coming need for trained library assistants in the new field of library work just opening up."[14]

The graduates of the Pratt library school became vital members of the intellectual communities of Brooklyn and New York. An 1899 Pratt publication reported that graduates of the program held positions in the Columbia College Library, the New-York Free Circulating Library, the Y.M.C.A Library in Brooklyn, the Aguilar Library in New York City, and Packer Institute, Brooklyn, among others. "[T]he school sends out young people capable of being private secretaries, or of taking positions in publishing-houses or in the libraries of daily papers and magazine-offices, of indexing books and periodicals, &c. " The graduates of the school and the employees of the Pratt Free Library enjoyed outstanding reputations, praised because they "rarely missed a day and displayed very little of the dragged-out and dispirited look seen when people, especially women, are overworked." With a staff of competent, devoted workers, the Pratt Free Library flourished, expanding services with a branch in the Astral apartment building.[15]

The Astral Apartments on Franklin, India, and Java streets, Brooklyn, referred to by one reporter as "the most perfect type of an apartment in the world," was one block from Manhattan Avenue, the principal business street in the community. The complex contained a well-lit, steam-heated lecture room on Java Street, measuring 39ft. x 40ft. x 14 ft., "handsomely furnished and well supplied with books and newspapers for the free use of tenants." The space for the Astral branch library was acquired by Margaret Healy, the first director of the library school and the guiding force behind its establishment. Pettee evaluated Healy's involvement with the Astral:

> Miss Margaret Healy, a member of the Pratt family, during the year of her directorate of the School was interested in forming a social settlement in the depressed section of Greenpoint, Brooklyn. The philanthropic Pratt Brothers had recently erected a model six story apartment house in this vicinity, the model low rent apartment house in the city. In the spring Miss Healy persuaded six of the library students to go down with her and to occupy and live co- operatively in two of the apartments in order to estimate living expenses and to get acquainted with the neighborhood, preliminary to organizing both a social settlement and a branch library in the building.

As early as 1889, Healy informed Charles Pratt that, "The advantages of opening

it [the Astral library] to the public would be two-fold: that of radiating a helpful influence in all that portion of the city and secondly in stimulating within the Astral itself a healthy literary atmosphere." In 1893 she asked the trustees of Pratt Institute to

> grant to us the occupancy of the store in the Astral Building situated at the corner of Java and Franklin Streets. The Library has long felt the need of a work-room at its Astral Branch which should supplement its present work. Up to this time all its supplementary work (such as reading and sewing-classes for the children) has been done in the library room, at a manifest disadvantage."[16]

The new branch also provided housing for some of the women attending Pratt's library training school. Julia Pettee summarized life at the Astral to her parents:

> Mrs. Webb is good to all her boarders and I should hate very much to leave her for the cooperative housekeeping. Bee is going to try it with a Quaker girl. They have rented three rooms in [*sic*] the 4th floor—but if she comes home with an armful of books for evening "recreation" as tired out as I do nights she'll not have much ambition to go to work and cook her supper and in the morning find it quite as hard to get up and hurry the breakfast and house work out of the way. That's my public opinion *privately* expressed. That's housekeeping in the Astral Flats I'm afraid.

The Astral was among the locations that provided space for the educational programs and lectures in which Julia participated while living in Brooklyn. Pratt Library also introduced her and other students from outside the metropolitan area to cultural institutions in Brooklyn and New York environs: "A series of routes for sight-seeing is made out for them, with the days and hours of opening of various galleries and museums, and a list of lunch-rooms and restaurants that may be visited by ladies without escort."[17]

Julia took a keen interest in public affairs in Brooklyn. In November 1894 she discussed the political climate from a progressive, anti-Tammany standpoint consistent with her feminist, pro-labor attitude she toward the trolley strikers the following year:

> Tuesday is election day and I suppose it will be all excitement at the polls, for you know the Constitutional amendments are to be voted on, Hill as a candidate for governor defeated, and Tammany Hall doomed forever. I suppose they will vote in Conn. but I am so interested in N.Y. politics I forget my own

state.[18]

General discontent with economic conditions added tension to the campaign. Not only did voters faced with industrial and economic problems look for change in the state government, but the historic referendum on the consolidation of New York City gave special importance to the election. In the soon-to-be-borough of Brooklyn, many citizens objected to losing municipal independence and voted against the measure, but the creation of Greater New York was approved in Kings County by the narrow margin of 277 votes, 64,744 to 64,467, and went into effect on 1 January 1898.[19]

The gubernatorial race by the Tammany candidate, U.S. Senator David B. Hill, was another critical issue. Because the ticket ignored the reform wing, many Brooklyn Democrats did not support the organization's slate. Julia Pettee, characteristically opposed to machine politics, Tammany style, and supported the Republican, Levi P. Morton, whose party contrasted what it viewed as Hill's negative record with its new policy for the protection of working people. Elected governor of New York with 673,818 votes compared with Hill's 517,710, Morton presided over the organization of Greater New York and the reform of the civil service system. However, the setback to Tammany Hall was only temporary: after consolidation, it allied itself with the Democratic organizations in outlying boroughs, especially Brooklyn, and regained its power in subsequent decades.[20]

The year Julia Pettee spent in Brooklyn prepared her for the independent road she took when deciding her life's work. After completing the library training program at Pratt, she studied and worked at Vassar College. Supporting herself by working as assistant to the cataloguer, she met her college expenses and earned her A.B. degree in 1899. Her outstanding professional skill resulted in her employment at the Vassar College Library:

> It would be a great advantage to retain Miss Pettee as a permanent salaried assistant. She has chosen librarianship as her profession, is qualified admirably to take an excellent position in any library as trained cataloguer besides rendering valuable aid in other branches of the work. With her services in addition to the transient force of students, the Library would be permanently satisfactorily equipped.

Julia worked ten years at Vassar as a cataloguer, while spending her summer vacations working at several different libraries. According to a report,

> The further recommendation is also made to have Miss Pettee put henceforth on the footing of instructor, with title of cataloguer instead of assistant. She has earned this and deserves it. She is recognized among librarians as being exceedingly competent, is called upon to organize and start new libraries, and besides possesses considerable library ability useful in our work. She has written articles of note for the Library Journal

> and Vassar Miscellany, and has lectured by invitation more than once at Pratt Institute Library School and elsewhere.[21]

Her spreading reputation and her special interest in cataloguing religious materials led to her being hired to reorganize the libraries both of Rochester Theological Seminary and Union Theological Seminary in New York City. After her retirement she became a consultant in religion to the Yale University Library. She died at the age of ninety-five, after spending her final years researching the early history of Salisbury, Connecticut.

Pettee's training at Pratt prepared her well for her chosen career. Her year in Brooklyn introduced her to new experiences, the development of self-reliance, and an affinity for progressive causes. Her significant contributions to the history and culture of American libraries are lasting tributes to Julia Pettee's intelligence, training, and commitment to democracy.

NOTES

1. Ruth SoRelle, "Julia Pettee: Ninety Years in Salisbury," *Lakeville Journal,* August 1962, n.p., Mss.Collection, Vassar College Archives; Julia Pettee, "Comparison of Mt. Holyoke and Vassar in the 1890's," ibid., 4.

2. *Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York 1888* (New York: Fleming, Brewster and Alley, 1888), 1; Anthony Cucchiaria and Sandra Roff, "The Pratt Experiment: The Early Years of the Library School," *LIHJ* 3 (Spring 1991):216; *Friends' Intelligencer and Journal,* 8 Nov. 1890; "The Evolution of the Pratt Institute Free Library," *Pratt Institute Monthly* 4 (June 1896):287.

3. *Catalogue, School of Library Training, Pratt Institute, 1896-1897,* (Brooklyn, 1896), 3.

4. "New York's Changing Scene," caption of photo of turn-of-the-century women strolling on Clinton Avenue between Willoughby and DeKalb Avenues, *New York News,* 16 Feb. 1964; Andrew S. Dolkart, "Architectural Introduction," *Clinton Hill Historic Designation Report* (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 1981): 14.

5. Julia Pettee to her parents, 9 October 1894 (Pratt Institute Archives, hereafter cited as PIA).

6. Lyman Abbott, *Reminiscences* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1915), 369-60.

7. Julia Pettee, "Pratt Institute Library School, 1894-1895," unpublished reminiscence, 5-6 (PIA)..

8. Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, *The Seventh Year Book of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1894-5* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1895), 75, 77, 86, 106, 107, 254.

9. *Brooklyn Citizen,* 3, 7, 9 October 1894; Pettee to her parents.

10. James Orton, "Vassar College," in James Orton, ed., *The Liberal Education of Women: The Demand and the Method* (New York: A .S. Barnes, 1873),.277.

11. "War of the Trolleys," *Harper's Magazine*, 26 January 1895, 79.

12. Emil G. Richter, "Monopolism and Militarism in the City of Churches: A review of the Brooklyn Street Railway Strike," *The Arena* 13 (January 1895): 98-117; "At 90, Joe Relives 1895 Strike," *News*, 27 December 1957.

13. Julia Pettee to her cousin, 31 January 1895 (incomplete letter, PIA).

14. Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform 1890-1935*, (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991), 5; Pettee, "Pratt Institute Library School.'

14. Dee Garrison, "The Tender Technicians: e Feminization of Public Librarianship, 1876-1905," *Journal of Social History* 6 (Winter 1972-3):135; Pettee, "Pratt Institute Library School,"1-2.

15. "Department of Libraries," 1 January 1896, 5, ms., PIA; *Pratt School Publication* 1890-1899, n.d., n.p., 6; "Evolution of Pratt Institute Free Library," 290.

16. "The Astral Apartments, Brooklyn, New York," *Brooklyn Eagle*, 5 Dec. 1885; Pettee, "Pratt Institute Library School," 9-10; Margaret Healy to Charles Pratt, 29 June 1889, and to the trustees of Pratt Institute, 27 July 1893 (PIA).

17. Pettee to her parents; Franklin W. Hooper, "The Brooklyn Institute of the Arts and Sciences," *Lend a Hand* 15 (1895),.193; see also "The Free Library as a Factor in the Social Movement," written for the Library of Congress meeting in Chicago, 13 June 1893, in *Pratt Institute Monthly* 2 (September 1893-June 1894):.10; "The Pratt Institute Free Library Training Classes" (De Vinnie Press, 1893), 5.

18 Pettee to her mother, 5 November 1894, PIA.

19. See David C. Hammack, "Urbanization Policy: The Creation of Greater New York," chap. 7, *Power and Society: Greater New York at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1982; fpr results of the 1894 referendum, see ibid., 206).

20. For Morton, see Robert McNair McElroy, *Levi Parsons Morton: Banker, Diplomat, and Statesman* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1930); for Hill, see DeAlva Stanwood Alexander, *Four Famous New Yorkers: The Political Careers of Cleveland, Platt, Hill and Roosevelt* (1923; reprint, Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1923), 226-28; for Tammany Hall, see Alfred Connable and Edward Silberfarb, *Tiger of Tammany Hall: Nine Men Who Ran New York* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

21 Frances A. Wood, "Vassar College Librarian's Report, May 10, 1898 to May 10, 1989," 3, 7, Vassar College Archives; "Vassar College 39th Annual Report of the Library, May 24, 1906," ibid.

SECONDARY SCHOOL ESSAY CONTEST

We are pleased to publish the following three wining essays in the "Long Island as America" contest we sponsor in conjunction with the SUNY at Stony Brook Center for Excellence and Innovation in Education, Dr. Eli Seifman, director.

WILLIAM LEVITT: BUSINESSMAN OR BIGOT?

By Whitney P. Bowe
Lawrence High School: faculty advisor Stephen J. Sullivan

World War II officially ended on 2 September 1945. Almost immediately, a postwar boom began in America. A grateful nation made unprecedented commitments to its millions of returning veterans—six million in 1945 and another four million in 1946. Notable among these was the GI Bill of Rights, a benefits package including government-guaranteed, low-interest mortgage loans, as well as assistance with college tuition. Studies projected that five million new housing units were needed at once, and twelve million more within a decade, particularly to house returning veterans with limited financial resources.[1]

The builder who most effectively responded to the challenge was William Jaird Levitt, president of Levitt & Sons. His company planned and built Levittown, Long Island, a community of 17,544 single-family homes, between 1947 and 1951. Two more Levittowns appeared in the years that followed, one in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in the 1950s, and one near Willingboro, New Jersey, in the 1960s. The Long Island Levittown was intended to provide homes primarily for veterans and other first-time owners. Levitt pioneered construction techniques that kept the price low (about $8,000) and offered veterans and their families preference in renting and purchasing the homes.[2]

By that measure, Levittown was a success. By 1950, it was home to 63,000 people, with most of its households headed by veterans with moderate incomes. Levitt was dogged almost from the beginning by critics who denounced the monotonous "cookie-cutter" aspect of his look-alike houses, the artificially "planned" nature of the community, and the social homogeneity of the population, most notably its "lily-white" racial character. John Liell, a Yale doctoral candidate

writing his dissertation on Levttown in 1952, together with other concerned observers, laid the blame for these deficiencies squarely on William Levitt, even going so far as to call him a racist.[3]

Major studies in addition to Liell's confirm that Levittown was virtually all-white from the beginning. Herbert Gans's 1967 report on Levittown, New Jersey, Gwendolyn Wright's 1983 history of housing in America, Kenneth Jackson's 1985 examination of suburban development, and Barbara Kelly's 1993 study of Levittown, Long Island, all point to a combination of reasons for the racial makeup of Levitt's planned communities, beginning with the prototype on Long Island. Prominent among these were prevailing social attitudes, reflected by government policies regulating postwar housing development. The central issue of this article is whether William Levitt actively embraced those attitudes and policies as an excuse for his own racist views, or passively followed "the rules" in order to succeed in his business. Was William Levitt any *more* racist in his thought or behavior than the typical postwar American?[4]

Liell presented the most forceful case for racism, while Jackson and Wright "defended" Levitt, Gans took a cautious middle ground, and Kelly took no position on this issue.[5]

The "prosecution": the contention that Levitt was a racist

William J. Levitt inserted restrictive covenants into the standard lease and rental agreements for Long Island Levittown. Bernie Bookbinder, in a *Newsday* article marking the community's twentieth anniversary, quoted from "the original Levitt contract: 'No dwelling shall be used or occupied by members of other than the Caucasian race, but the employment and maintenance of other than Caucasian domestic servants shall be permitted.'" William White, the secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), referred to these clauses in a letter to the editor of *Life* magazine, and the historian Gwendolyn Wright also noted these "protective covenants."[6]

John Liell stated flatly that Levitt bore primary responsibility for the clauses and the racial segregation at Levittown that they produced: "In regard to race, Levittown is an all-white community. While this is Mr. Levitt's doing, and although he has been adamant to the point of coercion in enforcing his policy, he is not entirely to blame." Liell added, almost as an aside, that the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the Veterans Administration (VA) "knew of the restrictive clause ('Caucasians Only' in the lease and deed) in the Levitt contract, but refused to do anything about it, thus implicating themselves in Levittown's 'quiet segregation....[Levitt] consciously manipulated, or enforced, in population recruitment'" his racial criteria.[7]

By all accounts, Levittown was almost universally "white" during the time that Levitt actively managed it. In his 1951-1952 research, Liell found only five black residents, of whom two moved out before he finished his dissertation. A 1957 *Newsday* article claimed that only forty-four of Levittown's 65,440 residents were black.[8]

Levitt's company was taken to court on the issue of segregation in his planned communities. The most serious challenge arose in New Jersey. Gans, who resided in that Levittown for the first two years of its existence, reported at length upon the litigation. He chronicled how Levitt fought a suit brought by two black applicants. Even after a state court ruled against him, Levitt appealed to the state supreme court, yielding only after a meeting with local ministers convinced him that desegregation was inevitable.[9]

Levitt's own public statements often were used against him. Gans observed that "Levitt declared publicly that he would not sell to Negroes in Levittown, New Jersey." Jackson quoted him, referring to the Long Island Levittown, as saying: "We can solve a housing problem, or we can try to solve a racial problem. But we cannot combine the two." Another scholar, Marvin Bressler, in an article about the New Jersey litigation, remarked: "In defending his policy of racial exclusion, Levitt had often had occasion to assert...that economic realities reluctantly compelled him to recognize that 'most whites prefer not to live in mixed communities'."[10]

The "defense": the contention that Levitt was not a racist

Even Liell acknowledged that many, if not most, Long Island residents in the early 1950s preferred segregated neighborhoods: "Most new housing projects are not advertised 'for Caucasians only'; it simply isn't necessary. Negroes do not apply. 'They know better.'" He noted a housing project in Amityville that was advertised as interracial: "Negroes applied in great numbers, while whites avoid the project in favor of other developments." Liell attributed the aversion of white people to integration primarily to their pervasive racism, compounded by their recent experience with integration in their previous New York City apartments. Gans, writing about New Jersey Levittowners in the late 1950s, articulated the prevailing social attitudes such experiences prompted:

> These were primarily working class people who had left the city because their neighborhood was becoming predominantly Negro. Unable to afford another move, they were fearful that the same mass invasion of lower class Negroes [as had happened in Philadelphia] would occur in Levittown, confronting them with a sudden and visible decline in property values and status. Having just achieved suburban home ownership, and being at the top of the working class socially and occupationally, they sensed that such an invasion could only pull down their prestige.[11]

Government policies of the time reflected popular attitudes, just as today's policies reflect very different beliefs. Wright provided evidence that Levitt was responding to dictates imposed by federal agencies, notably the FHA and the VA,

that were assisting the financing of his projects: "In FHA terms, 'neighborhood character' depends primarily on overt policies of ethnic and racial segregation.... The agency refused to underwrite houses in areas threatened by 'Negro invasion.'" Commenting on the postwar FHA *Underwriting Manual*, Wright added:

> In the suburbs, the FHA encouraged the use of restrictive covenants to ensure neighborhood homogeneity and to prevent any future problems of racial violence or declining property values. The 1947 manual openly stated: 'If a mixture of user groups is found to exist, it must be determined whether the mixture will render the neighborhood less desirable to present and prospective tenants. Protective covenants are essential to the sound development of proposed residential areas, since they regulate the use of the land and provide a basis for the development of harmonious, attractive neighborhoods'."

These rules were important to Levitt. Jackson observed that "[w]ith FHA and VA 'production advances,' Levitt boasted the largest line of credit ever offered a private home builder." Without the credit, Levitt & Sons could not have put up anywhere near 17,000 homes. For that reason, Jackson concluded, the Levitts were "no more culpable in this regard [racial segregation] than any other urban or suburban firm."[12]

Further bolstering the case that Levitt behaved in response to prevailing social attitudes and government edicts, Gans reported that Levitt testified "personally and enthusiastically" at a 1966 congressional hearing considering a bias-free occupancy provision in the pending Civil Rights Act of that year. According to Gans, Levitt "argu[ed] as he had in the past that no builder will desegregate his community unless all builders are required to do so." During his time as an active builder, Levitt's speeches and interviews betrayed no personal racism. Because he studiously avoided public comment on social issues, in keeping with his perception of the role of a business person, the record is thin with respect to his public statements on race.[13]

Nonetheless, his behavior demonstrated a tolerance and willingness to find creative ways around contentious issues. In New Jersey, when he "saw the writing on the wall" and concluded that social opinion had shifted in favor of integration, Levitt adopted what Gans called an "ingenious system." He offered black applicants first choice in any given subdivision, knowing they would prefer the more private lots on the periphery, which they did; however, he limited black families to one per neighborhood. White applicants were given a choice between similarly private lots (albeit near a black family) or more centrally located, less private sites (far removed from any black families). White families tended to select the more private locations, even though they were near a black family. In this way, Levittown, New Jersey, was quietly desegregated. On Long Island, from the beginning, Levitt permitted families to employ live-in domestic servants regardless of race or ethnicity.[14]

The demographics of Levittown, New York, reveal that it remained virtually

all white far longer than one might expect had William Levitt's personal attitudes in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s been, in fact, the principal cause for its segregated character. The *1980 Census of Population and Housing* showed Levittown with forty-five black residents out of a total population of 57,045 persons. As late as 1990, the Census reported only 137 black residents, or 0.3 percent of the 53,286 persons living there. More than forty years after William Levitt began building his 17,544 homes, Levittown remained overwhelmingly white. This strongly suggests the involvement of factors other than his allegedly racist attitude. One appears to be the unusual stability of the population, as illustrated in a series of *Newsday* articles spanning several decades: residents of Levittown tended to stay put longer than residents of many other parts of Long Island. To illustrate, Gross quoted a long-time resident, Jurgen Worthing, whom he described as wealthy enough to be able to move to Great Neck: "The people who stay here are the people who don't look for status. They don't need the fancy address." Ironically, the strong sense of community fostered by William Levitt has contributed to the maintenance of a legacy he might not be proud of were he alive today. Conversely, creation of such a viable, solid sense of belonging was, indeed, one of his specifically articulated goals when he began construction.[15]

Conclusion

The evidence reviewed above suggests that several large-scale social factors accounted for segregation in Levittown, New York. Perhaps most important were the attitudes of the population Levitt targeted as eligible to rent or buy: lower- and middle-income Caucasian families, especially those of veterans. Having just left apartments in the five boroughs of New York City, many of these new homeowners were sensitive to their fragile status as upwardly mobile suburbanites. As Gans tellingly illustrated in his description of a similar group that left Philadelphia for the New Jersey Levittown, this sensitivity made them feel vulnerable. A second powerful factor was the prevailing attitude with respect to race—that is, the assumption that racial separation was preferable, in many ways, to integration. Perhaps William Levitt put it best. Speaking in 1948 to a convention of New York City bankers, he said: "I am a builder who long ago found out that headaches didn't pay. And so I don't have them. In exchange, however, I do have three partners: my father, my brother, and you." He then added: "You are the prime factor in our partnership. Without you we cease to exist." Levitt was first and foremost a businessman. He knew he needed the backing of the big federal agencies that provided the financing for his projects, and of the bankers who used FHA and VA guarantees to secure their loans to Levitt & Sons. If those agencies imposed restrictive covenants as a condition for underwriting, Levitt the businessman would accept those terms.[16]

When conditions changed, as they did in New Jersey in the late 1950s, Levitt changed his own rules: quickly, but quietly, he desgregated his planned communities. Wright tellingly noted that the FHA was even slower to change with the

times: "Until 1968, FHA officials still accepted unwritten agreements and existing 'traditions' of segregation."[17]

For these reasons, I must conclude that William Levitt was no more a racist than were most other white Americans of his era. He was first and foremost a businessman, doing and saying what he believed would best serve his company. That at times he got caught in the crosscurrents of racial politics, as these played themselves out in the 1950s and 1960s, says more about the Zeitgeist of the period than it does about William Levitt.

NOTES

1. Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1983), 242.

2. Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1985): 236; John Liell, "Levittown: A Study in Community Planning and Development" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1952), 2.

3. Herbert Gans, *The Levittowners: Ways of Life and Politics in a New Suburban Community* (New York: Random House/Pantheon Books, 1967), 169, 174, 383; see also Liell, 202-3.

4. Gans; Jackson; Barbara Kelly, *Expanding the American Dream: Building and Rebuilding Levittown* (Albany, N.Y.: SUNY Press, 1983); Wright.

5. Liell, 143, 201; Jackson, 236-41; Wright, 247; Gans, 169-74, 373.

6. Bernie Bookbinder, "Levittown at 20: It's Still Unique," *Newsday*, 21 Aug. 1967, paginated 1-2 in Levitt press clipping collection, Hofstra University West Campus Library (hereafter cited as Levitt collection); Walter White, "Letter to the Editor," *Life*, 13 Sept. 1948, n.p., Levitt collection; Wright, 247.

7. Liell, 143, 201.

8. Kenneth Gross, "What's a Levittown? It's the People," *Newsday*, 9 July 1971, 8A.

9. Gans, 372-75.

10. Ibid., 372; Jackson, 240; Marvin Bressler, "The Myers Case: An Instance of Successful Racial Invasion," *Social Problems* 8 (1960): 126-42, quoted in Gans, 372.

11. Liell, 201-2, 237; Gans, 373.

12. Wright, 247; Eric Larrabee, "The Six Thousand Houses That Levitt Built," *Harper's*, Sept., 1948, 80-82; Jackson, 236-41.

13. Gans, 406 n. 27; William Levitt, "Builder and Banker—A Partnership in Democracy," *United States Investor*, 20 Nov. 1948, 40, 43-44, 46; Tex McCrary and Jinx Falkenburg, "New York Close-Up," an interview with William Levitt, *New York Herald Tribune*, 1949, n.d., n.p., Levitt collection.

14. Gans, 377-78; Liell, 202-3; Bookbinder, 2; Wright, 247.

15. Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population and Housing. Census Tracts: Nassau-*

Suffolk, N.Y. (Washington, D.C., 1983), 77; Courtenay M. Slater and George E. Hall, eds., *Places, Towns and Townships* (Lanham, Md.: Berman Press, 1993), 170; Bookbinder, 2; Kenneth Gross, "The Levittown Decade: Part Three," *Newsday*, 2 Sept. 1957, 8A-9A, 1-4, 8, Levitt collection.

16. Gans, 373; Levitt, 40.

17. Wright, 248.

The ALGONQUIANS of LONG ISLAND as an AGRARIAN SOCIETY

By Danielle Lindemann
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A recurring theme throughout history has been the emergence of cultures built around specific geographic conditions, but the Algonquian-speaking Delaware Indians who occupied Long Island from the period beginning about 10,500 B.C. were an exception to that rule. Although they inhabited an island flanked by the sea and rich in flora and fauna for potential sustenance, the Long Island Indians began to maintain a nonessentially horticultural existence after A.D. 1000, a period in their history known as the Agricultural, or Late Woodland, stage. By cultivating corn, beans, and tobacco, fastening crude hoes, and using clearing methods to establish limited planting fields, the Algonquians not only cast off the vestiges of a hand-to-mouth existence, but also mirrored the increasing trend toward farming and gardening experienced by natives throughout North America.

Although the area in which farming was practiced constituted less than half of the North American continent, it is important to note that the native population was much heavier in those areas. Much more cogent a testimony to Native American agrarianism is the fact that horticultural products furnished roughly 75 percent of all food consumed by North American aborigines. After A.D. 1000, the Indians of Long Island added to this statistic by cultivating limited amounts of staple crops such as corn, beans, and squash.[1]

Before the Woodland Stage, humans had occupied the Island in a succession of three disparate stages, each characterizing a style or pattern of Indian life: the Paleo-Indian, or big-game-hunting stage (c. 10,500-7,000 B.C.), the Archaic, or hunting and gathering stage (c. 4,600 B.C.-1000 B.C.), and the Transitional stage (c. 1000 B.C.).[2]

By this time the Delawares, who called themselves Lenni Lenape (the People), together with the previous inhabitants of Long Island, had merged to form the Algonquian- speaking culture. Later, these Indians began to engage in agriculture, quitting the nomadic life to live in settlements. Regarding the relatively long time it took the Algonquians to emerge as planters, the historian John A. Strong observes:

> There was undoubtedly a long period of experimentation with

> cultigens on a relatively small scale as they were gradually introduced into the diet group...Native Americans, like any other ethnic group, were probably reluctant to experiment with new foods and methods of production"[3]

The natives' resistance to cultivation, combined with the fact that horticulture was nonessential on an island rich in wild-plant life, led to the form of small-scale, personal cultivation practiced by the Long Island Indians. Kathryne Natale, curator of the Garvies Point Museum, in Glen Cove, which maintains a permanent exhibit concerning Long Island's Indian culture, likens this growing method to a form of advanced "gardening," an opinion shared by most other historians of the period. Nonetheless, gardening was a form of cultivation, and the six thousand Indians who dwelt in the Woodland period from end to end of Long Island were successful, industrious farmers in their own small-scale way. As a microcosmic example of America as a whole, Long Island's Native Americans produced the same staple cultigens harvested by tribes across the Americas—maize ("Indian corn"), beans, and tobacco.[4]

The spring planting time was a vital interval in the year for these people. The last weeks of the English April and all of May were called *Suquanni kesos* by the Manhassett Indians, *Nskekehigai kesos* by the Abenaki, and *Oneratack* by the Munsee speakers on western Long Island. These Algonquian words mean "the planting month," or "when the corn is set," in all three languages.[5]

As the name indicates, corn, or maize, was the Indians' chief produce and food source, both on Long Island and nationwide. As soon as spring came, they planted the corn, which usually ripened in about two months, although the English called it the "six-weeks corn." The type of maize cultivated on Long Island is said to have been developed in slow stages by the exercise of infinite care and patience (hence Strong's theory on the long period of experimentation with such cultigens), from "*Zea Mays*," a plant of weed-like growth which is native to tropical America. By selection and cultivation, the Indians of North America developed several varieties of corn.[6]

Such maize was planted in small hills, spaced evenly apart by the women of the society. A Dutch observer, Isaak de Rasieres, described the planting process on western Long Island: "[The Indians] make heaps like molehills, each about two and a half feet from the others, which they sow or plant in April with maize, in each heap five or six grains."[7]

In 1654, another traveler described with awe the meticulous attention to detail paid by the native maize planters:

> Another work is their planting of corn, wherein they exceed our English husbandmen keeping it so clear with their clamshell hoes as if it were a garden rather than a cornfield, not suffering a choking weed to advance its audacious head above the infant corn or an undermining worm to spoil its sprouts.

Again, the subject of the Algonquians as fastidious gardeners rather than bona fide farmers arose, but, in this case, the planters' cautious growing methods were justified. Corn provided the chief source of horticultural food for these people, as it did for many tribes throughout the Americas. Grown from the upper Mississippi River in North Dakota and the lower St. Lawrence River region (47 degrees north latitude), to Chiloe Island in Chile (43 degrees south latitude), corn's importance in the history of the West cannot be overemphasized. Later, it also became a crucial food source for white pioneers across the continent.[8]

Beans, too, were vital to the Algonquian diet, and had a symbiotic relationship with corn. When the corn shoots were about five or six inches high, in mid-May, three or four bean seeds were planted in each hill around the base of the corn stalks. The beans, called *mais-cusseet* in Unkechaug, *maugueseets* in Montaukett, and *manusqussedash* in Narragansett (each name attesting to the bean's dependence upon maize), came in a variety of colors and served as excellent nutritional companions to corn. Corn stalks provided support for the bean vines, as the sinuous vine-plant beans climbed up the large stalks, and the bean roots supported colonies of nitrogen-fixing bacteria. (Corn must consume a considerable amount of nitrogen in order to produce a healthy harvest). Squash, melon, and pumpkin were also planted between the corn hills, providing a ground cover with their large leaves which discouraged the growth of weeds.[9]

Although the Long Island historian Jacqueline Overton asserts that the natives "planted dead fish as fertilizer in every hill of corn and used cracked up clam shells when more lime was needed in the soil," Strong questions whether this practice occurred on the Island. He concedes that the process was practiced by some Native American tribes, citing John Winthrop Jr., when he was Connecticut's agent in London, to establish his case:"Indians used to put...fishes under or adjacent to each corn hill, whereby they have many times a double to what the ground would otherwise produced." However, Strong contends that people too often assume that this process was common in all Native American communities. Although availability of fish would not have been a problem on an island replete with natural ponds and streams, the existence of wild dogs and raccoons on Long Island would have made guarding the corn plots a necessity had fish been buried beneath them. Thus, it is difficult to determine whether these early Long Islanders engaged in this corn-fertilizing practice, or if such a process were common in coastal areas.[10] In addition to corn and beans, the third staple crop on Long Island was tobacco, grown not as a nutriment, of course, but rather for ceremonial smoking. Pottery pipes of the natives' own making, both straight tubular and elbow-shaped, found on digs throughout the Island, attest to the use of this sacred crop throughout the Late Woodland Stage. A colonial traveler, John Josselyn, described the lengthy procedure by which the Algonquians cultivated tobacco:

Unlike corn, beans, and other crops, tobacco was grown in its own separate plot, and cultivated by the men, not the women, of the tribe. Still, except for tobacco cultivation, the traditional role of woman in Woodland-Stage, Algonquian-speaking society was that of planter, while the man was the hunter, a division of labor which reflected most agricultural Indian societies at that time. Overton writes of the Algonquians, "In common with all other Indians, they let

their women do the hard work: tilling the ground, planting the corn." Hunting, however, was "hard work" as well, and other historians, such as William E. Golder, are quick to refute the premise that the gardener squaws were subservient in position to the warrior men: "True, the women were the farmers," concludes Golder, not because they had to be but because they chose to be throughout the Americas, as the Indian woman was seen as mother and gardener and therefore the central and most important member of the family. Rather than being a drudge, she had an elevated position."[12]

Whatever the status of the woman in Indian society, she undoubtedly excelled at her occupation, planting and tilling the plots with an efficiency admired by early white settlers. Rhode Island's founder, Roger Williams, for instance, must have considered Indian tilling methods effective, for he recorded after long experience, "The Indian Narragansett women to this day, notwithstanding our hoes, do use their natural hoes of shells and wood."[13]

These natural hoes were the standard implements for soil preparation, utilized by native agricultural societies continent-wide. In both coastal and noncoastal areas, a tilling hoe would often consist of a wide pebble, split, or piece of rock flattened on one side—the blade was usually wide enough to make a good furrow. The archeologist William Ritchie finds that such surviving implements of Native American hoe tillage include stone hoes of two varieties: the much rarer elongate, true hoe-shape, and the disciform, with chipped or ground notches. The notches provided enough rough grooves on the flat slab of stone for a thong to bind it to a handle, made of a sharply bent stick.[14]

Ritchie also notes the finding of hoes, on several sites, made from the palmate sections (webbed tips) of elk antlers, which may have been either agricultural or pit-digging tools. There have also been instances on Long Island, and in other areas of present-day New York State, of the use of animal shoulder blades for this purpose; in New England and other coastal areas, clamshells were bound to wooden handles and used for weeding and cultivating. Lacking these, quahaug (a round variety of clam) shells would do.[15]

Furthermore, the Algonquian speakers, in common with all farming tribes in the United States, used a straight, pointed stick without a blade for some part of the cultivation routine. This was shaped like the digging stick used to obtain wild roots and bulbs, and often the same implement was used for both purposes.[16]

The surfaces on which these tilling instruments were used were personal "planting grounds," individual for each permanent settlement, carefully selected and skillfully cleared for agricultural use. These plots were more like small gardens, according to reports from European observers, of twenty to two hundred square feet, scattered around adjacent to the settlements.[17] The existence of large, fortified villages may reflect the competition among Native Americans for tillable land.

The land was prepared by burning off the desired area in late March or early April, a custom followed by the Shinnecock and Montaukett into the twentieth century. Any tree blocking the sunlight was girdled with an axe (a band was made around the trunk by removing a strip of bark). The excess wood so acquired soon

became a standing supply of firewood for the next winter. Such efficacious clearing methods were not practiced exclusively by Long Island Indians; the legendary John Smith described a similar technique used by the Powhatan in Virginia: "To prepare the ground, they bruise the bark of the tree near the root, then do they scorch the roots with fire." The ever-economizing planters then used ashes from the burned wood as fertilizer for the garden.[18]

By the time the entire process of clearing, planting, and harvesting was finished, it was late September or early October. At this time, shallow pits were dug near each wigwam and lined with grass mats, in which were stored enough nuts, dried corn, beans, and other food to last through the winter.

The Native American peoples believed in the conservation and recycling of natural resources, and the Algonquian speakers were no exception; when their food pits were emptied they used them as receptacles for clam shells, bones, broken cooking ware, and other trash. During early colonial times, however, because cattle often stumbled into these "Indian barns" and broke their legs, the settlers passed a law that all such holes be covered. To this day, food pits are being unearthed on Long Island, sure proof that Indians must have dwelled nearby.[19]

The natives who constructed such "barns," cleared precolonial gardens, and created implements to till them, influenced countless generations of American settlers, as did Indians continent-wide. Reginald Bolton, while exploring the influence of Indian horticultural methods upon European settlers, points out that, "When white settlers arrived [in present New York City], they must have been to a very great extent dependent upon the natives for food." Yet, the Algonquian-speakers, and, indeed, all agricultural tribes, influenced the diets of more than the first wave of settlers to reach our country's shores. In the course of his research on the geographical origins of various cultigens, the Russian botanist Nikolai Ivanovich Vavilov listed the 640 most important plants cultivated by man to date. Roughly speaking, five hundred of them belonged to the Indians.[20]

Many of the tribes which established the roots of agriculture in the Americas did so despite substantial geographic roadblocks. The planters and herdsmen (Hopis and Zunis) of the Southwest, for instance, tilled the fields for decade after decade, growing corn, squash, tobacco, and beans, notwithstanding the constant problem of finding adequate water for crops in these arid regions. Long Island, with its natural water supply, posed no such a complication for planters; however, its rich natural resources made cultivation unnecessary, or even malapropos. Despite this, the Indians of Long Island persevered as gardeners throughout the Late Woodland Stage, reflecting a continent-wide trend towards agriculture, and proving that natural environment, alone, does not reflect the natural way of life of a people.

NOTES

1. Harold E. Driver, *Indians of North America* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1969), 66.

2. Nassau County Museum of Natural History, Educational Leaflet 17, *The Indian Archeology of Long Island* (New York: Nassau County Museum, 1997), 1.

3. James A. Maxwell, ed., *Long Island's Fascinating Indian Heritage* (New York: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1955), 114; John A. Strong, *The Algonquian Peoples of Long Island From Earliest Times to 1700* (Interlaken, N.Y: Empire State Books, 1997), 91-92.

4. Author's interview with Kathryne Natale, 22 April 1997; for the Algonquians as gardeners see also Jacqueline Overton, *Indian Life on Long Island* (Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1963); William A. Ritchie, *The Archeology of New York State* (Garden City: Natural History Press, 1965); Edith Hay Wyckoff, *The Fabled Past: Tales of Long Island* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1978), 5.

5. Strong, 95.

6. Samuel Cole Williams, *History of the American Indians* (New York: Promontory Press, 1930), 436; Reginald P. Bolton, *Indian Life of Long Ago in the City of New York* (Port Washington: Ira J. Friedman, 1934), 103.

7. Strong, 97, quoting Isaak de Rasieres.

8. Overton, 50, quoting a traveler to Long Island in 1654; Driver, 66; Williams, 437.

9. Strong, 98, quoting Isaak de Rasieres, David De Vries, and John Winthrop Jr.

10. Overton, 47; Strong, quoting John Winthrop Jr., 97; Strong, 98.

11. Nassau County Museum, leaflet 17, 6; Strong, 100, quoting John Josselyn.

12. Overton, 5; William E. Golder, *Long Island's First Inhabitants: A 9000 Year History of the Indian Occupation of Long Island* (New York: Long Island Chapter of the New York State Archeological Association, 1988), 26.

13. Howard S. Russell, *Indian New England Before the Mayflower* (Hanover, N. H.: University Press of New England, 1980.), 136, quoting Roger Williams.

14. Ritchie, 278.

15. Ibid, 279; Russell, 136.

16. Driver, 77.

17. Strong, 96.

18. Ibid, 96-7, quoting John Smith; Patricia R. Quiri, *The Algonquians* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1992), 27.

19. Overton, 50-51.

20. Bolton, 104; Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing, 1972), 170.

A SAILBOAT FOR THE BAY: THE NARRASKETUCK AND ITS CLASS (1934 - ?)

By Kempton B. Van Hoff
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Because Long Island is an island, many aspects of its history relate to the water. This article addresses one of the most interesting but little noticed of these, the Narrasketuck class of sailboats.

The Narrasketuck, often referred to as 'Tuck, is specifically designed and built for racing on Great South Bay. The first 'Tuck, designed and built by Wilbur F. Ketcham in 1934, was commissioned by the Narrasketuck Yacht Club of Amityville. Originally a plank boat, the Narrasketuck is sloop rigged, dividing its 227 square feet of sail area between an immense mainsail and a smaller jib. Narrasketucks are 20'4" in overall length and 6'6" wide; their shallow draft of only three feet with the centerboard down is one of the unique features that make them well-suited to Great South Bay. Another such feature, the hull of the 'Tuck, has a slight *V* in order to handle choppy waters.[1]

Another unique characteristic is the 'Tuck's planing capability. Wilbur Ketcham, who is said to have used the large spoon bow on models when he was a child, incorporated this feature in his original design to give the bow plenty of lift in stiff thirty-to-thirty-five-knot breezes. The flat bottom is also a great aid when coaxing a 'Tuck to planing speed.[2]

Although the design of the actual craft is quite simple, the complexity of the rigging is far beyond that of any small boat of its era. Attachments to the mast, in addition to standard sailing equipment (halyards—main and jib), include spreaders [2.10], an adjustable forestay [2.03(headstay)], a jibstay [2.06], and two aftstays [2.05]. The rigging on the boom [3.00] includes the mainsheet blocks [3.08/3.07], boom vang blocks [3.02/3.03], outhaul [3.05], slide [3.10], traveler blocks [3.07/3.08] and Cunningham. The remainder of the rigging is on or below the deck: on the deck are the two backstay tracks [1.10], vang track [1.06], traveler track [1.20], main cleat [1.16], and jib cleats [1.11], while the rigging below the deck consists of two cranks [1.09] under the foremost section of the cockpit coaming. These cranks are turned to loosen or tighten the adjustable jibstay [1.03] and forestay [1.02]. Any adjustment to a Narrasketuck's rigging

greatly affects its sail trim.[3]

In addition to the rigging, there are many other parts of a 'Tuck, two of which are the tiller [1.18] and rudder. The tiller extends from its base just aft of the rear cockpit, coaming roughly one and one-half feet into the cockpit. The rudder is directly aft of the boat's skeg, which originates at the rear end of the amidship centerboard (inside the centerboard trunk) and is the answer to a fixed keel. The whisker pole, another part used in sailing 'Tucks, is not directly fixed to the boat but serves an important purpose. It is used to "wing the jib," enabling the utilization of all available sail area when sailing downwind.

After all components are installed, a Narrasketuck is sailed by a skipper and one or two crew members, a team that must work with sheer precision to keep the boat in top racing trim. The skipper is responsible for steering, trimming the main sail, and directing the crew while sailing. The crew sees to centerboard placement, jib trim, stay adjustment, vang adjustment, whisker pole, Cunningham adjustment, and any other task assigned by the skipper.[4]

By 1937, though the 'Tucks seemed difficult to sail, boatyards all over Long Island were building new ones to supply the rising demand. This young class of hybrid sloops received an enthusiastic reception, with local regattas displaying full starting lines for every Narrasketuck race. One of the boats on the line was always proud builder and designer Wilbur Ketcham's lucky number Seven. Sources say that Ketcham, a true "Bay man," could stray completely from the course, only to find an unknown crosscurrent or misplaced breeze and re-enter the race with a significant lead. Tales such as this attracted more and more interested sailors to the class.[5]

Though the 1940s brought World War II, the Narrasketuck grew as a sheltered sapling within the waters of Great South Bay. These were the years when such builders as Asa Smith and David Southard emerged. Smith created a small fleet of 'Tucks in his native Patchogue, while Southard placed his small boatyard, Southard's Corner, in the village of Babylon. As a fancier of 'Tucks from an early age, Dave Southard acquired a lasting reputation as an expert on sailing, boat building, and bay lore: now eighty-six years of age, he still runs Southard's Corner.[6]

It became apparent in 1945 that the rapidly growing Narrasketuck class required its own governing body. The formative meeting of the Narrasketuck One Design Association (NODA), held in Oakdale on 28 April 1945, set up a committee to frame rules, regulations, specifications, and by-laws to stand as the class's chief governing documents, subject to future amendment. The meeting also elected Wilbur Ketcham as the association's commodore.[7]

Since its origin, NODA has held general meetings twice a year and served as the authority for changes to the class and boat. Proposed changes, taken far from lightly, are thoroughly reviewed to ensure that they will benefit the entire class, while maintaining the integrity of the first Tuck built. Accordingly, few changes have been imposed by NODA. One of these established the minimum weight of a boat as eight hundred pounds, thus protecting the heavier plank boats built years before from what NODA perceived as the unfair challenge of much lighter boats

produced by modern building methods.

In the 1950s, after the end of World War II and the formation of NODA, new builders of 'Tucks emerged, including Charles Axtmann of Bellport, and John Titterington and Mel Hoagland of Babylon. A new idea in the 'Tuck fleet was the owner-built craft. One of these, *Tomahawk* (#70), was built and sailed successfully, until 1982, by Frank St. John of Babylon.[8]

Few changes were made throughout the 1960s, as the same builders continued to turn out their beautiful bay boats and most of the same sailors raced them. However, revolution broke out in 1969. It did not involve long hair or peace signs, but the Narrasketuck and Arnold Johnson, an aeronautical engineer. Johnson helped the builders at F & S Marine, of Bay Shore, to construct the first all-plywood 'Tuck. After NODA approved the plans, as well as the proposal for aluminum spars, F & S Marine began turning out plywood hulls as fast as it could.[9]

The revolutionaries quickly found ways to make the new version even better. In 1974, David Faber and Glenn Schmidt (of F & S Marine) were elated to hear that necessary amendments permitted construction of fiberglass 'Tucks. They set to work immediately, conducting extensive seaworthiness and performance tests on the first fiberglass hull. By August 1975, a second boat was under construction. The new fiberglass boats were in high demand throughout the seventies and eighties. However, F & S Marine became the sole manufacturer of the boats and interest declined toward the end of the 1980s.[10]

If the late 1980s were bad for sailing on Great South Bay, the early 1990s were terrible. Regattas suffered the lowest attendance rates in years, and the outlook for many 'Tuck sailors seemed bleak. As the 1990s pushed on, new interest was expressed by a few young sailors who began attending regattas with their sailing classes. Before long, these recruits were presented with chances to crew on the beautiful boats that flew by them in races. By 1995, it was common to see several teenagers in a race. In summer 1996, the mold was broken. James Ranker, of Amityville, a new skipper sixteen years of age, sailed to the line at the Narrasketuck Yacht Club's Invitational Regatta in the fully restored plywood hull number 173.[11]

The 'Tuck is part of a rich tradition. Sailors in the class consistently work together, not only to help others but also to improve their own sailing experiences. They also are extremely supportive of newcomers to their great class, and love to promote the 'Tuck in every possible way. As long as there is a desire to sail and a little new blood, the Narrasketuck and its class will live on as valuable contributors to the sailing tradition of Great South Bay.[12]

NOTES

1. David Faber and Glenn Schmidt, *Narrasketuck* (Bay Shore: F & S Marine, 1975.

2. Author's interview with David Southard, owner of Southard's Corner Boatyard, Babylon, 15 April 1997.

3. Information supplied by NODA, see figures 1 and 2 for explanation of numbers; Faber and Schmidt, 13-17.

4. Author's interview with James Ranker, a young Narrasketuck owner, Amityville, 7 April 1997.

5. Author's interview with Frank St. John, a former owner and builder of Narrasketucks, 10 October 1996; author's interview with Louis Walz, former 'Tuck sailor, May 1997.

6. Southard interview; class rosters are included in *Narrasketuck One Design Association, Constitution and By-Laws* (hereafter cited as *NODA By-Laws).*

7. First *NODA By-Laws*, 1945; Faber and Schmidt, 7.

8. *NODA By-Laws*, 1950; St. John interview.

9. Faber and Schmidt, 4.

10. *NODA By-Laws*, 1974; St. John interview.

11. *NODA By-Laws*, 1991; Ranker interview.

12. Author's interview with Donald DeStefano, 20 April 1997.

Secondary School Essay Contest, continued

The following essays have been selected for publication in Spring 1998:

Andrea Benvin (Lawrence High School), "One Man's Garbage Is Another Man's Gold: Assessing the Archaeological Value of Household Glass at the Suydam House."

Kimberly Horoski (Patchogue-Medford High School), "Separation of Church and State: How It Affects Schools on Long Island."

Kimberly Mockler (Paul D. Schreiber High School, Port Washington), "*Blocker v. Manhasset Board of Education:* The Struggle against School Segregation in 1964."

Honorable Mention, 1997

Nicole Catsam (Amityville Memorial High School, "The History of Amityville Memorial High School."

Amy Rivera (Amityville Memorial High School), "Controversy on Long Island: The Shoreham Nuclear Power Plant."

Aaron Stahl (Lawrence High School), "When Lydia E. Hall Closed: Evaluating the Validity of the Spatial Interaction Model for Predicting the Effect of Hospital Use Patterns in a Suburban Setting."

Ankur Tanna (Seventh Grade, Jericho Middle School), "The Long Island Economy, Past and Present."

Although we consider only papers by individual authors, we commend the following studies of presidential elections from 1952 on, submitted by teams of social studies students of Charles F. Howlett, Amityville Memorial High School.

1952: Rayanne Scott, Debra-Lin Turner, and Simone Wilson;

1956: Lisa Ameer; Jennifer Davis; Rania El-Khawam, and Anna Marie Abt;

1960: Anjali Duni, Danny Hardwick, Christina Laquidara, and Veronica Rojas;

1964: Mike Bayer and Laura Niemi;

1968: David Crews, Rochelle Jackson, Tafawa Lee, and Danita McRae;

1976: Russell Altman, Kamona Ayres, Meghan McMullin, and Laura

Mumbi-Artis;

1980: Megan Ashe, Chanelle Cox, Misty Kirk, and Carolyn Scarangella;

1988: Joy Adams, Nicole Bishop, Jovanna Martin, and Chrystal Stewart;

1992: Smyrna Bradshaw, Jerome Bolden, and Gretchen Stamp;

1996: Jubar Crosswell, Jarded Goldstein, Kerel Mercer, and Gerald Petica.

Reviews

Robert B. MacKay, Anthony Baker and Carol A. Traynor, eds. *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects, 1860-1940.* Forward by Brendan Gill. New York: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities in association with W. W. Norton, 1997. Illustrations, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. Pp. 563. $85.00.

The Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities (hereafter referred to as SPLIA) is recognized as a vital force in the research, interpretation, and preservation of Long Island architecture. During the mid-1970s, SPLIA began bringing to the public's attention the demolition of and invasive alterations to Long Island's country houses. This work resulted in the 1978 publication of case studies articulating how such structures could successfully be adapted to meet modern needs. Of equal importance, this project pointed to the uncharted scope of the country-house phenomenon and its impact on Long Island. SPLIA's research into these topics has culminated in the recent publication of *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects, 1860-1940.*

SPLIA could have easily shaped this book into a Long Island version of "lifestyles of the rich and famous." All of the enticing components exist—wealthy clients, fashionable architects, and residences of massive size and lavish decoration. However, Brendan Gill's foreword establishes the book's comprehensive approach to the subject of Long Island's country-house architecture and the contexts in which these structures arose and flourished. Grounded in an astute command of architectural and social history, Gill infuses his discussion with pointed wit and personal anecdotes which effectively humanize the subject and bridge the past and present.

"Because," explains Gill, "the rich must build in order to be seen as rich" (12), grand town houses commissioned by the likes of Vanderbilts, Astors, Rockefellers, and Whitneys lined the fashionable avenues of New York City. These structures publicly and unmistakably spoke of the wealth, power, and social competitiveness of their inhabitants. However, a town house alone did not suffice, and the rich kept building: "a truly ambitious member of society was expected to have a country place on Long Island, to say nothing of a seaside cottage in Newport, a camp in the Adirondacks, a house for the few weeks of racing at Saratoga, and a winter hideaway in the South"(11). Yet, of all these fashionable locations, it is Long Island, according to Gill, "that possesses by far the greatest and most interesting assortment [of country houses] designed for the very rich, the rich, and the so-called 'well-fixed'" (11). The hundreds of examples contained in *Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects* illustrate Gill's point about the variety of estate-related architecture found on Long Island. Among the most formidable was the financier Otto H. Kahn's Neo French Renaissance residence, "Oheka," designed by the firm of Delano & Aldrich, and comprised of approxi-

mately sixty-two thousand square feet containing seventy-five rooms and twenty-five baths. Of more modest proportions is McKim, Mead & White's Shingle Style Shinnecock "cottage" built for the painter William Merritt Chase. Both of these structures well represent the country-house era on Long Island, yet also demonstrate the variables of motivations and conditions that shaped this phenomenon.

The introduction, written by Robert B. MacKay, explores the rise of Long Island's estate phenomenon, its impact on Long Island's way of life and economy, and the components that contributed to the estate-planning process, as well as providing a summary of information appearing in the appendix. "Why Long Island?" (21) is MacKay's central question. The close proximity to New York City was, indeed, an advantage, but this observation easily can be applied to various locations in the region. As MacKay demonstrates, other contributing factors were of greater significance: the ease and variety of means by which to commute between the city and the country residence; the availability of large tracts of land affording picturesque views; seemingly unlimited recreational opportunities; and access to professional services (from the city) and labor pools (mostly local) for construction and operation of the estates. The common interests and entertainments of the owners of Long Island country houses prompted, in turn, commissions for churches, golf clubs, and hotels. As MacKay explains, the country-house era changed Long Island's traditional economic order. Land held for generations by Long Island families was sold by the thousands of acres to the urban affluent, and agrarian-based livelihoods were replaced by estate-related work. An extreme example of displacement is cited in reference to the hamlet of Lattingtown, which W. D. Guthrie and John E. Aldred destroyed in order to accommodate their estates.

If prosperity was the catalyst for the era of the country house, its decline also ushered in momentous change. The adverse economic conditions following World War II curtailed country-house construction. As time progressed, many estates were vacated or destroyed, and the land subdivided, thus contributing to the blossoming of Long Island's mid-twentieth-century suburbanization.

The majority of the book is an encyclopedic documentation of Long Island's country houses and other estate structures, clubs, and community centers, and of the work of landscape architects. (The breadth of expertise applied to this undertaking is evident in the listing of fifty-two contributors.) The entries are arranged alphabetically by architect or firm, followed by concise biographies and the Long Island commissions. Helpfully, extant structures are so noted. Entries are abundantly illustrated with photographs of exteriors, and often of floor plans, interior views, and landscape designs. The listing of architects responsible for Long Island's country houses reads like a "Who's Who" of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century talent. The leading architectural firms are well represented: Albro & Lindeberg; Carrère & Hastings; Delano & Aldrich; Robert W. Gibson; Hunt & Hunt; Christopher Grant La Farge; McKim, Mead & White; Addison Mizner; Peabody, Wilson & Brown; John Russell Pope; Renwick, Aspinwall & Owen; and Warren & Wetmore. Included among the landscape

designers are Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux, as well as the prominent female practitioners in the field, among them Marian C. Coffin and Beatrix Farrand. It is to SPLIA's credit that the scope of research was not limited only to the major firms working for the wealthiest clients. Two native Long Island architects are cases in point. The entries about Isaac Henry Green's commissions in the Sayville area and J. Custis Lawrence's work in East Hampton are significant additions to the Long Island historical record.

As demonstrated by the magical "Beacon Towers," designed by Hunt & Hunt (1912-18) for Alva Smith Vanderbilt Belmont, many of Long Island's outstanding examples of country-house architecture have been destroyed and can be appreciated only through photographs and other primary materials. Others have survived: Theodore Roosevelt's "Sagamore Hill" in Oyster Bay (1884-86), and John S. Phipps "Westbury House" (now known as Old Westbury Gardens) are recognized as national treasures. In light of this, the book begs the question: given the sheer number of extant structures documented in this book (coupled with MacKay's belief that additional examples are yet to be identified) what criteria will identify those structures deserving of the resources necessary to assure preservation? SPLIA's pioneering work will, no doubt, define the historical and architectural issues in this discussion, but it will be the cooperation between preservationists, owners of these structures, communities, government, and private enterprise that will determine the outcome.

The book's appendices are comprised of a summary List of Architects and Commissions, a Key to Bibliographic Abbreviations, an Estate Owner Index interspersed with illustrations, and a Key to Architectural Styles which lists forty-six; however, a brief description of the elements that define each style would be helpful (e.g., what is "Modified Neo Jacobean"?).

Long Island Country Houses and Their Architects, 1860-1940 is a major contribution to our understanding of Long Island and American architecture and history. This book should stand as the most comprehensive treatment of the subject for many years to come.

DEBORAH J. JOHNSON
President and CEO, The Museums at Stony Brook

Lynne Matarrese. *The History of Levittown, New York; 50th Anniversary Edition.* Levittown, N.Y.: Levittown Historical Society, 1997. Illustrations, appendix. Pp. 61. $8.50 (paper). Available from the Historical Society, Border's Books, and the gift shops of the Friends for Long Island Heritage.

Lynne Matarrese, one of the founding members of the Levittown Historical Society, has drawn on both documentary evidence and local lore to retell the Levittown story in narrative form. Long Island's most celebrated suburb has been written about so often that it may seem surprising for yet another book on the subject to appear in print. Yet for many reasons, this is a much-needed book. Unlike earlier analyses of Levittown in which the writer could assume that the "who, what, where, and when" of the story was common knowledge, that is no

longer the case. The generation which followed the baby boom is unlikely to know, much less remember, the heyday of the GI Bill.

Replete with photographs and historic maps, Matarrese's account begins with the pre-Levittown history of Island Trees and Jerusalem. She includes a variety of information from the story of the old Vanderbilt Cup auto races to the arrival of the Golden Nematode, the pest whose voracious appetite for potatoes induced at least some of the farmers to turn their acreage over to William Levitt.

After reviewing the early history, Matarrese provides a more detailed account of the construction and development of Levittown, and of the firm which built it. She also offers vignettes from Levittown's early days which reveal the growth of the community spirit for which the hamlet is noted.

Although primarily a local history, written for a popular audience, the book also offers a valuable resource for scholars in its appendixes. Here are reproduced many of the original documents which Levitt & Sons produced for the Levittown residences, from early leases to the now infamous covenants, in addition to maps and photos which show the transition of the community over time. The book is a fitting tribute to the fiftieth anniversary of Levittown.

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Margaret Lundrigan Ferrer and Tova Navarra. *Levittown: The First 50 Years*. Dover, New Hampshire: Arcadia Publishing, 1997. Illustrations, bibliography. Pp. 128. $16.99 (paper)

Levittown: The First 50 Years is a collection of photographs provided by the Nassau County Museum Collection of the Long Island Studies Institute, the Levittown Public Library, and various other sources, with informative captions by the authors. The publisher, a producer of regional and local interest books, appropriately timed the book for Levittown's golden anniversary: October 1997 marks the fiftieth year of what Lewis Mumford so wrongly predicted, at its beginning, was really an incipient slum (15). In an article in the *Levittown Tribune* of 12 June 1969, the initials B. L. and A. L. signify Before Levitt and After Levitt. Before Levitt, there was Island Trees. Before Levitt, there were potato fields on twelve hundred acres of farmland. The illustrations include such pre-Levitt pictures as a potato farmer pursuing his produce, followed by a shot of a Christie car rolling along a dirt road, and then one of a car wreck. Progress does have its drawbacks, but it cannot be stopped. Another local paper, the *Levttowner* (date omitted), quotes Thomas Dalton, owner of Dalton Funeral Homes, as saying, "And the Lord God said to Abraham (Levitt), Let there be homes."(15).Then came Levittown.

The photos tell stories all their own. World War II veterans sleep outside the company's office, waiting to apply for a house; hopeful buyers line up to speak with sales representatives, one of whom is William "Bill" Levitt, seated at the first table. It is no surprise to see not one person of color in these pictures, because the

houses—for rent at first, and soon after for sale—were offered to white veterans only. The book quotes Levitt's response to this policy of discrimination: "As a company our position is simply this: We can solve a housing problem, or we can try to solve a racial problem but we cannot combine the two" (16). (See Whitney P. Bowe, "William Levitt: Businessman or Bigot?", in this issue of *LIHJ*)..

The Levitts concentrated on affordable housing for the many returning white GIs. Their radical method of building resulted in more than seventeen thousand assembly-line, prefabricated houses on slab foundations instead of basements, and controversial, radiant-heating systems running beneath the floorboards. Before construction was allowed, the Hempstead town board had to approve mass production of what Mumford patronizingly described as uniform, unidentifiable houses (15). The pressure exerted on the board by large numbers of veterans, eager to move into homes of their own, ensured the needed permits.

A memorable photo from the construction stage is of a 1950 advertisement displaying the four styles of Ranch houses available for purchase. The price of $7,990 included an Admiral television set; what Navy veteran would not appreciate that name?

After the cement was dry and the last nail pounded in the wall, it was clear that Levitt maintained a certain amount of authority over the homeowners and their dreams. For instance, his ownership agreement states: "The keeping of animals is prohibited except for not more than two domestic animal pets" (38). Also, the luxury of having a Bendix washing machine, which came with the house, did not come without this rule: "Only portable dryers are permitted. They must be used only in the rear yard, not on Saturdays, Sundays or holidays, and removed from the outside when not in use" (39). Maintaining a lawn was a must, as well, which could be confusing to previous tenants of city apartment houses. In the early days, Levitt took it upon himself to have the lawn cut as it grew, and then sent the bill to the owner.

As the reader turns the pages, the photos depict the time when Levittown began to boom, and a one-room schoolhouse no longer served the growing community. Community was the operative word, with Levittowners shown parading, dancing, and celebrating, adding attic rooms and carports, and in other ways changing the appearance of the original Cape Cod or Ranch design. We witness a variety of interiors, and how the basic four and a-half rooms were decorated and arranged.

One subject is a young man who grew up in a Levitt-built house in Hicksville and became famous as Billy Joel. The captions practically gush with gratitude for his contribution, but the several photos provide a generous glimpse of Joel's life before he became a celebrity. Another claim to fame caught on film is the banned-book party of February 1976, at which the guests included Alice and Nathan Childress, Kurt Vonnegut, and Jill Kremins, all of whose books were banned (but reinstated six years later) by the Island Trees school. board (see Glenn Bernius, "Banned Books: The Challenge to the First Amendment of *Pico v. Island Trees* [1982]"*LIHJ* 9 [Fall 1996]: 90-95).

These fascinating photographs show not only how Levittown grew, but also how the country was changing from generation to generation, when men's hair

went from short to long and women's dresses from long to short. However, the book has too few recent photos contrasting today's with yesterday's Levittown. In the 25 May 1997 Living In section of *Newsday*, Scott Brinton claims that Levittown's population is 52,603 and the median income $69,117. The houses first offered for $7,990 now sell for $120,000 to $160,00. The one-room schoolhouse mushroomed into one of the three largest school districts in Nassau County. Levittown started as mass-produced rows of uniform houses that looked like little boxes, as a song of that era stated, but it became something more—a community.

For Levittowners (Levittown, Pennsylvania, is also included) this book is a must have, something to look upon to compare the present with the pioneer past. For everyone else, it is a piece of history proving that the American dream can come true, and, in this era of high-priced housing, can do so again if we want it enough.

CAROL HOENIG
Borders Book Shop, Levittown

Mary Parker Buckles. *Margins: A Naturalist Meets Long Island Sound.* New York: North Point Press/Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1997. Illustrations. Pp. xiii, 286. $23.00.

On *The Great Gatsby*'s famous last page, F. Scott Fitzgerald pondered the significance of the settlement of the New World. While gazing out at Long Island Sound, the narrator, Nick Carraway, muses: "...for a transitory enchanted moment man must have held his breath in the presence of this continent, compelled into an aesthetic contemplation he neither understood nor desired, face to face for the last time in history with something commensurate to his capacity for wonder" (F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925], 182). As Mary Parker Buckles, a National Audubon Society editor and the author of a number of works on natural history, repeatedly points out in her thoughtful, informative, and entertaining book, *Margins: A Naturalist Meets Long Island Sound,* the waterway at our doorstep still inspires wonder.

A native of the South and a relative newcomer to coastal southern New England, Buckles approaches the ecology of the region adjacent to her adopted home with fresh perceptions. Her insightful observations serve the dual purpose of awakening in long-time residents a renewed sense of the beauty and awesomeness of nature while, at the same time, introducing people transplanted to this area to the delights which await them, whether in the water, on the beach, or in the wetlands. The author's enthusiasm for her subject in downright contagious, in part because she literally waxes poetic over some of the treasures uncovered in this 110-mile-long region. At one point she includes Amy Clampitt's lovely verse entitled "Shorebird-Watching"; Chaucer and Shakespeare on cormorants pop up among her prose references, as does Aristotle in a chapter dealing with the aquatic life found in the vicinity of the author's floating dock.

A tad more interesting and insightful are the references to Buckles's youthful experiences in Mississippi, a world away from Long Island Sound. We learn about her biologist father who taught her how to make a whistle from a hickory stick. The section on water, consisting of three chapters, begins with an anecdote about how her mother cuts cake with such surgical precision that her confectionery delights appear to be a seamless whole. Initially, the reader may wonder why Buckles devotes three paragraphs to he mother's great skill in the kitchen, but then one reads: "The horizon beyond the islands is this indefinite before a storm. In mist I look for a thread of demarcation. It's not there. A layer of sky rests on the Sound, and is separated from it by memory only" (134).

Sadly, the waterway which Buckles declares "has a beauty and a vitality that leave me dumbfounded with love" (283), itself become a thread of demarcation in the late twentieth century. Unlike the bygone days of sail and steam when the Sound served as a nautical highway connecting settlements on Long Island and the mainland, in the modern era of limited cross-sound ferry service and overburdened bridges at the Sound's western extremity, the waterway divides rather than unites. But instead of dwelling on the understandable reluctance of many Sound-area residents to brave the traffic jams typically associated with getting from one side of the pond to the other, let us emulate Buckles. While not understanding problems caused by cars and other accoutrements of modern life, including nitrogen-enriched fertilizers which pollute the Sound, she rejects "a continuing emphasis, in some quarters, on the Sound's demise" (280). Instead, throughout the book, she points to visible signs of the Sound's renewal. After an absence of two hundred years, the return of ospreys to Connecticut's Cos Cob harbor in western Long Island Sound gladdens the author's heart, as it should delight anyone concerned about this great waterway. A revitalized oyster industry in Norwalk and Oyster Bay, only three decades after the bivalves nearly disappeared from the Sound, is another reason to rejoice. Long Islanders will especially appreciate Buckles's detailed account of her tour of the Frank M. Flower and Sons oyster company in Oyster Bay. The author's bird-watching expedition to Gardiners Island and her discussion of the famous copper beech tree on the Coe estate, now Planting Fields Arboretum, in Oyster Bay, will also strike a chord with Long Islanders.

No matter where one resides in the Long Island Sound region, one can genuinely appreciate Mary Parker Buckles's involvement with the waterway at the doorstep of her Connecticut home. Whether she and her husband are heading to what they call "Australia...the bedrock at the very tip of a headland beyond beach and cove" (32),or she is digging in the mud with Allison Beall, naturalist ar Marshlands Conservancy on Westchester's Sound shore, Mary Buckles is completely at home and, perhaps most important of all, she is at peace. Out in her whaler- tracking fiddlers, she "became as calm as the mirror-like surface I was interrupting"(207). Discussing the salt marshes, she notes, "...there is beauty to be discovered in this waterscape, beauty that can renew us like mountains and contain us like the sea" (242). This refreshing, well-organized book, with its multi-chapter sections on land, air, water, and the intertidal zone, can help us all

rediscover the beauty and value of the special place we call home.

MARILYN WEIGOLD
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(Editorial note: Marilyn Weigold is in the process of revising her book, *The American Mediterranean: An Environmental, Economic, and Social History of Long Island Sound* (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1974)).

Claire Nicolas White. *Stanford White: Letters to His Family*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 1997. Illustrations, bibliography, notes. Pp.151. $29.95

Human beings are constantly telling, retelling, and revising the stories of their lives—in photographs, sketches, conversations, and, of course, letters. For centuries, many people have made it a practice to write their own stories in journals and diaries. Private writing has changed over the centuries, along with our understanding of the individual, but the impulse to document our lives remains powerful. People write to help themselves during crises, document their days, sort out creative problems, comfort themselves in pain or solitude, or preserve their stories for the future.

In some cases, biographers, historians, or significant others related to the famous or infamous use their correspondence posthumously to better understand them. Claire Nicolas White has attempted to do just that with the letters and sketches of Stanford White, the greatest architect of America's Gilded Age. By compiling his letters, the wife of the grandson of Stanford White has attempted to reconstitute the architect's good name, which has fallen in disrepute ever since he was gunned down by the crazed millionaire, Harry K. Thaw, atop Madison Square Garden in 1906. Soon after his untimely demise, shocking details of his sordid double life and extra-marital affairs began to surface through testimony given at the two murder trials of Harry Thaw.

By the time Thaw was found not guilty on grounds of insanity, Stanford White had not only been killed, but also had his character assassinated. Although White's outstanding reputation as an artistic genius and designer of magnificent beaux-arts architecture has withstood the test of time, his moral standing never recovered in the arena of public opinion. His involvement in a love triangle with Thaw's wife, the ravishing Evelyn Nesbit, has been the subject of numerous articles, books, and movies throughout the twentieth century. Most recently, Suzannah Lessard, another member of the White clan, again placed the spotlight on Stanford White by writing a tell-all story about the long-term effects of the architect's murder on successive generations of the family, and how his death was causally related to the dysfunctionality of several of his descendants.

Claire White has focused on the creative genius of Stanford White through the publication of several of his witty personal communications written to his mother, father, wife, and his best friend, the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens, during his extensive travels through the United States, Europe, and Mexico. The letters

cover the period from 1863 until one month before his death in June 1906, and are arranged into five major periods of White's life, including his childhood and apprenticeship, European tour, collaboration with Saint-Gaudens, Mexican trip, and courtship of and marriage to Bessie Smith of Smithtown, Long Island. The letters are supplemented with thirty-seven of White's landscape sketches and architectural drawings, as well as nine photographs of portraits, medallions, and artwork.

Apart from the letters and sketches, the text consists of only nine pages of background material concerning the life of Stanford White. Unless the reader is already familiar with Stanford White's biography, he or she will be left confused about the content of the letters as they relate to White's life and death. Fully to understand White's life and artistic accomplishments, a general reader will probably be better-off referring to the books listed in the bibliography .

The book treats its subject superficially, without any psychohistorical analysis of the letters as they relate to White's climb up the social and professional ladder and eventual fall into economic and moral oblivion. It is unclear whether the book is all-inclusive of White's correspondence, or selective in nature. The preponderance of letters shows a dedicated family man and friend who led a hedonistic life style. White was primarily concerned with day-to-day events which involved his hobnobbing with the rich and famous and being a master deal-maker in the Victorian art world. The book would have more impact if a chronology of White's life and works were included, and the letters would be more reader-friendly if the size of the type were larger.

In summary, the book provides a positively biased view of Stanford White's personality and character through his correspondence with close friends and family members. Undoubtedly, it will help perpetuate the mythlike status of Stanford White and his family name into the next century. Although some readers may find letter-reading an appealing approach to biography, the book is probably of greater value to a select audience of historians and biographers. Paul R. Baker, the author of the most complete biography of Stanford White to date, used many of White's letters as primary sources (*Stanny: The Gilded Life of Stanford White*. New York: The Free Press, 1989). The letters provided Baker with the necessary information to create an accurate profile of White's personality and the cognitive processes of his artistic intelligence. The work reviewed herein reinforces the fact that White was a bon vivant and keen observer of the aesthetic elements of his world. His ability to mix business and pleasure helped him to create some of the most beautiful architectural structures in America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The book is obviously pro-Stanford White, and, predictably, tries to restore his name through his reputation as an artist. The published letters present him as a very likable character—just as other biographers have portrayed him previously. In its attempt to celebrate White's artistic achievements, the book, either intentionally or unintentionally, omits insight into his feelings and thoughts about other aspects of his private life, probably too

intimate for public discussion in the opinion of the author.

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Editorial note: Interested readers are referred to Mark L. Taff, review of Suzannah Lessard, *The Architect of Desire: Beauty and Danger in the Stanford White Family*, *LIHJ* 9 (Spring 1997):254-57, and Paul R. Baker and Mark L. Taff, "The Murder of Stanford White," *LIHJ* 8 (Fall 1995):39-55.

Thomas McGonigle. *Going to Patchogue*. Elmwood Park, Il.: Dalkey Archive, 1992. Illustrated Pp. 220. $19.95.

Going to Patchogue, the second novel by Thomas McGonigle, is a dark indictment of modern suburban life in America, where nothing exists but "the black void between the houses at night" (25). The novel's plot, rich in local history, revolves around a fictionalized Thomas McGonigle returning to his hometown village of Patchogue for a one-day visit after a twenty-year absence. His visit, an attempt to fulfill an "unbearable longing" (17), a hunger for an earlier time when romantic love was still a possibility and death lay far over the horizon, serves as the occasion for an extended meditation on his life and travels since then. Patchogue, the primary setting in the novel, is a village peopled by suburbanites whose primary goal is to "have a nice shallow marriage, have some kids and as long as there is enough money...be happy" (152) Patchogue, hardly a destination for outsiders, is a place other "people pass through...on their way to the Hamptons, on their way to Fire Island" (87), a place where "the hard lessons are learned [and] where nothing is forgiven, learned, or remembered" (95). It is a place inflicted with spiritual ennui, where due to "a certain lack of imagination [even] suicide is not very popular" (118).

The journey (travel is the unifying metaphor in the novel}, is an imaginative one in which the narrator never actually leaves his New York apartment—"come to think of it, was I ever in Patchogue?" (157), he asks, only to assert later that "I was not away, not for a moment. I have always been here. I have not left. I am in the City at this very moment" (203). The narrative, a postmodern monologue that weaves its way back and forth among the side streets and main drags of Manhattan, Patchogue, Istanbul, Padova, and even the blackened sidewalks of Sofia in communist Bulgaria on the approach of the narrator's fortieth birthday, is punctuated often by statements of authorial intent concerning possible plot developments (47), as well as details about the actual construction of the novel itself.

Such intrusions serve to remind the reader that what appears to be a mix of personal and local history is in fact fiction, a literary creation. Devices such as a note at the bottom of page 182, detailing the alleged history of a given passage in terms of where and when it has been revised, serve to lend veracity to the narrative's catalogue of events, thus subverting the author's own intentions. Nevertheless, even here the idea of a documented history, personal or otherwise,

is an illusion, since the text *is* a novel and this very note, which may or may not be true, must be read as a fictional device.

The novel follows the tradition of such autobiographical works as Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and *Tropic of Capricorn* in its concern with individual liberation from bourgeois constraints. Like the best of Miller's work, *Going to Patchogue* is meant to shock and offend, feasting on a Melvillian "human drama [of] flesh and guts, blood, sperm, and saliva" (127). It is not a tale for refined or easily offended tastes, such as those that flourish, in the novel at least, in the proper upscale village of Bellport, just east of Patchogue, where "you got the types from the [Brookhaven National] Lab and the City [and there are] lots of...poetry and movie-going" (91). The novel's tone is at times confrontational, and suburban attitudes about sex, race, and class are exposed for what the author contends are brutal covers for hypocrisy, denial, and fear that imprison those they are meant to protect If McGonigle borrows from Miller in his use of the autobiographical novel to discover and posit a genuine self, however mean or low, he also owes a debt to Melville's *Moby Dick*. *Going to Patchogue* borrows directly from Melville's greatest work in its use of a prologue referring to a "poor devil of a Sub-Sub" (the phrase is a direct quote) whose task it was to gather whatever random allusions to Patchogue could be found. The fourteen pages that follow, a parody of the "Extracts" preceding the actual narrative in *Moby Dick*, are devoted to what appears a genuine study of the etymology of the name *Patchogue*, as well as to various snippets of local history and demographics, such as the fact that "There is a deep-water channel to the Atlantic Ocean at the Fire Island Inlet, 15 miles southwest" (13) and that "Patchogue has been something of an industrial center for two centuries" (4), thanks to the construction "in 1800 [of] the Union Twine Mill" (13). The prologue, however, warns that we "must not, in every case at least, take the higgledy-piggledy statements in these extracts, however authentic they appear, for genuine gospel" (1). The more colorful bits of local history, such as the fact that "Richie Kaler and Ed Brown used to take Sharon Lang into the swamp and do things to her" (8), are clearly fiction.

Going to Patchogue is not comforting, but it is, at heart, honest. McGonigle's world is profane, with nothing sacred, least of all the American dream of a better life in the suburbs. In Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, the protagonist, Willie Loman, finds himself betrayed at the end of his life because burgeoning New York City has swallowed up what was to be his suburban retreat. McGonigle's Patchogue, on the other hand, "sixty miles" (42) and more than hour by train from New York, is still far enough away from the city to appear, at least on the surface, what it promised when the narrator lived there as a boy: a place availing "a certain comfort [where] plant life continues on indifferent to whatever" (73) "certain morbid fascination[s]" (77) live in the soul, a place of refuge where they "haven't chopped the trees down yet" (73). For children and those residents of the village who long ago extinguished their hunger for anything more than a life where one might go down "to the shore and there skip a rock along the flat waters" (73) and where "Never does one hear the name of a foreign city mentioned" (115), "there ain't no reason to ever leave Patchogue" (90), even in a daydream. In the

eyes of long-time inhabitants such as Charlie Ferzler, retired doorman for the defunct Patchogue Theater, who collects postcards of the village (79), Patchogue is a bucolic paradise where "all the simple pleasures of life...sitting on the Mascot Dock, watching the sun disappear, watching the waves dillydally" (141) can still be indulged in a kind of Thoreauvian leisure.

But the novel exposes the American suburban paradise as an illusion. For the men, fathers rendered strangers in their own homes by "years of being on the train, every day of the week—four hours on the train, every day, and then eight hours on the job [so the kids can] grow up in the country," men who are away from home so much they are not even missed, life in Patchogue becomes nothing but a "wanting to be left alone" (58). Burdened by children and household routines, hungry for sex and a life free of "constant repetition," the wives are no better off. With no "time for questions" about happiness, the best they can hope for is a casual afternoon affair with someone "on..the couch" (133). Like the men, they have sacrificed themselves on the alter of a middle-class suburban existence, choosing to suffer silently in a place where "Death is never mentioned" (178), rather than ever find themselves in a place (geographical or psychological) where they would not "know what was going to happen" (208) to them. They have chosen to live in "a parking lot with a village attached" (154) surrounded by the "dull waters" (89) of a bay on which you can "see nothing happening" (88), a place where people "are just afraid and it shows in their faces, in the way they walk, in the way they don't walk," though they don't "even know what the word means" (92) and will not talk about it.

While literate readers everywhere will appreciate the narrative's occasional allusions to such writers as Rilke, Pound, St. Augustine, T. S. Eliot, and Thomas Wolfe, Long Island readers in particular will appreciate the novel's ambitious portrayal of a local village in a serious work of literature. By way of several European cities, McGonigle's narrator takes the reader on a walking tour of life in Patchogue village. Noted are Division Street, Rider Avenue, South Ocean Avenue, Cedar Avenue, "Furman Lane, that little street between the two Avenues, Ocean and Cedar" (48), the Sandspit, the Mascot Dock, the Patchogue River, St. Francis de Sales Catholic Church, the Davis Park ferry, the old lace mill, and even the Lakeview Cemetery on West Main Street, site "of the former Hart's Tavern, visited by Washington in 1790" (4), where the town's more notable figures, such as "Elizabeth Oakes-Smith...lecturer, reformer, poet [and] a pioneer...for suffrage for women (87)," lie buried in the shadow of the now abandoned and burned out lace mill. The book even sports several black and white photographs of nondescript locations in the village—the railroad tracks (213), a corner shop featuring advertisements for the "Stick with Patchogue Committee" (17), a picture of Swezey's Department Store (69), and a snapshot on the reverse of the title page of a small roadside sign welcoming visitors to a "A Village we are Proud to Call Home. Even a copy of the Long Island Railroad's Montauk Branch Schedule, listing arrival and departure times for Patchogue, is displayed (33), fixing Patchogue in the reader's mind as an actual place.

To experience the transformation of such a place into the setting of a novel is a kind of ethereal affair, the marriage of the imaginative and the actual to create a no man's land of the imagination where anything is possible because it has already happened a thousand times over in real life. Through art, the streets of Patchogue become historicized in the fullest sense of the word, saved forever from the mechanical morgue of period photos and public documents where the hollowed-out bones of history lie piled in silence. In the novel, history is written from the inside of the heart, however dark or full of despair that heart may be. Through literature, history is transformed into poetry, paradoxically proving the novel's own narrator wrong when he declares a "great poem" could never be written using such staples of suburban life as "the phrase *picture window*" (88), and that "only a poet of the Abject School of Poetry could find an object to praise on Long Island" (199). For *Going to Patchogue* is in some sense an epic prose poem of wandering in the tradition of Dante and Joyce, a tale of exile in which we must confront the troubling but hopeful truth that "no person is ever where they are supposed to be," that we are all pilgrims in search of a place we can "sink into...away from all the rubbish of the world," where each of us might "allow [our] heart, [our] soul, the very center of [our] being, as the poets say," to "enjoy the pleasure of once again walking" (62) through a world of our own making, where the imagination is not bound by fear .

Because of the narrative's postmodern nature, McGonigle's novel, like the village of Patchogue itself, can be entered at any point. As the narrator explains, "This book is always beginning because it has no end" (158). "Everything has been ordered to suit [the] imagination" (116). The ultimate effect is holographic—the whole of the novel's truth is betrayed in each and every fragment, however tangential any particular incident or place may appear. Because of this, the book will bear many, many readings, each of them revealing a new Patchogue.

Patchogue's most famous visitor, "that great American patriot and all-around general ballbuster," Henry Thoreau, who passed through the village on his failed mission to Fire Island to "find the bones of Margaret Fuller" (124), the nineteenth century feminist author who drowned in the wreck of the *Elizabeth*, never went abroad or traveled further from his hometown in Massachusetts than to Minnesota. Yet in *Walden* Thoreau declared that he had "traveled much in Concord," and there explored, as fully as one ever might, "the private sea, the Atlantic and Pacific of one's being alone" (Henry David Thoreau, *Walden and Civil Disobedience*, ed., Owen Thomas [New York: W. W. Norton, 1966], 2, 212).Perhaps something similar might be said of Thomas McGonigle, who even if he has been abroad, has *also* traveled much in Patchogue, where he has explored not only the Atlantic and Pacific of his own being alone, but our own individual oceans of aloneness as well.

JIM PAPA
Suffolk County Community College

Giacinta Bradley Koontz, ed. *The Harriet Quimby Research Conference Journal, Volume Two-1996* (Woodland Hills, CA, 1997).

This softbound volume reports the second in a series of workshops intended to explore and illuminate the life and times of Harriet Quimby, the first American woman to become a licensed pilot, and later the first woman to fly solo across the English Channel (in 1912). The initial volume was reviewed earlier in these pages (*LIHJ* 9 [Fall 1996]:125-28).

This conference was held on Long Island, partly in the fledgling Cradle of American Aviation Museum at Mitchel Field, and supplemented by a public lecture program at Hofstra University. The latter meeting included an instructive illustrated talk on early Long Island aviation by Joshua Stoff (see *LIHJ* 9 [Fall 1996]:128-30), and a summary of Quimby's life by the conference's director, Giacinta Bradley Koontz, who appeared in period costume.

The eight published reports that make up the main content of this volume had been presented earlier in the day in a closed meeting, a practice at odds with the usual traditions of open presentation of research results followed by scholarly review and discussion. Even the most responsible scholars profit by a careful scrutiny of their work before publication. Since the papers in this collection were neither peer reviewed nor assessed, their accuracy and relevance depend wholly on the dependability and competency of the individual authors, and to a slight extent on the oversight of the editor.

Since Quimby had managed to blur the most basic information about her own life, including her place and date of birth, the first conference (1995) tackled the problem of ascertaining the relevant facts about Quimby. It is now established that she was born in 1875, and was actually thirty-seven (instead of twenty-five) when she died after her Blériot XI monoplane dumped her into Boston Harbor in mid-1912, just over two months after her successful cross-Channel flight.

The papers at this conference focused on Quimby's "lost writings," the pendant she was wearing on the day of her fatal crash, her apparent support of unpopular causes, her travels, and her last flight. In addition, early aviation on Long Island was highlighted in a comprehensive report of the 1911 Nassau Boulevard Air Meet. In a wrap-up summary of the state of Harriet Quimby research, Koontz corrects some earlier errors and sets the path to seek answers to still other questions.

No photographs are accepted to illustrate the workshop papers (one wonders why, with the excellent scanners now available), but the volume includes a useful appendix of miscellaneous documents that will be helpful to researchers: a site map and 1880 census page from Arcadia, Michigan (Quimby's presumed birthplace), and a page from the 1902 San Francisco city directory, showing that Harriet and her father (at least) were living together on Montgomery Street.

The article by Monica Quimby Batac and Henry Holden demonstrated clearly that Quimby was an accomplished photographer; she had some 150 photos published in *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* to illustrate her own articles and those of others. Some of her stories suggest that she traveled widely both in this hemi-

sphere and in Europe, but the dates and details of these trips are difficult to ascertain. This paper also considers the possibility that Quimby published, in addition to her more than three hundred articles in *Leslie's*, additional material under various pseudonyms. Although the evidence is somewhat circumstantial, the authors concluded that it was likely that Quimby did in fact use other bylines, and that some of her published photos were credited to others.

Quimby's social consciousness and journalistic activism on matters that concerned her, such as the "white slave" trade on both coasts and the dreadful way that children were exploited, were well described in an article by Rosalie Dunbar. Quimby even wrote to counter a series of stories in *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, her own employer, that focused on "good girls" and "bad girls."

It is no harsh criticism to consider Quimby's stories about the lives of women of other countries, such as China and Egypt, to be somewhat naive, and it is not clear to what extent her assessments were based on first-hand knowledge and observation. Her "foreign travels" may have been based on library research in New York City, since she does not appear on the passenger manifests of ships arriving in New York City from foreign ports; of course, she may have traveled under one or more of her pseudonyms.

Natalie Naylor's piece on Quimby and the suffrage movement was an excellent analysis of the state of affairs in the fight to obtain the vote for women during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The 19th Amendment was adopted in 1920, but Harriet Quimby did not support the suffrage movement, even though she was a supporter of women's rights. Naylor points out that the suffrage movement did not reach its crescendo of marches and activities leading to the vote for women until after Quimby's death, and speculates that she would likely have joined the cause if she had lived longer. In fact, early aviators played important roles in publicizing and participating in rallies that were directed toward winning the vote for women.

It is difficult to reconstruct the story of a life when so much information is fragmentary, uncertain, and even misleading. How much more insight there is to be gained about Quimby's life and achievements is a good question. In any case, another conference is scheduled for the autumn of 1997. Interested readers may write to Giacinta Bradley Koontz, P.O.B. 46, Woodland Hills, CA 91365:

FRANK C. ERK
SUNY at Stony Brook

George A. Raisglid, *Uprooted: the Memoirs of a Holocaust Survivor*. Stony Brook: the author, 1997. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $29.95 (paper).

George Raisglid, now a resident of Long Island, describes the Warsaw of his carefree boyhood in vivid word pictures in the early chapters of his memoir, *Uprooted: the Memoirs of a Holocaust Survivor*. His parents, Wladek and Fela Raisglid, were successful hardware store owners in prewar Warsaw, where their eighteen-year-old son, Jerzy Alexander (nicknamed Yuri) Raisglid, earned good

grades in the Catholic gymnasium he attended and enjoyed outings with friends. The Raisglids were liberal Jews and understanding parents; they allowed their only child, to join teenage boys and girls on a canoeing-camping trip on the Vistula River.

When cousin Heddy came from Berlin to visit the Raisglids in 1937, she recounted the indignities being perpetrated by the Nazis against German Jews. Daily life was becoming unbearable, as her tales of the growing restrictions, tensions and violence against Berlin Jews made clear. Abandoning his plan to attend Berlin University, Yuri enrolled in the French University at Nancy, although he entered speaking no French. His roommate, Itzrak Bernstein, was an orthodox Polish Jew from Bialystok near the Russian border. At the end of the spring semester in June 1939, Yuri returned to Warsaw to spend summer vacation with his parents. Europe was in turmoil. Nevertheless, Poles felt safe within their borders, and in August, Yuri's father left on a short business trip to the United States.

As his father's ship was returning to Gdansk on 1 September, the Germans attacked Poland. From this point, eighteen-year-old Yuri's well-ordered life began to spin out of control. Warsaw's citizens endured a month-long bombardment on land and from the air. The city was devastated, and soon the Germans marched into Poland.

Despite the occupation, Yuri helped his mother carry on the family business. Increasing Nazi restrictions on Jewish businesses forced Fela Raisglid to deed ownership of the store to her trusted Christian employee, Pietrek. When Yuri narrowly escaped being thrown out a window by German officials from whom he had sought justice, he realized there was no future for him under Nazi occupation. His mother remained in their apartment, vainly awaiting her husband's return, while Yuri fled to the east and crossed the Russian border in October.

The youth's response in the face of one desperate situation after another in Russia gives George A. Raisglid's memoir of his Holocaust survival a special quality. I was captivated by his exuberance and resiliency, his enduring enjoyment of life as it unfolded each day. Yuri's agility and presence of mind make this an absorbing story of adventure and endurance. Time after time, the young man had to make life and death decisions. Rarely did he judge wrongly. One example was his agonizing choice of Russian citizenship over that of refugee status. Shortly thereafter, the Russian government rejected "refugee" as a legitimate status, and deported many in that category back to their points of origin and certain death. At almost every stopover, Yuri managed to make friends and meet decent people who provided the help he needed at the moment.

In the ten years after his graduation from the gymnasium, Raisglid learned to speak French, Russian, Swedish, and finally English—in addition to Polish and German. His fate rested almost entirely on his natural talent for languages, and on the lucky option of having taken a driving course in high school. From the time he crossed to the now-Russian city of Bialystok, he found work as a driver of wood-burning trucks, ambulances, chauffeured limousines, and a Red Army vehicle, all the while being forced ever further into the Russian heartland. But even in

Baronovichi, the horrors of war followed Yuri's path. Casualties of German bombing raids filled the hospital where he drove an ambulance. Again, Yuri was driven east to the small provincial town of Tambov. While there he was suddenly arrested, and spent a Kafka-esque month in a crowded Soviet prison cell, from which he was released without charges filed or explanation given.

Meanwhile, his father, who had landed in the United States, tracked Yuri to Tambov and began protracted efforts to bring his son to the States. Mother Russia had other ideas. Yuri was drafted into the Red army, trained for the cavalry, and then fortuitously assigned to drive a new Dodge truck in convoy just as World War II was ending. Now an experienced young man, he made his way back to Warsaw to find his mother. The destruction there, the virulent anti-Semitism, and Pietrek's eye-witness account of Yuri's mother, Fela Raisglid's, last day in Warsaw and certain death made remaining in Warsaw impossible.

His father urged Yuri to emigrate to Sweden, where for one year he worked in factories until his father arranged his matriculation at the Norfolk, Virginia, branch of William and Mary. Now eligible for a student visa, Raisglid took a crash course in English to be able to plead his case to the American ambassador, who spoke no Swedish. (In 1975, Yuri earned a SUNY at Stony Brook M.A. in liberal arts).

Uprooted, Raisglid's first literary effort, was encouraged by Taproots, a remarkable Long Island writing workshop for seniors. In his memoir, the author displays a keen feeling for visual detail. His lively, humorous anecdotes are given sharp realism through earthy dialogue. As Raisglid quotes conversations among young Polish Jews, it is clear that they felt they could deal with Polish anti-Semitism. Raisglid maintains that his peers considered themselves Poles, and as such, felt that they would be safe from German anti-Semitic indignities.

Yuri's youthful charm facilitated his making human contacts and developing friendships across ethnic, religious, and national differences. The reader is swept along by his experiences during these ten years. Raisglid has written his story as the great adventure of his youth, not as morbid tragedy. Very early, young Yuri discovers his sexuality. He finds a girlfriend or willing lover at every stopover in this odyssey. It was his fortune to be in places where most young and middle-age men were off to war, leaving many women alone and thus subject to his masculine allure.

Given the unfamiliar European names of the many people in the author's life, American readers may find it difficult to keep in mind their identities. A reminder from time to time of the relationship to Yuri when the person reappears would be helpful. Finally, I came to admire Raisglid's honest portrayal of himself as a lighthearted, self-absorbed young adult. He must be self-protective to the point of seeming callous at times. Raisglid does not dwell on the disappearances and deaths of numerous close family members, friends, and associates at the hands of both Nazi and Soviet functionaries. The reader is left to surmise the extreme emotional distress this added to his physical struggles. Because he never asks for pity, one must remind oneself that Yuri's was not a voluntary, youthful lark but a desperate struggle for survival during a period of virulent genocide.

Through surviving letters from his mother in Poland and his father, first from England and then the United States, Raisglid interweaves their destinies with his own. The pathos of his mother's life, increasingly circumscribed by the Nazis, and his father's good fortune and dogged efforts on Yuri's behalf, are effectively told in their own words. *Uprooted: The Memoirs of a Holocaust Survivor*, George A. Raisglid's personal story of holocaust survival in the U.S.S.R., is reconstructed in intimate detail and skillfully told. The book, published by the author, is available both at the USB Bookstore and Borders Books, Stony Brook.

EDITH GORDON
Local Historian

Ebenezer Miller. *Diary of Ebenezer Miller of Miller Place, Long Island, New York, 1762-1768*, transcription and footnotes by Margaret Davis Gass and Willis H. White. Miller Place, 1996. Notes, index. Pp. 43. $6 (paper).

Ebenezer Miller (1733-1785) of Miller Place, Suffolk County, may have been politically active: family tradition was that he was member of the Provincial Assembly. An ambiguous reference to assemblymen in his diary may support that claim. In their transcription of the diary, Margaret D. Gass and Willis H. White interpret it to mean that the Ebenezer was a new assemblyman: it also may be interpreted to mean that previous legislators were reelected. Secondary sources maintain that the assemblyman during that period was Eleazer Miller, of East Hampton. A microfilm copy of the *Suffolk Book of Quotes* (minutes of the board of supervisors) seems clearly to show the assemblyman as Eleazer, even making allowances for the similarity of the names and the difficulty of reading handwritten records.

This diary gives biographers no further evidence on the question. It is a record of the rhythm of life of a Long Island farmer and family man, with matters of larger concern beyond its scope. If the residents of Miller Place had a reaction to the Treaty of Paris that eliminated France as a colonial rival, it is not considered here, nor is any feeling they may have had for the Stamp Act. Except for one reference to the assemblyman, the closest the diary comes to any mater of public policy is the question of how to deal with a clergyman who seems to have abandoned his responsibilities.

GEORGE SMITH
Suffolk County Historical Society

Video Review

Ziggy Attias and Ofer Cohen. *Traveling the Distance*. New York: Ziggy Films and Rabbit Foot Productions, 1997. Fifty-two-minute video.

Traveling the Distance is a documentary of the Labor Day Shinnecock Powow—its organization, production, execution, and most importantly, its

meaning to the performers. *Traveling the Distance* is illustrated by the filmmakers' hundred-mile drive from the Queens-Midtown Tunnel toll booths to the bucolic Shinnecock Reservation, passing along the way the many Native American markers yet on the landscape—Wantagh, Hauppauge, Patchogue, and so on. The film deftly cuts between evocative scenes of nature and powow participants and dancers from the Seneca, Narragansett, Mashpee, Mohawk, Shinnecock, and other groups, resplendent in native regalia.

The film's production values are excellent, with the filmmakers interspersing this visual richness with the story of each person's feeling of experiencing and reinforcing Indian ways. These feelings range from loving to dancing, from showing others how Indians really are to keeping the forefathers' traditions, and from stopping the assimilation to white culture to teaching the children respect for the Indian way of life.

Professor John A. Strong of Southampton College provides a historical background for the Shinnecock and the powow, and the filmmakers, Ziggy Attias and Ofer Cohen, follow Martin Scorsese's penchant for appearing in his films by appearing strolling down a wooded lane on the reservation. The film justifiably won first prize in the feature documentary category at this summer's Long Island Film Festival, held at SUNY at Stony Brook. It will be a most useful addition for school classrooms and museum settings .A distribution system is being set in place; for information, call Ofer Cohen at (516) 754-8455.

GAYNELL STONE
SUNY at Stony Brook

Book Notes

Sy Barlowe and Dot Barlowe. *Long Island Nature Preserve Coloring Book.* New York: Dover Publications, 1997. Illustrations, two-page map of Long Island, index. Pp. 48. $2.95 (paper). Available at bookstores or from Dover Publications, 31 East 2d Street, Mineola, NY 11501 (add $4 for shipping and handling when ordering Dover books by mail: this information also applies to the Dover book mentioned below).

This 8 ½" x 11" paperback serves both as a nature study coloring book and a guide to Long Island's parks and preserves, forty of which are described with appropriate pictures by the artist-authors. Subjects include a woodchuck on the Muttontown Preserve, a fiddler crab at the Flax Pond Marine Laboratory, a great horned owl at the Sands Point Preserve, orchids in the herbarium of the Planting Fields Arboretum, and many others, all attractively depicted in their natural habitats.

Abraham Lincoln in Print and Photograph: A Picture History from the Lilly Library. Edited by Cecil K. Bird and Ward W. Moore. New York: Dover Publications, 1997. 240 black-and-white illustrations, index. Pp. 118. $13.95 (paper).

This 9" x 12" pictorial tribute, chosen from the huge collection of the Lilly Library of Indiana University as well as from other sources, documents the life and times of Lincoln, the first president extensively photographed before and after he entered the White House. Enhanced by informative captions, the book contains rare pictures of Lincoln in Illinois, in Washington with his sons, his funeral cortege, and his wife Mary Todd Lincoln, along with reproductions of Currier and Ives lithographs, political cartoons, election broadsides, important documents, and many other revealing subjects. It is a significant addition to the list of useful books put out by Dover, a Long Island publisher known for the excellent quality of its products.

Some of the books that will be reviewed in Spring 1998

Lynda R. Day. *Making a Way to Freedom: A History of African Americans on Long Island.* Interlaken, New York: Empire State Books, under the auspices of the Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra University, in press.

Anne F. Nauman. *The Junior Partner: Edith Loring Fullerton, Long Island Pioneer.* Las Vegas, Nev.: Scrub Oak Press, 1997.

Jeffrey A. Kroessler. *Lighting the Way: The Centennial History of the Queens Borough Public Library, 1896-1996.*. Virginia Beach, Va.: Donning Company Publishers, 1996.

COMMUNICATIONS

Dear Editor,

I have spent the past two years researching and writing the biography of the 1876 cofounder of the Queens County Bar Association, L. Bradford Prince. He was a Queens County lawyer and state senator from Flushing when he was appointed chief justice of New Mexico Territory in 1879. He later became governor of New Mexico Territory, and essentially founded the place.

I went to New Mexico and located his grandchildren and great grandchildren, his correspondence, and opinions, his Civil War diary, and records of his Queens County law practice and New York State legislative experience. It is a great inspiring story with a rather limited audience, so I printed it myself. I invite interested readers to send $30 to the address below for a copy of the book.

Paul E. Kerson
118-35 Queens Blvd. #1205
Forest Hills, NY 11375

Dear Editor,

If there was a time and a place for poetry, it is now, as it has been publicly blooming on Long Island. From the silence of notebooks and comments by faceless editors, emerges the poem...live! Alive in bookstores, cafés, libraries and even covered (though scantily) by the media, poetry readings often include 'open mike' segments where any poet can participate.

Poetry readings provide a platform of opportunity for the new and struggling poet. However, has the 'open mike' begun to compromise literary integrity? At times, perhaps, yes. The essence being that anyone who has penned a few lines can read during the 'open mike' period and conclude with the applause of audience approval. Does this mean the poem was ready to appear in the *Anthology of Millennium Poets* - not necessarily - the audience applauds every reader. So, with what message does the beginner leave? Where can a poet go to better understand and develop the art of his or her creation? The answer is to get involved with a local poetry group.

One such (not-for-profit) organization is *Island Poets, Inc.* The purpose of *Island Poets* is to offer a diverse program to promote poetry in the community; providing opportunity to read, critique, perform and publish, as well as learn from recognized poets.

Island Poets has been awarded a grant from the New York State Council on the Arts (administered by the Huntington Arts Council) to promote student interest and conduct workshops. Poetry readings are scheduled once a month (upon availability) at various locations and workshops are conducted twice a month at Islip Public Library (October through May).

Yes - poetry is alive and loud - on Long Island. Perhaps the need lies in the development of the poets to sustain an active Long Island literary trend into the new millennium.

Robert J. Savino

Editor's Note: Interested readers are invited to write to Robert J. Savino, Secretary, Island Poets, 363 Oak Neck Road West Islip NY 11795-3616 (e-mail dynsus @aol.com.)

Dear Editor,

I want to share a brief historical footnote to the discussion in your Spring 1997 issue on Peconic County. A woman told me that her grandmother, who was born in Acquebogue on the North Fork in 1863, remembered an old woman there once telling her, "The only time I left Long Island was when I went to Hempstead."

We're accustomed today to the common usage of the term Long Island being applied to the counties of Nassau and Suffolk rather than geographic Long Island, which also includes Brooklyn and Queens. However, some East Enders in the nineteenth century may have defined Long Island in a more limited fashion. This comment (probably from the 1870s) obviously antedates current discussions of Peconic County, but perhaps foreshadowed their thinking about "up-island."

Natalie A. Naylor
L. I. Studies Institute, Hofstra University

Dear Editor:

A couple of points in Joann P. Krieg's "Walt Whitman's Long Island Friend; Elisa Seaman Leggett," (*LIHJ* 9 [Spring 1997]: 223-33) caught my attention. Any reference I had previously seen to this Friend (e.g., in W. W. Hinshaw's *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, Vol. 3, *Records of New York City and Long Island*) gave the spelling of her name as "Eliza," certainly a more common spelling among nineteenth-century Long Island Friends. I have to admit that I have never seen her actual signature, though.

As to the location of "Hillside," there seems to be some confusion about this. Elisa (or Eliza) Seaman Leggett undoubtedly did live as a child at the William Hicks home in Hempstead Harbor and presumably later in what is now called Roslyn Harbor. There is strong reason to believe, however, that "Hillside" was not actually next door to the Bryant estate, though it was not inaccurate to speak of the families as neighbors. The next location of "Hillside" was almost certainly in what is now Roslyn village, at the present site of 58 Main Street, high up on the west side of that thoroughfare. The house burned subsequently, and the lot is the one to which the John F. Remsen house was moved a few years ago from the east side of the village.

Elizabeth H. Moger

Prof. Krieg's reply
Dear Ms. Moger,

I too came across references to Mrs. Leggett that spelled her first name with a "z," and I suspect that it was a spelling that she either corrected or changed in signing her letters, she used "Elisa."

As to the location, I had to rely on Mrs. Leggett's recollections, not being as knowledgeable as you in matters of precise Roslyn history. I appreciate the information and have added your letter to my file. Should I ever publish on this subject again, I shall be sure to use the correct location.

I hope you enjoyed reading the article.

Joann P. Krieg

Dear Editor,

I am finding (I have not completed my reading yet...I savor each issue slowly!) the articles on Peconic County quite interesting. I have "followed" this story for many, many years. Continued success with *LIHJ*—it's a true asset of and for Long Island.

Peter J. Ruffner

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