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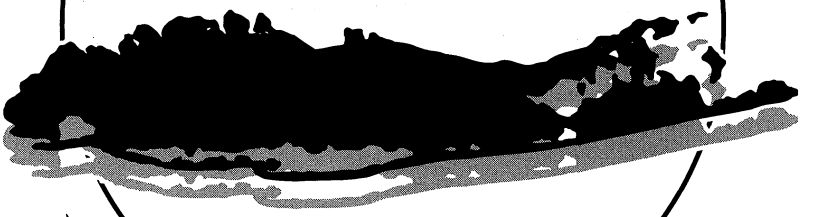

LONG ISLAND AS AMERICA

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

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We publish original studies of any aspect of Long Island history. Submit manuscripts in duplicate (no carbons) on 8 1/2" x 11" stock, double spaced, with generous margins, and written on only one side of each page. If possible, also submit an IBM or Apple MacIntosh-compatible disk. Notes should be numbered consecutively, assembled at the end of the text, and modeled on the examples given in the *Chicago Manual* or Turabian.

The Long Island Historical Journal

Cover: "When Great South Bay Froze Over": Dredging oysters through the ice, ca. 1895. Photograph, courtesy of the Suffolk Marine Museum.

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Long Island Studies Council

An interdisciplinary membership group of scholars, teachers, librarians, archivists, historians, and others interested in the study of Long Island and its heritage, invites readers of the Long Island Historical Journal to its dinner-lecture meetings and site visits.

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Editorial Comment

This edition contains five articles written for last October's Queens County History Conference (more will appear later on). We congratulate Jeffrey A. Kroessler, Aida Gonzalez, and the many others who made possible this important addition to Long Island historical literature. Before presenting Prof. Kroessler's introduction, we call your attention to part two of John M. Kochiss's series on the oystermen of Great South Bay; Clarence Taylor's analysis of Brooklyn's African American churches; Charlotte Woods Elkind's study of one square block in Brooklyn; and lively collections of book reviews amd letters to the editor. We regret that space limitations made us to postpone "Lost and Found" to Fall 1993.

You soon will receive your subscription renewal form. We are keeping our annual rate at $15, a hard job in a time of tight budgets; we also will maintain our standards of style, substance, and scholarship. We invite you to send articles, reviews, and suggestions, and to do your bit when it comes to renewing: this journal is the joint effort of all who think of Long Island as America.....

This issue presents five articles written for the Queens County History Conference, held at Queens College last October. The first three focus on the impact on Queens of the Civil War and the struggle for racial equality. David Osborn's essay on the secession crisis analyzes the tension between Lincoln's election and the attack on Fort Sumter. Although western Queens, like Manhattan and Brooklyn, was staunchly Democratic, Osborn examines how politics yielded to patriotism during the crisis. Vincent F. Seyfried continues by exploring the county's role in the Civil War, from raising troops to civilian reaction to army camps. Roger Sanjek follows Newtown's African American community, from the 1827 end of slavery in New York to the turn of the century, showing how it coped with pervasive racial discrimination.

The last two pieces deal with our national pastime. My article deals with the late-nineteenth-century clash between blue laws and Sunday baseball, which brought urbanites into conflict with Sabbatarian, rural Queens. Mathew Kachur traces the battle surrounding the building and naming of Shea Stadium, with emphasis on the roles of Robert Moses, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Jr., William A. Shea, and other civic movers and shakers, after the Dodgers and Giants defected to California.

Each article clarifies the impossibility of separating the history of Long Island from the history of Greater New York. Time and again, urban growth intersects with rural and suburban interests, making Queens County one of the finest of laboratories for examining that rich dynamic.

Jeffrey A. Kroessler
Coordinator, Queens County Historical Conference

Queens County and The Secession Crisis

By David Osborn

This article explores the political response in Queens to the opening stages of the Civil War. The focus is on events relating to the sectional conflict of 1860-1861, and, specifically, to the secession of the seven lower-South states. At that time, the central question was the extent of support for secession in a northern county where the majority sympathized with the South, and accepted enslavement of people of African ancestry.

First, though, an introduction to the broader political climate of the day, as well as the setting on Long Island, is helpful for understanding the reaction to disunion and the onset of civil war. Since 1854, the growing perception that the Democratic party represented southern interests and slavery had weakened it in the North. But, for a variety of reasons, "the Democracy" (a current sobriquet for the northern Democratic party) remained the dominant political entity in metropolitan New York. Thus, on the eve of the Civil War, the southeastern part of the Empire State was the citadel of the party's northern wing.[1]

Reasons for this strength included the close commercial link between the metropolis and the South.[2] Large sectors of New York, reliant on the southern trade, supported the South politically through a common allegiance to the Democracy. Beyond that, many local residents, including Irish and German immigrants, accepted and even advocated slavery. This was based on racial prejudice, fear of social and economic competition with former slaves, and loyalty to the South.[3]

Much local support for the Democrats stemmed from fears of sectional strife. As a great commercial emporium, metropolitan New York needed regional peace and cordial relations with all sections. While the Republican platform called only for blocking the extension of slavery, local Democrats, like their southern colleagues, linked the new party with the small but vociferous antislavery movement. Republican success, the Democrats claimed, would increase sectional tension and possibly lead to rupture of the Union; to sympathize with the South politically, economically, and socially was, therefore, the best strategy for preventing such a development.[4] However, local "Hardshell" and "Softshell" Democrats divided over degree of support for the South, with the "Hard" faction more strident in upholding slavery and southern interests.[5]

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In an electoral sense, the Republicans were weak in lower New York, even though the metropolis was one of the party's intellectual centers. Through influential newspapers like the *New York Tribune, Evening Post,* and *New York Times*, local Republicans defined and stressed the party's principles. They centered on the immorality of slavery as an institution, and, especially, on adamant opposition to its extension, as well as on distrust of the southern planters who had dominated the Democratic party and the nation, subverting the direction of the federal government. Another cornerstone of the Republicans was their view of the South as an economic and moral wasteland, controlled by an oligarchy of slaveowners.[6]

The *Long Island Democrat*, published weekly in Jamaica by James J. Brenton, was the organ of the Hard Democrats in Queens, while the Flushing-based *Long Island Times* presented the Soft Democratic outlook. By and large, Queens was a political backwater to New York and Brooklyn, borrowing platforms and strategies from party organizations in the cities.[7] Yet, because of its dispersed, largely rural, and native-born population, it lacked the unity of urban interests which enabled the Democratic machine to hold unchallenged sway in the other places.

Revivalism and temperance, for instance, were strong in Queens, as was nativism. A powerful impulse of the 1850s, nativism sought, for a variety of social, political, and economic reasons, to curtail the influx of Catholic immigrants, or at least limit their influence on American life.[8] The Know-Nothing (nativist) gubernatorial nominee, Daniel Ullmann, carried the county in 1854. Millard Fillmore, running as the nativist American party nominee, won a plurality of the Queens vote in the presidential election of 1856. Luther C. Carter, of Flushing, a conservative Republican and former American party member, claimed Queens's congressional seat in 1858. Yet, as the nativist movement disintegrated, the county was sufficiently conservative on sectional issues for majority sentiment to lean toward the Democratic—as opposed to the Republican—party.[9]

The weekly *Flushing Journal* was the leading Republican organ in Queens. It favored the conservative brand of Republicanism, which minimized the party's antislavery component, and tried to attract the allegiance of former nativist voters. In October 1859, the *Journal* lauded the "perfect union among the Republicans and Americans [American party members] of Suffolk and Queens."[10] Although it reflected the vision of the county's party faithful, that picture proved illusory; many former Know-Nothings went the other way by 1860, concerned that the policy of the Republicans jeopardized holding the Union together.

The Republican party was strongest in the eastern Queens towns of Hempstead and North Hempstead, areas further away from the heart of the metropolis. John A. King of Jamaica, New York's first Republican governor, and William Cullen Bryant of Roslyn, the editor of the Evening Post, provided the county with two well-known Republicans. However, although both were active locally, prominent party figures from New York City were

usually needed to attract audiences for Queens events.[11]

The population of Queens in 1860 was 57,391, an increase of about 60 percent over 1850. The county consisted of the towns of Flushing, Jamaica, Newtown, Hempstead, North Hempstead, and Oyster Bay. Although Newtown, which comprised much of western Queens, had a considerable Irish population, the people of the county were overwhelmingly native-born compared to those of Manhattan and Kings.[12]

With farming the mainstay of the economy, public life on Long Island was carried on largely in discussions among farmers at general stores. A typical entry in one farmer's diary noted that someone called at the store and "had a `confab' on political matters in general." While lacking the physically combative tradition of urban dwellers, those farmers competed for similar political prizes. Post-election scrambles for patronage offices, particularly after a transfer of party power, were as intense among Republican potato growers on the Island as among Democrats on the East Side of Manhattan.[13]

Many realized the close connection of Queens and Suffolk counties to the metropolis. Transportation and communication links to the city were emphasized by newspaper boosters and farmers, alike. The opening of the Long Island Railroad in the 1840s, and its extensions in the 1850s, changed the nature of agricultural life in Queens. Farmers turned to dairy production for the New York and Brooklyn markets. One of them described the process on the eve of the war:

> Our milking is done with reference to the trains running to the city; usually at night and morning...except...in the Summer season, when milking is done at noon. The milk cans, after filling, are placed in tubs of cold water, and well cooled before leaving our farms. The milk is conveyed to the city twice a day in the summer, and once in the winter, from this Station, 30 miles from the City. The freight is now 50 cents per 100 quarts, or 2 cents per gallon. We receive 3⅛ cents per quart, for six Summer months [*sic*], and 4⅛ cents during the Winter, delivered in the city.[14]

Boosters sought to improve links to the city to increase the value of real estate in such places as Flushing. Others recognized that Long Island's economic health was based on serving as a producer for Brooklyn and New York City, and the more secure the connection the better. Those ties, which included the circulation of Manhattan-based daily newspapers, distinguished Queens from most farming communities in the North. The county was a mix of the provincial and the cosmopolitan, which made national issues, including the sectional crisis, a part of local life; debating societies considered such topics as whether slavery should expand into the territories.[15] Queens reacted to secession both as a northern community and as a cog in a metropolitan area which depended on the Union and sectional peace.

As it was across the nation, the election of 1860 was a hotly contested, emotional affair in Queens, marked by the usual mid-nineteenth-century

features of active participatory politics. These included rallies with speakers and bands, picnics, and torchlight parades. Additional drama was added by constant southern threats to secede if a Republican won the White House.

The Democrats split on the presidential level. Vice President John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, ran with mostly southern support, while Senator Stephen Douglas, of Illinois, was seen as the northern Democratic candidate. Fear of splitting the antiRepublican vote led to "fusion" in New York, a joint ticket on which were lumped both of the Democratic candidates along with John Bell, of Tennessee, a veteran Whig who ran on the Constitutional Union line and picked up on the nativist theme of the Fillmore effort in 1856. Accordingly, New Yorkers could vote either for one Republican or three-as-one fusion candidates, whose electors pledged to apportion their votes to insure the defeat of Abraham Lincoln.[16]

Long Island Republicans, who had favored the antislavery United States Senator and former New York Governor William H. Seward, the preconvention front-runner, were disappointed with the nomination of the more moderate Abraham Lincoln. A correspondent of Seward's, for example, hesitated "to longer identify myself with a party thus ungrateful. My interest in its success is gone. Demoralized, self incriminating, divided and cowardly,—it scarcely awakens a sentiment of interest in its fate."[17] By and large, however, the surmise that Lincoln would prove a winner overcame the sense of disillusionment.

Democrats and conservatives used the threat of departure as a prime campaign tool. Although they did not advocate secession of the South if Lincoln triumphed, they sympathized with southern fears of an antislavery president. Supporters of the fusion ticket expressed concern that "our Southern countrymen are uneasy and alarmed. They may, for self defense, organize and rush to arms." Such voices called on Queens voters to help "prevent the impending ruin which would be caused by the dissolution of the states,"[19] by voting against Lincoln.

Long Island felt early signs of the economic pinch which might accompany a break in the Union. Since John Brown's raid of 1859, southern orders declined for men's garments, a staple of the metropolitan area's clothing industry. By the fall of 1860, sewing work was drying up for those Islanders who normally did home stitching for New York firms.[20]

The key electoral issue in Queens was distribution of the Fillmore vote of 1856. The American party campaign had stressed both nativism and the Union. John Bell's candidacy came closest to these themes, although former supporters of the nativist party depicted Douglas as the inheritor of the former president's mantle. They claimed that the Little Giant ran on the "true national conservative platform on which Fillmore so proudly stood four years ago." In that context, the important fusion was the New York State-level merger of the Bell and Douglas campaigns took place in August. While Bell was preferable to them, the Americans of 1856 argued that Douglas was the stronger

candidate. The union of the two tied things up neatly. Supporters of Douglas also pointed out the antinativist planks of the Republican platform, trying to inhibit former Americans from voting for Lincoln.[21]

German Democrats in Flushing were disturbed by the alliance of Douglas with the forces of nativism. However, the results showed that enough Fillmore voters accepted the merger to make it more helpful than harmful to the conservatives. The loss of former Americans to the Democratic side especially hurt Luther Carter, who relied on nativist support in the First Congressional District race of 1858. In 1860, he faced a single fusion nominee, Edward H. Smith. While Smith was seen by some Democrats as a poor choice, he benefitted from nativist backing of fusion.[22]

Conservatives in Queens supported the three-candidate fusion achieved in the fall. Beyond the mechanics of ticket building, the fusion campaign in Queens centered on saving the Union. Nearly 1,500 bearers marched in the major torchlight procession in Flushing, "extending as far as the eye could reach." While largely agricultural, the county was sufficiently linked to the metropolis to see great harm in a sectional clash that might follow a Lincoln victory, and bring, at the very least, a disruption of trade.[23]

A brief morning rain on 6 November gave way to good conditions for most of election day. Fusion carried the county by a margin of 57 to 43 percent, taking four of the six towns, including Flushing, Jamaica, and Newtown, by more than 60 percent. Lincoln won slight victories in the eastern towns of Hempstead and North Hempstead, and narrowly carried Suffolk County. Although Edward H. Smith easily defeated Luther Carter for Long Island's seat in the House and fusion won in lower New York, Lincoln carried the state with nearly 54 percent of the vote.[24]

The opening phase of the crisis lasted from the election of Lincoln to the secession of South Carolina on 20 December. A major dispute in the public debate involved the constitutional validity of departure. By Christmas, the main area of contention was possible terms of compromise with southern states to induce them to remain in the Union.

The calling of secession conventions in the lower South forced New Yorkers to consider whether the Constitution permitted states to withdraw from the Union. The debating societies in Queens which decided against legal separation[25] fit a metropolitan pattern of overwhelming rejection of the southern states' right to leave. Even lower New York, an enclave of southern sympathy, could not accept that a single secession resolution, rammed hastily through the South Carolina convention, could split the republic on which it depended so heavily.

Compromise was the key issue. Many Republican quarters, including the *Flushing Journal* and Representative Carter, saw a need and function for leniency. This conciliatory stance included a willingness to permit some extension of slavery in the territories, and modification of northern personal liberty laws, which interfered with the capture and return of fugitive slaves. Referring to the liberty laws, the Journal offered to "cordially help them to

pluck it out with both hands," if they were the cause of secession.[25]

Talk of compromise among Republican leaders and newspapers was part of a political strategy. They reasoned that presentation of a conciliatory front would halt secession movements in the upper South, where the impulse was weaker, and confine disunion to the deep South, where they hoped it would self-destruct. Interestingly, the magnanimous posture did not extend far into the ranks of the party faithful, who took antislavery issues more seriously than did those in the inner circles. A Long Island minister wrote that "We here feel that no compromise can be made that will recognize the right of property in man. They are repugnant to our very natures and can never receive the approval of any party in this sector."[26]

Pleas for concessions to the South were the mainstay of individuals and organizations backing fusion in the election. Democrats hardly meant compromise in the sense of mutual concession. They saw the cotton states as the injured party, which must be reassured through abandonment of antislavery principles and statements by the Republicans. The major Democratic organ in Queens charged that "the fanaticism and madness which have driven a portion of the people of the North on in their crusade against the South, have aroused among those at whom they were levelled, feelings of alarm."[27]

Even so, conservatives were frustrated. The November canvass expressed the metropolis's antiRepublicanism, but this meant little in the halls of Congress. The success of compromise rested on the willingness of Lincoln's party to make concessions. Despite their local might, the Democrats were thwarted in pressing their eagerness to yield everything the South wanted. They could only plead with the Republicans for a conciliatory posture:

> In the name of our common country—by the glorious recollections of the past and by the recollections of the memory of those noble and pure men who achieved our National Independence, we call upon these gentlemen not to allow a spirit of fanaticism to destroy our country.[28]

Also emerging in the public debate was widespread opposition to secession, based on the connected fronts of majoritarianism and lawlessness. Most local residents saw separation as a reaction to Lincoln's triumph. The prospect of the South's violently and illegally leaving the Union because of the outcome of an election was a chilling precedent for republican government. In a widely-held opinion, a Republican organ in Queens attacked designs by secessionists

> to re-enact on our virgin soil the internecine strife which humbled and destroyed the glorious states of ancient Greece—which have distracted Italy for a thousand years and have made Mexico the prey of contending factions and oppressors to this day.[29]

The military movements in Charleston harbor of late December and early January changed the picture. The movements began with Major Robert Anderson's dash from Fort Moultrie to more secure Fort Sumter on 26 December. As a follow-up, South Carolina forces occupied Moultrie, Castle

Pinckney, and the federal arsenal, post office, and customhouse in Charleston. On 9 January, Palmetto State batteries fired on the *Star of the West*, the ship sent to resupply Anderson's troops.[30]

For several reasons, these developments stirred a tougher antisecession posture by Democrats and conservatives. First, the seizure of federal facilities and the firing on the *Star* confirmed the fears of anarchy expressed earlier by those who sympathized with the South. In addition, the threat to the Union's integrity eclipsed the debate over slavery. Response to the episodes showed that when the dispute over bondage was relegated to the back burner, Queens conservatives stood up for the Union, an important barometer of the degree to which they would countenance secession.

Jamaica Democrats passed resolves calling on the federal government to protect property and enforce laws in the South. The *Long Island Democrat* condemned "the hasty and unwise action of South Carolina in essaying to rush out of the union." Beyond official Democratic circles, residents of Long Island were also galvanized by these episodes. The public participated vicariously in both the standoff at Charleston and the political dialogue at Washington. Queens debating societies considered the prudence of lame-duck President James Buchanan's indecisive secession policy. In Hempstead, citizens attended lectures on the crisis; on 4 January, church attendance was heavy at services to pray for settlement. With talk of armed conflict more common, the Queens's Fifteenth Regiment, while not at full strength, was reported ready for duty.[32]

The action at Charleston and activities in the metropolis also affected the course of public debate on the major issues of late 1860 and early 1861. Consideration of the constitutional validity of secession was a major casualty of those events. Military moves, the secession of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas, and the creation of the Confederacy mooted the question of legal withdrawal.[33]

The powerful compromise movement of early 1861 received the support of most elements of organized opinion on western Long Island, and of fusion's entire apparatus. Along with Unionism, the conciliatory campaign expressed the collective outlook of Queens and all of lower New York. A local public vote on the proslavery congressional compromise packages—the Crittenden proposals and the similar Border State Resolves—would probably have carried overwhelmingly.[34]

The effort to achieve settlement gathered momentum for several reasons, among them a clear sense of purpose. Compromisers garnered signatures for me morials to Congress advocating Border State and Crittenden planks. The goal was to placate the upper South in hopes of confining the spread of se-cession. Refusal to consider what proposals might satisfy rebels in the cotton states made the initiative consistent with the rampant Unionism of the period. Antisecession votes in Virginia and Tennessee in February increased the impetus.[35]

The drive for compromise was pressed on many fronts. These included endorsements of the Crittenden measures at Unionist meetings in Oyster Bay,

and petitions for conciliation circulated by women in Brooklyn.[36]

A related position was opposition to coercion. Resolves decrying use of force against southern states were common at assemblages of procompromise conservatives. This stand served the purposes of upholding the Union, giving arbitration a chance, and sympathizing with southerners as injured partners.[37]

Moderate Republicans shared important aspects of the outlook of compromisers. They, too, wanted to reach an agreement satisfactory to upper-South Unionists, but found the Crittenden and Border State proposals too generous. Senator Seward and New York's Republican Governor Edwin D. Morgan influenced entities holding this position, including the *Flushing Journal*. These moderates were intentionally vague. Their goal was to present a reasonable posture and keep the focus on preserving the Union, distancing themselves from the moral appeals put forward by more radical Republicans as well as the forces of abolitionism:

> The laws of nature secure the territories to the family of free states; we will not quarrel about an abstraction. We have carried the election; the coming Administration is ours. We can be generous and waive the conviction of our just right to exclude Africans from our free territories, and we will waive it for charity's sake and for the good will of our fellow citizens of the south, and in the hope of composing all our difficulties.[38]

Republicans attempted to use the magnanimous approach and the de-emphasis of antislavery as tools to unite the North in case of war. In Queens, the strategy was successful. In a central development of the period, Democrats accepted the undeniable premise that most influential Republicans saw the Union, and not slavery, as the issue of the hour.[39]

The next period of the crisis was from late February to the eve of the decision to attempt to resupply Fort Sumter. The most obvious change, at the national level, was the assumption of responsibility for the disunion question by the Lincoln administration. As Long Islanders continued to discuss schism,[40] the course of the debate narrowed. Disputes over the constitutional validity of departure in November, and over compromise in January, gave way to arguments about the use of force to hold federal property and enforce laws in the South. Besieged Sumter was the focal point of the dialogue, revealing impatience with the uncertainty of the future of the Union.

That sense of frustration may seem to have been unwarranted. Many examples can be cited from American history of slow movement on events of great significance. The colonists fought the British for more than fourteen months before declaring independence in 1776. Yet, contemporaries lived for five months—from the election of Lincoln to the battle at Sumter—with the status of the Union in doubt. The issue was momentous, and the decision of the administration and the North would have a great impact on many lives.

Installation of the Republican chief executive was presumed to mark the beginning of a definitive stance by the federal government; as did most of their Northern compatriots, the people of Queens expected prompt resolution

of the Sumter impasse. In that context, only three weeks after inauguration, those of most political persuasions were moved to intolerance with the delay in public declaration of policy. The proLincoln organ in Flushing asked: "Where are we? What are we? What are we coming to? Where is love of country? What country have we to love?"[41]

Long Island elections of late March and early April also revealed impatience with the administration's secession policy. Republicans suffered setbacks in all three counties. Suffolk, carried by Lincoln in November, elected Democratic supervisors in seven of its nine towns. Conservatives also maintained solid control in Queens.[42]

Martin Kalbfleisch, a Democrat, won the Brooklyn mayoral contest of 2 April, with a margin of some 500 votes more than fusion polled in the presidential election of November 1860. It is difficult, of course, to decipher how voters interpreted the race but, based on speeches, rallies, broadsides, and editorial comments, it was a referendum on Lincoln's southern policy.[43] The outcome fit a local trend of registering, in various ways, impatience with what was perceived as the president's sluggish response to rupture of the Union.

Commercial concerns, which contributed to the sense of impatience with the open question of the Union, revolved around fears that the Confederacy would be a free trade zone, or that duties would be collected irregularly. At best, the South would enforce 1857-level duties, while in April the North put into effect the higher Morrill tariff rates.[44]

Under any of those scenarios, commerce would be redirected from the metropolitan area to southern ports. Fear of such a sequence was widespread on Long Island. As much as any other impulse in the secession period, the worry of losing trade to the Confederacy showed that the metropolis was a unit to which commerce was a source of strength and wealth. In a sense, the debate over compromise progressed along lines already established. State Senator Edward A. Lawrence, of Flushing, a Hard Democrat, insisted Republicans make concessions to satisfy the South.[45] Even so, the most significant development in the area of conciliation was the decline in public activity. Meetings and private maneuvers on settlement faded, while newspapers ceased discussion of fine points of arbitration of sectional issues. Compromise was a serious matter early in the year, but by March the ranks of those who thought the crisis could be solved politically had dissipated.

More pressing concerns included the possibility of recognizing the Confederacy. This issue split Queens Democrats, showing the validity of the Hard-Soft division. The county's Hard Democratic newspaper was willing to accept southern independence, at least on a temporary basis; the *Long Island Democrat* argued that federal withdrawal from Fort Sumter and tacit recognition of the Confederacy would ease tensions and facilitate peaceful reunification. Beyond that, the Jamaica weekly opposed use of force against the cotton states as part of a platform upholding slavery. Joining most Hard Democratic voices in the metropolis, the paper claimed that armed invasion of the South to revoke secession would become entwined with the

emancipation scheme, which, "whatever their professions and disguises," was the goal of those Republicans pressing for force.[47]

Soft Democrats, on the other hand, rejected even a short-term acknowledgment of secession and the Confederacy. They sympathized with the South, and called for a compromise favorable to slavery earlier in the year. But the Softs lacked the fierce adherence to the bondage of African Americans that moved the Hards to swallow the breaking of the Union to forestall a coercive policy leading to abolition. The Softs' Unionism was based on the usual themes of the need to uphold the durability of republican government, faith in latent southern Unionism, and the perception of the nation as indissoluble. They raged at southern people for allowing "ambitious unprincipled political tricksters [rebel leaders] to raise their sacrilegious hands and strike at the foundation of the glorious governmental fabric which our fathers erected."[47]

A referendum in Queens in early April would probably have produced a majority in favor of abandoning Fort Sumter, but such an outcome would have depended on the wording of the motion. A proposal termed: "Do you favor a federal retreat from Fort Sumter and handing over the facility to Confederate authorities?" would surely have been defeated. A referendum reading: "Do you accept the withdrawal of government troops from Fort Sumter to more effectively facilitate the peaceful renormalization of the state of the Union?" would have been far more likely to pass.

Attitudes on the specific disposition of the stalemate were soft; the stronger impulse was that the standoff was unacceptable. Long Islanders were angry with southerners for stirring the dispute, and with Presidents Buchanan and Lincoln for failing to deal with the crisis. Reaction would depend heavily on the nature of efforts to break the deadlock.

News of the battle of Charleston Harbor reached and spread throughout the metropolis with great speed. Morning papers of 12 April reported that Anderson had rejected Confederate Gen. P. G. T. Beauregard's demand for surrender, and fighting was about to begin. Despite a brief disruption of cable wires from the South, news of the clash reached New York that evening and circulated promptly. A Long Island farmer noted in his diary on 13 April that a battle over Sumter was underway.[48]

The reaction in Queens and western Suffolk came on several levels, of which the most important was that of the Hard Democrats. Throughout the secession period, the *Long Island Democrat* had taken an emphatically prosouthern stance on slavery and race; it now opposed reprovision of Sumter, and accepted peaceful withdrawal as preferable to war.[49]

Days after the battle, the paper took a more tentative position. The *Democrat* mocked the abilities of local militia and still argued for peace: "We trust that ere the fatal charge to battle has been given, or the soil of America reddened by the blood of its sons in fratricidal strife, that man of all parties will pause, and if possible, stay the horrid consequences of war." State Senator Lawrence also opposed the charge towards armed conflict,[50] but

Queens Hards awaited indications of public sentiment before fully committing to a policy.

A week later, editorials called on readers to forget party lines and rally to support the Union. They also attacked the Confederate Constitution for lacking a clause allowing peaceful reunion.[51] That criticism was genuine; the *Democrat* never had advocated permanent, separate governments, North and South. The paper could not stand against overwhelming public support of Lincoln's call for volunteers to supress the rebellion; the clear statement of the general population backing the Union was the main factor which caused this general-interest, mass-circulation weekly's shift in outlook.

Even in the scattered, thinly settled towns of Long Island, the mobilization of opinion and resources was impressive. Union rallies were held in Jamaica, Whitestone, Flushing, Hempstead, and Moriches. Women in Flushing organized fund-raising efforts to support families of volunteers.[52]

Recruitment in Queens was considerable. Rifle companies drilled in April, while the Fifteenth Regiment was brought up to fighting strength; it also toured the county. Once pledged to the Government, the *Democrat* joined in urging enlistment, partly to assure that Jamaica would be represented in Union ranks.[53]

Soft Democrats, such as the editors of the *Long Island Times*, were leery of, but did not oppose, the decision to resupply Sumter. They immediately accepted the situation. In a posture typical of northern Democrats, they stressed defense of the nation's capital. The Flushing paper digested the resort to arms as a "stern, painful, melancholy duty, which every good man, however willing and ready in its performance, will pray Heaven to avert or militate."[54]

Republicans cheered the reprovision effort, and, at first, the *Flushing Journal* hinted at a possible move on slavery in conjunction with the use of force against seceded states. While that orientation was soon dismissed in the rush to cement northern unity, Long Island Republicans welcomed the conflict more readily than did the Democrats. This included advocating a crackdown on local proSouth elements:

> Should any citizens seem to connive at treason and to encourage rebellion it would be wrong to disregard it; but should one openly encourage and defend the assailants of his country's flag and Capitol, no wonder if the patriotic breast sells at him for an enemy of his country.[55]

In response to the opening query, Queens was willing to go far in accommodating southern grievances underlying secession. Advocacy of compromise to settle the crisis was the county's central response to rupture of the Union. Queens's solid vote for the fusion ticket in the election of 1860 smoothly translated into support of a solution expressing sympathy for the South, acceptance of slavery, and a desire to maintain the Union.[56]

The more extreme position, which appealed in Hard Democratic circles, countenanced secession, a stance designed to forestall a federal invasion of the South that would lead to emancipation.[57] Two connected and decisive developments curtailed the growth of a party willing to tolerate secession.

The first was the nature of secession in the seven deep-South states. Long Islanders were horrified by hasty, undemocratic conventions, intimidation of conservatives, seizures of federal property, and attacks on symbols of the Union. A more deliberative process in the South, or a southern effort in Congress to achieve reasonable terms of separation, could have changed the picture. Such a scenario might have produced a local majority in favor of southern independence.

Secondly, the course of departure not only was unacceptable, but also inspired focus on the maintenance of the republic over the issue of maintaining slavery. The viability of the Union and all it symbolized—representative government, commerce, stability, organic nationalism—was under attack in the South, not black bondage.

The message of moderate local Republicans, coupled with events in the South, reassured the pro-compromise Queens conservatives that they could oppose secession without supporting emancipation. That was the outlook with which Long Islanders went to war in April. But their marshaling and mobilization were the beginning of a great advance in human freedom.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Joel Silby, *A Respectable Minority: The Democratic Party in the Civil War Era, 1860-68* (New York, 1977) chap. 1; *New York Times*, 4 November 1858, 1; Judah B. Ginsberg, "Barnburners, Free Soilers and the New York Republican Party," *New York History* 57 (October 1976):496-99; W. R. Rorabaugh, "Rising Democratic Spirits: Immigrants, Temperance, & Tammany Hall, 1854-60," *Civil War History* 22 (June 1976):138-57.

2. See Robert Albion, *The Rise of New York Port, 1815-1860* (New York, 1939), chap. 6; Philip S. Foner, *Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict* (Chapel Hill, 1941): 4-13; for figures on cotton, New York's leading export, see *New York Times*, 15 March, 3, and 6 November 1858, 8; *New York Tribune*, 8 January 1861, 3.

3. *Long Island Democrat*, 21 February and 27 March 1860, 2; New York Herald, 24 March 1860, 6; *New York Leader*, 18 August 1860, 1.

4. *Long Island Democrat*, 10 July 1860, 2; Ira B. Davis to James Buchanan, 15 June 1860, Buchanan Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; *Tammany Pamphlets*, 6 October 1857, no. 2, 4, New York Public Library.

5. See, for example, Jerome Mushkat, *The Reconstruction of the New York Democracy, 1861-1874* (Rutherford, NJ, 1981), 17; *New York Times*, 2 November 1854, 2; *New York Herald*, 11 April 1860, 6; for a chart of major political parties in New York (including Hardshell, Softshell, and other factions) see David M. Ellis et al., *A History of New York State: A Revision of A* Short *History of New York State* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1973), 232.

6. Among many examples, see *Evening Post*, 20 March 1860, 2; *New York Times*, 28 April 1860, 4; *New York Tribune*, 12 March 1860, 4; William H. Fry to Abraham Lincoln, 4 August 1860, Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress; for prewar Republican antislavery ideology, which includes many references to New York journals, see Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York, 1970).

7. Undated document in Brenton Family Papers, Queens Public Library; *Long Island Democrat*, 10 January 1860, 2, and 21 February 1860, 2; *Long Island Times*, 1 March 1860, 2; *Long Island Times*, 6 September 1860, 2; *Diary of E. A. Smith*, September-November 1860, Queens Public Library, offers a good sense of Long Island politics and the similarities to the party struggle in the cities.

8. Undated document in Brenton Family Papers, Queens Public Library; *Flushing Journal*, 20

March 1858, 2; *Long Island Times*, 29 March 1860, 2; "The Millerties On Long Island," in James E. Bunce, Richard P. Harmond, eds., *Long Island as America: A Documentary History* (Port Washington, 1977): 124-25; *Long Island Times*, 3 May, 2 and 9 August 1860, 2.

9. *New York Times*, 9 November 1854, 1; 7 November 1856, 1; 4 November 1858, 1; *Flushing Journal*, 16 October 1858, 2, and 13 November 1858, 2; *Long Island Times*, 12 April 1860, 2; 19 July 1860, 2; 2 August 1860, 2.

10. *Flushing Journal*, 15 October 1859, 2 and 9 October 1858, 2.

11. *Long Island Times*, 3 May 1860, 2, and 8 November 1860, 2; *New York Tribune*, 7 April 1860, 3; *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 29 June 1860, 2; *Flushing Journal*, 3 January 1857, 2; *New York Times*, 8 November 1856, 1; *Evening Post*, 24 April 1860, 2; *New York Tribune*, 26 April 1860, 4; *Evening Post*, 29 June 1860, 1.

12. *Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C., 1864): 322-23; John L. Andriot, ed., *Population Abstract of the United States* (McLean, VA, 1983): 543-49, *Federal Census Returns*, 1860, Queens County.

13. *Diary of E. A. Smith*, 12 June 1860, Queens Public Library; see also entries of 13 and 15 March, 5 September, and December 1860; see also *Diary of John Hallock*, 5 March 1861, Queens Public Library; *Long Island Times*, 1 November 1860, 2.

14. "Long Island Farming Before The Civil War," in *Long Island as America*, 115; see also "The Coming of the Long Island Railroad ," ibid, 111-14; *Long Island Times*, 10 January 1861, 2; *Flushing Journal*, 5 November 1859, 2 and 16 February 1861, 2.

15. *Flushing Journal,* 1 December 1860, 1; 26 January 1861, 2; *Diary of E. A. Smith*, 13 August 1860; *Diary of John Hallock*, 4 February 1861; Long Island Times, 1 March 1860, 2; 10 January 1861, 2; *Flushing Journal*, 16 March 1861, 2.

16. *New York Times*, 11 May 1860, 1 and 25 June 1860, 1; *New York Herald*, 9 October 1860, 3.

17. Charles E. Cady to William H. Seward, 11 June 1860, Seward Papers, Univ. of Rochester.

18. *Diary of E. A. Smith*, 17 October 1860; *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 1 November 1860, 2; *Evening Post*, 23 October 1860, 2.

19. *Long Island Times*, 25 October, 2, and 1 November 1860, 2.

20. *Diary of E. A. Smith*, 30 October 1860.

21. *Long Island Times*, 9 and 16 August 1860, 2.

22. *New York Tribune*, 5 September 1860, 4; *Long Island Times*, 30 August 1860, 2; for Carter's earlier support among Republicans and Americans, see *Flushing Journal*, 16 October 1858, 2; for election of 1860, see *Long Island Times*, 12 April, 27 September, and 1 November 1860, 2; *New York Tribune*, 10 October 1860, 2; although William E. Gienapp, "Who Voted For Lincoln?" in John L. Thomas, ed., *Abraham Lincoln and the American Political Tradition* (Amherst, Ma, 1986), 50-97, argues that Lincoln's inheritance of the Fillmore vote of 1856 was the major factor in his election, this was not the case in Queens; William Ludlow to Samuel J. Tilden, 26 October 1860, Tilden Papers, New York Public Library; *Evening Post*, 23 October 1860, 2.

23. *Flushing Journal*, 8 September 1860, 2; *Long Island Times*, 18 and 25 October, 2, 1 November 1860, 1, 2.

24. *Long Island Democrat*, 13 November 1860, 2; *Flushing Journal*, 10 November 1860, 2; *Long Island Times*, 8 November 1860, 2. The 1860 Queens vote for president was 4892 for the three-in-one fusion ticket and 3749 for Lincoln, who carried Suffolk, 3756 to 3519, and New York State, 362,646 to 312,510 (Horace Greeley, ed., *Tribune Almanac* for 1867 (New York, 1867), 51.

25. *Flushing Journal*, 22 and 1 December 1860, 2.

26. Thomas M. McCauley to William H. Seward, 12 February 1861, Seward Papers, Univ. of Rochester; see also *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 26, 28 November, 2, and 19 December 1860, 2.

27. *Long Island Democrat*, 20 November 1860, 2, 1.

28. Ibid., 25 and 11 December 1860, 2.

29. *Flushing Journal*, 1 December 1860, 2.

30. *New York Times*, 28 December 1860, 10 January 1861, 1.

31. *Long Island Democrat*, 29 January, 3, and 8 January 1861, 2.

32. *Long Island Times*, 10 and 17 January 1861, 2; *Long Island Democrat*, 29 January 1861, 2; *Flushing Journal*, 5 and 12 January 1861, 2.

33. *New York Daily News*, 11 February 1861, 4, for example, makes this point.

34. The compromise proposals of Kentucky Senator John J. Crittenden were favorable to the South. They included repeal of personal liberty laws, federal compensation for owners of runaway slaves, and federal protection of slavery in current and future territories below the 36-30 line (see David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis*, 1848-1861 [New York, 1976], 531-32); compromise failed in Congress, for reasons ably described in Potter, ibid., chap. 19.

35. *Long Island Times*, 3 and 10 January 1861, 2; *Long Island Democrat*, 1 and 16 January 1861, 1; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 12 January 1861, 2; *Long Island Democrat*, 26 February 1861, 2.

36. *Long Island Democrat*, 19 February 1861, 3; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 22 February 1861, 3.

37. *Long Island Times*, 7 February 1861, 2; resolves of the Spartan Association, *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 2 January 1861, 2.

38. *Flushing Journal*, 29 December 1860, 2, and 9 January 1861, 2.

39. Ibid., 12 January 1861, 2; Edwin D. Morgan to Erastus Fairbank, 12 January 1861, Morgan Papers, New York State Library; *Long Island Democrat*, 12 February 1861, 2; *Long Island Times*, 3 and 24 January 1861, 2.

40. *Diary of Hallock*, 5 March 1861.

41. *Flushing Journal*, 23 March 1861, 2; see also *Long Island Democrat*, 9 April 1861, 2.

42. *Long Island Times*, 4 April 1861, 2; *Long Island Democrat*, 5 March and 2 April, 2, and 9 April 1861, 2-3.

43. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 30 March 1861, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Times*, 30 March, 2, and 3 April 1861, 1; *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 3 April 1861, 2.

44. *New York Herald*, 4, 4, and 5 April 1861, 1.

45. *Long Island Democrat*, 2 April 1861, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 25 March 1861, 2; *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 4 March 1861, 2.

46. *Long Island Democrat*, 12, 19, 26 March 1861, 2.

47. *Long Island Times*, 4 April 1861, 2; see also ibid., 28 February 1861, 2.

48. *Diary of Hallock*, 13 April 1861; *New York Express*, 12 April 1861, 2; *New York Tribune*, 12 April 1861, 4.

49. *Long Island Democrat*, 9 April 1861, 2.

50. Ibid., 16 April 1861, 2; see also *Daily News*, 19 April 1861, 4.

51. *Long Island Democrat*, 23 and 30 April 1861, 2.

52. Ibid., 23 April 1861, p. 2; *Long Island Times*, 25 April 1861, 2; *Flushing Journal*, 27 April 1861, 2; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 19 April 1861, 2; *Diary of Hallock*, 2 May 1861.

53. *Long Island Democrat*, 23 and 30 April 1861, 2; *Long Island Times*, 18 April 1861, 2; *Flushing Journal*, 27 April and 4 May 1861, 2; the following article in this issue of LIHJ, by Vincent F. Seyfried, deals with the Civil War in Queens.

54. *Long Island Times*, 11, 25, and 18 April 1861, 2.

55. *Flushing Journal*, 13 and 27 April 1861, 2; see also *The Long Islander*, 19 April 1861, 2.

56. *Long Island Democrat*, 19 February 1861, 2.

57. Ibid., 12 February 1861, 2.

The Civil War in Queens County

By Vincent F. Seyfried

Part One: Jamaica

When South Carolina seceded from the Union in December 1860, few in the North seemed particularly alarmed. President James Buchanan, in Washington, set the tone by taking no action, and this encouraged the assumption that the secession was just one more in the long series of brinkmanship maneuvers regularly recurring since 1850. The act that jarred the nation into a realization that the break was real and irrevocable was the firing on Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, by South Carolina on 12 and 13 April 1861. Abraham Lincoln, the newly elected Republican president, immediately reacted with a call for 75,000 "militia of the several states of the union," to serve for ninety days to suppress "combinations" in the seven states that by then had seceded.[1]

In Queens, patriotic meetings were held in Jamaica on 20 April, and in Newtown (today's Elmhurst) on 24 and 25 April, pledging support for the president and his call to defend the Union. Jamaica already had a local militia, the Woodhull Guards, consisting of forty-five men, and voices were raised to equip them for active duty. The Guards, along with others, were to form Company C, Fifteenth Regiment, New York State Militia, and plans were made to send them to the Hempstead Plains (now Garden City) to drill; the supervisors representing the six towns of Queens were to pay each man $1 per day.[2]

When nothing happened after eight weeks, some of the more impatient men from Long Island went to Yonkers and enrolled in the "Mozart" (Fortieth) Regiment, Company C, which included ten men from Jamaica and fourteen each from Hempstead and Brooklyn. The War Department ordered the regiment immediately into active service. On 6 July it arrived in Washington, D.C., and set up camp on 7th Street, where it drilled with the Scott Life Guards (Thirty-Eighth Regiment), formerly camped at East New York, in whose ranks marched men from Roslyn and Jamaica. The Mozart Regiment was just in time for the first Bull Run campaign on 21 July, when the Union side was defeated and many men were taken prisoner, including several from Queens. In August, the Hamilton Light Artillery of Flushing was mustered into service, remaining in arms for the next three years under

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Lieutenant (later Captain and Major) Jacob Roemer. In December 1861, his supportive fellow citizens of Flushing presented him with a horse and saddle.[3]

To finance the war, Congress enacted the first income tax, a 3 percent levy on incomes over $800, which included those of anyone earning more than $15.50 per week. The rate for military pay was also set: volunteers would get $13 a month, corporals $15, sergeants $19, first sergeants $22, and sergeant majors $23.[4]

On 1 September, the federal government set up a camp for Long Island and New England regiments on the Hempstead Plains; twelve wells were dug to supply water, and the Long Island Railroad was ordered to provide troop trains. In the first week of September, when the Third New Hampshire and Eighth Maine regiments arrived, the *Long Island Farmer* commented that,

> A hardy, sunburned, horny-handed lot of men they are but as one strolls past their tent doors, he sees them reading and writing, and the staple of conversation is not so much obscenity and profanity as commonsense discussions of the leading events of the day. The colonel is a graduate of West Point, a classmate of McClellan and Burnside.

The regiment described in the article numbered 1,040 men, 96 horses, 21 wagons, a hospital wagon, and one ambulance. The men christened their post Camp Sherman in honor of Brigadier General Sherman, a name later changed to Camp Winfield Scott. Five more regiments were expected, but, on 14 September, orders came from Washington to move out at once. Each man was furnished with twenty rounds of cartridges and three days' rations; the baggage train, with 40 wagons and 180 horses, followed one week later. The earliest death of a Queens County man in the war occurred soon after, on 6 October, when John W. Byrd of Flushing, Ninth Regiment, New York State Militia, died of typhoid fever in a Baltimore hospital.[5]

On 18 October 1861, the government dispatched the Eighth Connecticut Regiment to the Hempstead Plains, but it never got there. The Long Island Railroad, unfamiliar with troop trains, picked up the men at Long Island City and started out for camp, but the locomotive began to wheeze at Winfield and finally died altogether at Van Wyck Avenue, Jamaica. When no replacement engine arrived after a long wait, the commanding colonel ordered the troops to pitch camp right where they were, on Van Wyck Avenue (now the Expressway), a flat site only half a mile from Jamaica village. The soldiers were drenched with rain the next day, but on Sunday impressed the townsfolk by attending services, 800 strong, at the Episcopal, Reformed, and Catholic churches. Struck by the novelty of a camp (Camp Buckingham) in their midst, the villagers brought fruits and vegetables for the soldiers, and local bakers contributed bread, cakes, and pies.[6]

The regiment left Jamaica on 2 November, arriving at Annapolis, Maryland, four days later, after a ferry ride from Hunter's Point to Amboy, New Jersey, and by rail from there. One young Irish recruit, Edward Gavin, of Company G, who took sick and had to be left in Jamaica, died on the 9th

and was buried in the Catholic cemetery on Liberty Avenue. At Christmas time, a contingent of Jamaica's leading citizens paid visits to the Mozart and Scott Life Guards Regiments at Alexandria, Va., where they were escorted around the fortifications by thirty Queens recruits. The Mozart was now attached to John Sedgwick's brigade, Samuel P. Heintzelman's division, Army of the Potomac.[7]

The tempo of war accelerated during the first months of 1862. The government took over the two important race courses in Queens—the Union Course at 78-82d Streets and Jamaica Avenue, Woodhaven, and the Centreville Course on the east side of Woodhaven Blvd., south of Rockaway Boulevard. The Van Buren Light Infantry (102d New York, 300 men), was stationed at the Union Course. In March, local citizens were shocked when Captain Robert Avery, incensed by a drunken soldier's refusal to drill, deliberately killed the man by running him through with his sword. The captain was arrested, but escaped punishment.[8]

In July 1862, New York Governor Edwin D. Morgan, responding to a militia law enacted by Congress, ordered the enrolling for service of all white males between eighteen and forty-five years of age. Nine hundred and seventy-six men were counted in the town of Jamaica. Also in July, the federal government organized the First Senatorial District, consisting of Richmond, Queens, and Suffolk Counties, with a base at Camp McClellan at Factoryville, Staten Island, and a military service call ordered for August 1863. To encourage enlistments, the state offered a $50 bounty, another $25 plus $13 pay in advance, and a $2 fee for reporting—$90 in all. However, the registration was imperfectly done. As in many other parts of the country, many able-bodied men devised ways of escaping the draft.[9]

To make service more attractive, the town of Jamaica offered to match the state bounty with $50 of its own (shortly raised to $75), and the national and county governments each put up $25 more—for a total of $200. The sticking point for many men was concern for their families should they enlist. In response, the town of Flushing bonded itself to pay $2.50 per week to the wife of each volunteer, and fifty cents to each child between one and fourteen years of age. The period for voluntary enlistment, together with the payment of bounties, was extended to 6 September 1862.[10]

That September, Congress levied taxes on all trades and professions to raise money for the war, ranging from $5 for bowling alleys to $200 for hotels. Taxes were also imposed on railroad fares, stocks, bonds, dividends, and real and personal property.[11]

In October, Governor Morgan issued a call for 40,000 men from the local militia, but, in all six towns of Queens, voluntary enrollments were so high that no additional levy was needed. Between August and December, one regiment after another hotly competed for volunteers—first Francis B. Spinola's Empire brigade, encamped at East New York, and then the Seventy-Fourth New York, led by Major George H. Quarterman, of Flushing. On 6 September the Ironsides (176th) Regiment was organized under the

auspices of the YMCA, to be encamped at Van Wyck Avenue. By 20 September, the camp was partially occupied; the local papers extolled the high moral tone of the men, and the ministers among them.[12] Camps in Woodhaven reached their peak in November 1862. At Union Course, the Forty-First, Forty-Second, Fiftieth, Fifty-Second, and Fifty-Third Massachusetts Volunteers, and the Fifteenth New Hampshire Volunteers encamped; at the Centreville Course, the Twenty-Third, Twenty-Fourth, Twenty-Fifth, Twenty-Sixth, and Twenty-Eighth Connecticut Volunteers dug in, plus the 156th, 161st, and 171st New York Volunteers, all slated to take the field as part of General Nathaniel P. Banks's expedition on the lower Mississippi. Including the Ironsides at Jamaica, this force totaled nearly twelve thousand men, who, thanks to the hospitality of the townsfolk, feasted on turkey and all the trimmings when Thanksgiving Day rolled around.[13]

On 5 December, about three thousand men moved out from the Centreville course in time to escape winter's first cold wave. However, the Union Course men, suffering in their tents from zero temperatures, became infuriated with the meager, substandard food provided by the sutler who held the contract, wrecked the mess hall, and looted the sutler's storehouses for food. They then marched into Jamaica, where dozens of villagers took cold and hungry soldiers into their homes and fed them. At this late time of the year, a "Federal Guard" regiment of five hundred volunteers enlisted directly in the service of the United States, was set up at Jamaica Avenue and 108th-to-112th Streets, in the hamlet of Clarenceville (now Richmond Hill).[14]

In the first week of January 1863, the Ironsides Regiment moved out of Jamaica and arrived at New Orleans on the 14th as part of Banks's Mississippi campaign. The wooden buildings left at Van Wyck Avenue were sold to the Jamaica villagers. On their last weekend in Jamaica, the *Farmer* admitted, some Ironsiders got drunk in the local saloons, made offensive remarks to women, and brawled on the street, belying their earlier reputation for high moral tone.[15]

On 3 March 1863, Congress passed the famous Enrollment Act, the first draft in American history. To administer the call-up in New York State, Colonel Edwin Rose was appointed provost marshal by Governor Horatio Seymour, Morgan's Democratic successor. Because Flushing, where he was first assigned, was neither centrally located nor had good railroad facilities, Rose moved his headquarters to Jamaica, in McHugh's Hotel, on 14 May. While Rose was organizing the draft, the Scott Life Guard Regiment returned to New York, its enlistment fulfilled.[16]

According to the modern historian, James M. McPherson, Lincoln now was "an enthusiastic proponent of enlisting black soldiers," referring to the "'colored population [as] the great *available* and yet *unavailed* of, force for restoring the Union.'" Once the Emancipation Proclamation "sanctioned the enlistment of blacks soldiers and sailors in Union forces" in early 1863, the *Long Island Farmer* reported that half-a-dozen Jamaica men had volunteered for a black regiment forming in Massachusetts (although not mentioned by

name in the story, this probably was the gallant Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts, the subject of the movie *Glory*, a fighting infantry regiment with white officers and some black noncoms). Late that year, the *Flushing Journal* reported that three hundred recruits were drilling on Rikers Island as the nucleus of a projected (but not named by the paper) black regiment.[17]

On 6 June 1863, the arrival in Jamaica of a large shipment of military clothing, knapsacks, blankets, and canteens consigned to the provost marshal, acted as an alarming warning of impending conscription to opponents of the draft, particularly the Irish in South Jamaica. In July, Governor Seymour issued a public explanation of how the draft would be conducted. Folded slips of paper with names on them would go into a revolving drum, from which the county clerk, suitably blindfolded, would draw. Within five days, draftees could present certificates of exemption to the county judge, pay $300, or present a substitute.[18]

Before the drawing could take place, anger against the draft boiled over, notoriously in New York but also in Jamaica. On the night of 14 July, an Irish mob led by one Thomas Corcoran stormed the military depot, threw out the uniforms and equipment, and either burned them in the street or stole them. They threatened to set fire to houses, starting with the Rufus King Manor. One African American was attacked solely because of his color. The small police force did what it could to enforce order, and, soon after, soldiers from an Ohio regiment patrolled the streets.[19]

Thanks to the numerous volunteers in past months, only 500 of the original list of 1,068 eligible men were scheduled to be drafted. When the drawing took place on 31 August and 1 September, 166 men were drafted, 68 exempted for disability, 116 for hardship: 9 substitutes were accepted. Ironically, when Corcoran, the riot ringleader, proved to be one of those drafted he fled back to Ireland to avoid serving. In September, the federal government sent the Jamaica trustees an itemized bill of $3,446.28 for clothing destroyed in the riot.[20]

At the end of 1863, Seymour asked New York men to comply with President Lincoln's call for 300,000 men to augment the army. To encourage voluntary enlistment, Jamaica agreed to pay $300 to each such recruit.[21]

After Col. Rose died on 12 January 1864, Captain James A. Fleury took over his responsibilities as provost marshal. On 22 February, the great Island-wide Sanitary Fair opened in Brooklyn, the most elaborately organized public fund-raiser undertaken to augment the War Department's stock of clothes, food, and hospital supplies. As a result of two weeks' intensive selling, the women—the driving force behind the Fair—raised nearly $400,000, a gigantic sum at that time. All sorts of foods and handicrafts, even a house and lot, were offered for sale, with even the smallest villages on Long Island contributing items.[22]

All of 1864 was marked by an intensive drive for volunteers; in January, the 127th Regiment (the "Monitors") was aggressively recruited in Jamaica. Even city regiments like the Thirteenth New York Cavalry dangled the lure

of bounties before Long Island men. As the pool of volunteers shrank, the towns began levying taxes to raise money to pay ever more generous bounties. The provost marshal, in an effort to attract enlistments in the Navy and Marines, reminded volunteers not only of bounties but also of prize money, available from captured blockade runners. The War Department issued calls for men in February, May, July, and September, but because the quota for Queens was filled on every occasion, thanks to a steady stream of volunteers, no draft was required, after all. By August, the six towns of Queens were offering $300 bounty for three-year men, $200 for two-year men, and $100 for one year of service.[23]

By this fourth year of the war, the procurement of substitutes had become an industry; substitution brokers in New York and Brooklyn advertised in the papers and quoted their rates. Substitutes were entitled to the same bounties as volunteers for three -, two -, or one-year hitches. The system created a new breed of criminal, the bounty jumper, who stayed long enough in one place to collect his bounty and then decamped. The federal government issued a warning in July that men who hired substitutes would be liable for service themselves if the substitute deserted after enlisting.[24]

Perhaps the biggest change in draft regulations came in July 1864, when Congress abolished the commutation,[25] the practice of a man's buying his way out of service with a $300 check to the federal government's newly-created Internal Revenue office. This loophole had generated intense criticism, because it enabled a rich man to buy his way out but forced a poor man to serve. Many prominent families purchased immunity for their scions with a cash payment.

The full development of the military hospital system took place in 1864. In February, the Department of the East, embracing New York and New England, had thirteen hospitals with 5,865 beds and 3,302 patients.[26] Grant General Hospital, at Willet's Point (today's Ft. Totten) was one of the largest.

Jamaica's people supported the men and the war. In March, Captain Lewis E. Fosdick of Company C, Eighty-Ninth Regiment, was presented with a sword for his services, and Master's Mate Edwin Smith was honored for conspicuous bravery under fire. On Thanksgiving Day, the citizenry treated the twenty men on guard duty at the provost marshal's office to a turkey dinner, wine, and cigars, as a gesture of good will.[27]

Part Two: Flushing

Most military movements in Queens took place in Jamaica and Woodhaven, but Flushing and Willet's Point played important secondary roles. In spring 1861, the Adjutant General's Department, in Albany, directed Col. Francis N. Lawrence, of Bayside, to organize the Fifteenth Regiment and set about raising funds. Forty-three persons gave various sums, with wealthy men like Conrad Poppenhusen, the founder of College Point, donating as much as $2,000. By May, $20,000 had been subscribed for equipment and clothing, and the following eight companies raised:

Company A—Flushing, Hamilton Rifles, organized 1849,
Company B—Astoria,
Company C—Jamaica,
Company D—Oyster Bay,
Company E—Hempstead,
Company F—Whitestone,
Company G—Newtown, and
Company H—North Hempstead.

Between 3 and 6 May, Colonel Lawrence visited each of these localities, using the steamboat *Enoch Dean* and the Long Island Railroad. Although the supervisors of all six towns refused a request to appropriate $6,000 in aid, the sum of $25,000 was raised privately to equip 450 soldiers. Because not enough men could be raised to qualify as a separate regiment, authorization came in June to unite the Fifth Excelsior Regiment's Sickles Brigade (named for the controversial "political General" Daniel E. Sickles, a former Tammany Congressman) with the two companies of the Fifteenth New York. After a final encampment at Willet's Point, the Fifteenth left on 29 June for the seat of war, "much to the joy of the inhabitants who never saw their like before and never wish to see their like again. With the exception of a few of the officers, the majority are held to be as hard a lot as can be scraped together anywhere." As the men had to buy their own uniforms and mess kits, their departure left a scandal over what became of the money raised to outfit them.[28]

Flushing's own, long-established militia company was the Hamilton Light Horse Artillery, named after Col. Charles A. Hamilton, who organized it in 1843. The Hamilton Rifles, another Flushing outfit, commanded by Captain George H. Quarterman, left Flushing for Camp Scott, Staten Island; by August they were in Washington. The company ran newspaper ads for additional volunteers. The Light Artillery, during August, drilled in Camp Todd, Flushing, at 32nd Ave. and Farrington St. Meetings at the Flushing Hotel (then and now at the head of Main Street) raised funds for tents and food for the eighty men, cash was raised for relief of families, private citizens offered rent-free houses as shelter for wives and children of volunteers, and the women of Flushing donated linen, lint, tape, vegetables, and fruit. By the end of September, the Artillery had grown to 105 men; patriotic meetings at College Point, conducted both in English and German, generated much enthusiasm. When the Artillerymen received their first government pay, they squandered much of it in the saloons, with several landing in jail that evening. "Our citizens are becoming awfully anxious for their departure," commented the paper: "Some of them are becoming outrageous in their conduct." On 2 December 1861, orders came to leave at once, and, by 12 December, the unit was encamped at Camp Duncan on the Potomac, one mile east of Washington. They were now Company L, Second Regiment, New York Artillery, Second Brigade, Third Division, Second Corps, of the Army of Virginia.[29]

Six months later, the Flushing Light Artillery was still encamped at

Tennallytown, a suburb three miles north of the capital. At this time, Captain Thomas L. Robinson resigned his command, and Lieutenant Jacob Roemer acted as captain in his place.[30]

As the call-up of July 1862 began to threaten a Flushing draft, a great rush to escape occurred among eligible Flushing men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. Because firemen were exempt, men stampeded to join the fire companies; veteran fire-fighters called the joiners "fire ladies" to distinguish them from themselves, the real "fire laddies." Other men sought exemption for physical disabilities:

> Never in the history of the village has there been such a flutter of its population as since the order for the draft of a new levy of soldiers. We have suddenly become a population of invalids. Our physicians are tormented from morning till night with applicants for certificates of physical disability. Our justices have scarcely an instant to spare from the duty of taking the affidavits of those who are looking for an escape from the draft. Opticians are run down by those who have suddenly discovered that they are near-sighted. Cabinet makers are anticipating a rich harvest from crutches and tin men for ear trumpets.
>
> [As for] naturalized citizens, scores are leaving and in some cases abandoning their property. Who is operating upon their fears? There is a great stir among those who are between 18 and 45. A great many dodgers are turning up. Many are starting off on tours to last one, two or more months.[31]

Although Flushing men may have been reluctant, those of College Point responded enthusiastically. College Point was almost 95 percent German, and nearly all of the community's workers were employed at Conrad Poppenhusen's India Rubber Comb Company plant. Poppenhusen, an ardent patriot, announced a contribution of $15 additional bounty to every man who enlisted. Such was the pressure to join the army, both from the community and the factory, that more than one-third of the village's male voters signed up. Employees even subscribed to a special fund designed to pay $4 a week to the wife of each draftee, and fifty cents a week to each child, for the duration of the war.[32]

As the towns in Queens competed to pay bounties, Flushing increased property taxes to raise its bounty to $75, the amount paid by Jamaica, Newtown, and Oyster Bay. By the time the draft went into effect in November 1863, the six Queens towns had fulfilled their quotas of men by enlistment; Flushing contributed almost one-third of its voters to the volunteer army—a number just short of five hundred—many of them from College Point.[33] As 1862 drew to a close, the Flushing Light Artillery had seen action and earned commendations in the bloody battle of Cedar Mountain (9 August), as part of General Franz Sigel's division. Captain Roemer, on furlough in Flushing in March 1863, reported that thirty-eight

men had deserted, and eight had been killed.[34]

Although the draft riots that afflicted Jamaica in July 1863 left Flushing unaffected, a party of civilians and military police came through the village on the lookout for provocateurs. The draft of 1863 targeted 300 men, but less than fifty were taken. Many paid the $300 commutation fee, while the town undertook to pay the sum for indigent fathers drafted.[35]

Flushing, Jamaica, and Woodhaven were scenes of military encampments, but a few other Queens County sites also figured in the Civil War. After Willet's Point, originally the 136-acre Willet's farm, was acquired by the federal government in 1861, the Second Maine Regiment there camped for two weeks in June before embarking from Whitestone for action. In August 1862, Colonel John Cochrane's Chasseurs were briefly here, and, in September, several half-formed companies known as New York Rifles drilled on the grounds. In February 1862, the government appropriated $200,000 for the Point, and another $50,000 for the fiscal year ending on 30 June; in September, the government began to erect the massive fortification (still in existence), by building a dock 500-feet long, a sea wall, and living quarters for the workmen.[36]

Willet's Point assumed importance in June 1863, when the government established the Grant General Hospital there, with accommodations for 1,410 wounded soldiers. A group of Flushing women formed the Soldiers Hospital Association to administer to the needs of the sick and wounded. On the Fourth of July, they brought wagon loads of meat, pies, puddings, and other food to the wounded men. At Christmas time, the soldiers again were gladdened with dinners of turkey and all the trimmings.[37] The hospital buildings survived the Civil War, but were destroyed by fire in May 1890.

Rikers Island, now a prison compound, also served as a military encampment although only a few acres square and hardly a foot-or-two above high water. In September 1861, the Yates Rifles used the island, and, in December 1863, three hundred African American recruits were stationed there as a nucleus for a projected Twentieth United States Colored Troop. By the following January, this small island accommodated 3,600 recruits who came and went almost daily; it could have served only as a transfer station, for it had no space for maneuvers. Even tiny Hart's Island supported a guard company to intercept deserters from Rikers Island or Willet's Point. David's Island, off New Rochelle, served as an internment camp for Confederate prisoners of war.[38]

All of 1864 was taken up by the constant effort to secure men for service. As we have seen, on 5 July 1864, the federal government surprised everyone by announcing the elimination of the much-criticized commutation. By presidential decree, men now were called for one-, two-, or three-year enlistments; if not enough volunteered, the government could demand at least one year of service. In return, a $200 bounty was paid for one year of service, $300 for two, and $400 for three. The six towns of Queens now offered $300 a year, themselves. Thanks to these substantial inducements, enough men

enrolled by October 1864 to make a draft in Queens unnecessary.[39] The heavy drain on the finances of the towns was met by selling bonds paying 7 percent interest. These bonds sold sluggishly, and the war ended just in time before funds were exhausted.

The long war finally came to an end in April 1865. In the lists of casualties, a high proportion of deaths was caused by diarrhea, dysentery, and typhoid fever, often contracted from drinking tainted water; infected wounds also took a high toll. The number of Queens County men killed in action was relatively small: ten from the town of Newtown, twenty-nine from the town of Jamaica, and forty-seven from the town of Flushing.[40]

Each town in the present borough of Queens built a monument to its dead, all three of which still stand: Flushing's is an obelisk on Northern Boulevard, opposite the Quaker Meeting House; Jamaica's is a figure of Victory holding a wreath, at 175th Street and Hillside Avenue; and Newtown's is a statue of a Union soldier on a pedestal, in Mt. Olivet Cemetery. The most poignant reminders of the agony of the Civil War are in Cypress Hills Cemetery—the long rows of tombstones of Union men who died of wounds in the New York and Willet's Point Military Hospitals, and the stones in memory of the Confederate prisoners-of-war who perished in the prisons on Hart's and David's Island.

NOTES

1. David M. Potter, *Division and the Stresses of Reunion, 1845-1876* (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman, 1973), 111; for the period leading to the Civil War, see Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976); for Queens County in 1860-1861, see David Osborn, "Queens County and the Secession Crisis," in this issue of *LIHJ*.

2. *Long Island Farmer* (hereafter *LIF*) 23 April 1861, 2:3; 30 April, 2:4; 5 February, 2:3; 14 May, 3:1

3. *LIF*., 26 June 1861, 2:3; 30 July, 2:5; 27 August, 2:3; 3 December, 2:4; for Jacob Roemer, see "Major Roemer's Battery," *History of Queens County, New Yor*k (New York: W. W. Munsell, 1882), 121-24.

4. *LIF*, 13 August 1861, 2:1.

5. *LIF*, 3 September 1861, 2:3; 10 September, 2:4; 17 September 2:3; 8 and 15 October, 2:5; *Long Island Times*, 10 October, 2:2.

6. *LIF*, 22 and 29 October 1861, 2:5; 5 November, 3:2.

7. *LIF*, 4 November 1861, 2:4; 17 and 25 December, 2:5.

8. *LIF*, 18 March 1862, 2:5.

9. *LIF*, 15 July 1862, 2:5; 22 July, 2:4; 14 October; for the militia law, see James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), 492.

10. *LIF*, 19 and 25 August 1862, 2:3; 2 September, 2:4-5.

11. *LIF*, 2 September, 2:5, 9 September, 3:1.

12. *LIF*, 21 October 1862, 2:3; 11 November, 3:1; 5 August, 2:4; 12 August, 3:1; 2 and 16 September, 2:4; 23 September, 2:3.

13. *LIF*, 18 and 25 November 1862, 2:4; 2 December, 2:5.

14. *LIF*, 9 and 23 December 1862, 2:4; 30 December, 2:5.

15. *LIF*, 30 December 1862, 2:5, 3:2; 6 January 1863, 2:5; 6 May1863, 2:3.

16. *LIF*, 28 April 1863, 2:5; 5 May, 2:2; 19 May, 2:3; 17 March 1863, 2:4; For analysis of the draft, see McPherson, *Battle Cry*, 600-11.

17. McPherson, *Ordeal by Fire: Volume Two, the Civil War*, 2d. ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1982), 348; McPherson, *Battle Cry,* 563; LIF, 9 June, 2:3; 36. *Flushing Journal*, 12 December 1863.

18. *LIF*, 9 June 1863, 2:3; 7 July, 2:5; 14 July, 2:3.

19. *LIF*, 21 July 1863, 2:3-4; 4 August, 2:5; 11 August, 2:4; the rioters derisivly called the largest, ten-foot-high bonfire "Mount Vesuvius" (*History of Queens County*, 65; see also Iver Bernstein, *The New York City Draft Riots: Their Significance for American Society and Politics in the Age of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1990).

20. *LIF*, 1 and 8 September 1863, 2:4; 22 September, 3:1; 29 September, 2:4; 15 September, 2:3.

21. *LIF*, 27 October 1863, 2:5; 15 December, 2:4.

22. *LIF*, 19 January 1864, 3:1 and 2:4; 2 February, 2:4; 26 January, 2:4; 15 March, 2:3; City Clerk Henry McCloskey, compiler, *Manual for 1864* (Brooklyn: Common Council, City of Brooklyn, 1864).

23. *LIF*, 5 January 1864, 2:3; 12 January, 3:1; 16 February, 2:4; 23 February, 2:5; 12 April, 3:2; 9 August, 2:3.

24. *LIF*. 4 October 1864, 3:4; 19 July 2:5.

25. *LIF*, 5 July 1864, 2:3.

26. *LIF*, 16 February 1864, 2:3.

27. *LIF*, 1 March 1864, 3:1 and 8 March, 2:4; 29 November, 2:3.

28. *Flushing Journal* (hereafter *FJ*), 27 April 1861; 4 and 18 May; 1 June; 6 and 13 July;

29. *FJ*, 8 June 1861; 3, 17, 24, 31 August; 7 and 14 September; 23 November; 21 September; 2, 16, 30 November; 14 December.

30. *FJ*, 10, 31 May 1861.

31. *FJ*, 9 August 1862.

32. *FJ*, 16 and 23 August, 1862.

33. *FJ*, 23 and 30 August 1862; 6 September, 4 October, 8 November.

34. *FJ*, 16 August and 6 September 1862; 8 June, 3, 17, 24, 31 August 1862; 14 March 1863.

35. *FJ*, 25 July and 5 September, 1863.

36. *FJ*, 1 June, 24 August, and 14 September 1861; 8 February and 6 September 1862.

37. *FJ*, 9 July 1863; 24 December 1864.

38. *FJ*, 21 September 1861; 12 December 1863; 9 June and 27 August 1864. "Negro troops...[t]o distinguish them from white soldiers were called `United States Colored Troops'" (John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, 4th ed. (New York: Knopf, 1974), 250-51.

39. *FJ*, 9 and 23 July, 29 October 1864. Of a total of 360,000 Union and 258,000 Confederate deaths, Civil War battle deaths have been placed at 110,000 Union and 94,000 Confederate; thus, only one of three died in battle, the other two perishing as a result of wounds or disease (see Theodore Ropp, *War in the Modern World* (Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press, 1959), 158 n 14).

40. Of approximately 186,000 African Americans in the armed forces during the Civil War, more than 38,000 lost their lives (Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 230, 233. For a list of the name, locality, unit served in, and fate of every man from the six town of Queens who served in the Civil War, see *History of Queens* (W. W. Munsell), 65-73.

After Freedom in Newtown, Queens: African Americans and the Color Line, 1828-1899

By Roger Sanjek

Black and white racial groups have lived together in the New York metropolitan area from the earliest years of colonization. European settlement in New Amsterdam, capital of the Dutch New Netherland colony, began in 1624, and the first Africans from the Angola coast arrived two years later. By 1664, when British conquest changed "New Amsterdam" to "New York," slavery was firmly established, with African Americans scattered throughout the emerging, principally-white, urban nucleus. After the state of New York abolished slavery in 1827, black settlement continued, though now in rented, marginal housing rather than in slave-owners' dwellings. This racially mixed pattern persisted during the nineteenth-century decades of freedom—the years of the invisible, socially-enforced color line—although black-led institutions like churches and voluntary associations now served as points of social attachment for residentially dispersed African American New Yorkers. Only in the early years of the twentieth century did a new pattern of all-black neighborhoods appear, first in Harlem, and then in other boroughs, as the intangible color line of the nineteenth century gave way to the new social controls of residential racial segregation.[1]

This article examines race relations in a peripheral area of metropolitan New York—the town of Newtown, Queens—in the years between 1828 and 1899. Here, as in Manhattan, a socially imposed color line separated free black and white residents. My focus is on Newtown's small, free, black community, centered around its own church and highly conscious of its identity. Economically and politically marginal, Newtown's black population also received its education in a separate school (until 1884), and, from the few glimpses that sources provide, enjoyed its own social and recreational life, much as did the larger African American population of Manhattan.

Newtown was a farming village first settled in 1652 by some 250 English colonists, who crossed the Long Island Sound from Connecticut to Flushing. They traveled south on the Flushing River, and then west along the meandering Horse Creek (running under today's Long Island Expressway and Lefrak City apartment complex) to the heart of present-day Elmhurst (Broadway and Justice Avenue). It is unclear whether any enslaved Africans arrived with these New England farmers, though the nineteenth-century Newtown attorney and chronicler, James Riker Jr., observed that slavery's

"introduction was coeval with the planting of the town." We do know that nine years after settlement, in 1661, "a negro boy" was exchanged for land in Newtown, and that Samuel Edsall complained about "the negro he had purchased from Virginia."[2]

Slavery lasted in Newtown for 175 years until its extinction in 1827 (under the New York State Gradual Manumission Act of 1799). In 1790, 28 percent of Newtown's population was black, a total of some 585 persons. By 1830, only 206 African Americans remained, a scant 8 percent of the town's 2,610 residents. In the years leading to full freedom, many black people had left Newtown and moved to Manhattan. There the black population grew from 3,092 in 1790 to 13,976 in 1830, education was available in the African Free School, and family life was more possible to sustain.[3]

On 23 November 1828, during the second year in which all of Newtown's black residents were free, a white farmer, William Hunter, and his wife Jane, deeded two acres to the "United African Society" for the purpose of building a church and parsonage. This property was on the north side of Dutch Lane (today's Corona Avenue), between what is now 90th Street and 91st Place (the site of the Peerless Instrument factory and a block of stores with apartments above them). A cemetery was perhaps already in use on the site, and services for black worshippers would be offered over the next hundred years, first in the Second Presbyterian Church of Newtown (Colored), and then in its successor, Saint Mark African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. The church ground stood outside the main village in 1828, but, as the village prospered and expanded through the nineteenth century, it later became surrounded by the farms and homes of Newtown's gentry and well-off Manhattan commuters.[4]

Black worshippers at Newtown's First Presbyterian church, long accustomed to second-class seating, probably planned the separate congregation as early as 1826. The members of this United African Society founding group (named by an elderly church member in 1919) included five men who "acted as purchasers"—John Potter, Thomas Johnson, John Peterson, John Coes, and George Derlin. The first three are listed as black Newtown household heads in the 1830 census, as are a John "Coles" and a George "Dushing." The last of these names is probably Carter G. Woodson's misreading of the handwritten "Durling"; also listed in 1830 were Henry Durling, Peter Dorland, and Abraham Dorlon, no doubt alternative spellings, like Derlin or Durland, of the same family name. In 1911, the Newtown Register recorded as "some of the first members and founders" of the church John Peterson, George and Henry Durland, and four women—Mrs. Nancy Jackson, Freelove Johnson, Jane Peterson, and Judith Schenck. None of these four was mentioned as a household head in the 1830 census, but three of them may have been members of the three Jackson, four Johnson, and five Peterson male-headed households that were listed.[5]

The 1830 list of fifty Newtown black households includes only a handful of surnames adopted from old Newtown white families. Most, like those of

the United African Society group, probably chose their own names, the common practice of this generation of black New Yorkers. Of the six church men whose names match or approximate those on the 1830 census list, two were in the "24-36" age group (John Peterson, John Potter), three in the "36-55" group (John Coles, Henry Durling, Thomas Johnson), and one in the "55-100" group (George Dushing, or Durling). None had been listed as free in 1810, so they either had moved to Newtown or achieved freedom after that date, the two youngest perhaps not until emancipation in 1827.

In Manhattan, the population boom that brought the city from 202,589 in 1830 to 813,669 in 1860 and 1,850,093 in 1900, was overwhelmingly white. During these decades, Manhattan's black population fell from 13,976 in 1830 to 12,574 in 1860, and then rose to 36,246 in 1900, primarily as a result of migration from the postReconstruction South. Still, Manhattan was less than 2 percent black in 1900, as was Queens, where only 2,611 black people lived among some 150,235 whites. Apparently, the small black Newtown population—only 376 in 1845—remained small when the century ended, by which time the poles of growth for African American population and institutions in Queens were Jamaica and Flushing, which, in 1845, had black populations of 359 and 600, respectively.[6]

The post-emancipation decades in New York City were times of rigid enforcement of the color line in voting, employment, schools, and housing. Antagonism to black workers started in the colonial era, when the target of white working-class dissatisfaction was not slavery but slaves, hired out by their owners to do the same jobs, but more cheaply. Violence against free blacks occurred repeatedly in the nineteenth century, usually perpetrated by marginally employed white workers. The white working class remained strongly anti-abolitionist, egged on by Democratic party politicians who warned of even greater black competition if southern slavery ended. The minority of white people who supported the abolitionist cause tended to be well-to-do, including some from Newtown.[7]

Separation into their own churches was the first clear response of Manhattan's free African Americans to the hostility they encountered, as slavery in the state approached its end. The city's black Methodists began separate worship in 1796, leading to formation of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AMEZ) denomination; black Baptists formed the Abyssinian Baptist Church in 1807; black Episcopalians founded their Saint Philip's Church in 1809; and black Presbyterians established a congregation in 1821. These developments were undoubtedly known to the Newtown "United African Society" members, who may have been inspired by the work of the similarly-named New York "African Society for Mutual Aid," founded in 1808.[8]

The 1821 revision of the state constitution, overwhelmingly endorsed at the polls, crippled black voting rights in New York by maintaining, for African American males, the $250 property qualification for gubernatorial and state senate races, and $100 for state assembly contests, while removing these restrictions from the great majority of white men. Efforts to end this

discrimination lost in subsequent referendums, including that of 1860, the year of Lincoln's election, when New York voters retained it by a wide margin; only in 1874, following the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution, could every black male New Yorker vote. The effect of this disfranchisement was evident in 1845 in Newtown, where only seventeen of the 359 "colored" residents were taxpayers, and a mere seven were voters.[9] In consequence, while the 870 white voters represented 17 percent of the white population, the seven African American voters amounted to less than 1 percent of the black population.

Nevertheless, Newtown's black residents demonstrated their sharp sense of rights as citizens. At a meeting in Newtown on 20 August 1862, in response to President Lincoln's request for the views of "colored" Americans on the question of their resettlement "in Central America or some other foreign country," black Newtowners affirmed their American identity:

> This is our country by birth, consequently we are acclimated and in other respects better adapted to it than to any other country. This is our native country—we have as strong an attachment naturally to our native hills, valleys, plains, luxuriant forests, flowing streams, mighty rivers, and lofty mountains as any other people...Neither can we forget and disown our white kindred. This is the country of our choice, being our fathers' country.[10]

They also noted the role their labor had played in the creation and growth of Queens and the nation:

> We love this land, and have contributed our share to its prosperity and wealth. This we have done by cutting down forests, subduing the soil, cultivating fields, constructing roads, digging canals. We have, too, given our aid in building cities and villages, in building and supporting our churches and schools. We have...assisted in cattle breeding, raising various kinds of produce such as corn, wheat, oats, potatoes, cotton, rice, tobacco, the leading staples of the country.[11]

With such a firm sense of national attachment, and an accurate historical appreciation of their entitlement to it, Newtown's black residents probably accepted readily their civic rights and duties once they gained them. In 1883, "Eli Holland, colored," a resident of Winfield, a village on today's Elmhurst-Woodside border, was called to serve on a Newtown jury.[12]

In neither numbers, nor actions of public militance—unlike Flushing or Jamaica—did the local black population pose any threat to Newtown's whites. In 1885, a *Newtown Register* reporter reflected,

> The colored people of the village are, as a rule, a quiet and unassuming people, having their own place of worship, and until recently, their own school. Some of them were slaves, when slavery was tolerated in the State of NY but most of them were born in freedom though descendants of slaves and are respectable citizens and worthy representatives of their

race.[13]

This was probably the consensus among local whites.

More research is needed concerning the occupations and terms of employment of nineteenth-century black Newtown residents. Very few owned property, and the majority, therefore, must have worked for white people. The 1919 elderly church member stated that a blacksmith shop once occupied the site of the Corona Avenue church, so perhaps one local African American man held this job. During the decades following 1828, the Newtown agrarian economy was reoriented to supply foodstuffs and milk to the Manhattan market, the wheat export regime having collapsed with the growth of upstate New York and midwestern production after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. By midcentury, factory as well as farm labor had multiplied, with European immigrants moving in to fill these and a variety of "mechanic" artisan requirements. In Manhattan, black workers were displaced by immigrants from a wide variety of jobs between 1827 and the Civil War, and pushed more and more into personal service and street-trade occupations.[15]

How black Newtown labor fit into this wider picture is unclear. The 1862 response to President Lincoln, and the 1885 reporter's comment suggest that some former slaves remained as workers on the farms of their former owners. According to Riker, while many slaves deserted their masters even before the 1827 emancipation, some elderly black men and women preferred to stay on. Some black persons were, also, household workers for white families. Purcell Harris, who in 1902 initiated formation of the Saint Mark AME black congregation at the old Corona Avenue site, "served a wealthy family in the neighborhood." And, at the 1911 dedication of this church's new building, a stain glass window was given by the Riker family "in memory of their old family employee, the late Samuel Stevens of Winfield."[16]

Two other clues concerning work roles among nineteenth-century black people in Newtown are tantalizing. First, an 18 September 1849 notice from one Jarvis Jackson, a Newtown subscriber to the *Long Island Democrat*, offered a one-dollar reward for "an indentured colored Boy named Tom. All persons are forbid trusting, harboring or employing said Boy." Neither Jackson's occupation nor race are indicated. Second, in what is today North Corona, a large, well-attended race track in operation between 1854 and 1869 featured many horses owned by southerners. In the south, "the colored stablemen, jockeys and trainers that had once accompanied their masters north to the tracks drifted off after Emancipation."[17] One can only wonder what contact these southern blacks might have had with the Newtown black population, and whether any of them ever "drifted off" into it.

The black school in Newtown, unlike the church, was not founded by the local black population. A common school system for its white children was established in Newtown in 1814, and several township school districts laid out. A "school-house on Dutch Lane," which could not have been far from the black church, at some point was given "to the colored people" by Peter Remsen, a white Newtowner who spent his adult years as a businessman in

Manhattan. Whether this occurred before or at the time of his death in 1836 is not clear—for example, Remsens were listed as slaveowners in 1755 and 1790, and the black Benjamin Remsen family was among those counted in Newtown in the 1830 census. In 1868, the Newtown annual school meeting appropriated $1,000 for building a new "school house for colored children," in the heart of Newtown Village on what today is Justice Avenue.[18]

By 1880, only seven black children were registered at "the colored school in District 1, Newtown Village," then one of eleven public school districts in the town of Newtown. In 1881, ten black children registered, although attendance was soon expected to return to the daily norm of three or four. District 1's white student population was 318 in 1883, and the *Newtown Register* continued to question the $300 annual expense of maintaining a teacher for only a handful of black students; indeed, the paper observed that the town's other ten districts did not maintain separate white and black schools. In 1884 the separate "colored school" was abolished, and six black children began attending the Newtown Village Union Free School, on the grounds of today's Newtown High School, along with 135 white students; "no ill feeling was apparent in any quarter."[19]

As the school registration numbers indicate, Newtown Village (renamed Elmhurst in 1896) had a very small black population in the later nineteenth century. In the slavery period, black people resided in white households throughout today's Elmhurst, Corona (so named in 1872), and elsewhere in the town of Newtown. As black numbers declined in the nineteenth century, the residential location of the free black households in Elmhurst is not clear, although some of them certainly sent their children to school there, and "a colony long established" existed. Others lived in Winfield, a half-mile from Newtown Village. These black householders first bought land and "built their little cottages" following the opening, in 1840, of the Shell Road through Newtown Village (along today's Elmhurst and 45th Avenues), paved with crushed oyster shells and connecting Flushing and Brooklyn. They resided at first in a marginal area at some remove from surrounding farmhouses. Winfield, a railroad junction village, was not laid out and settled by white people until 1854, when black and white children attended the same public school in the community. This small black settlement (about where 45th Avenue meets Queens Boulevard in Woodside) was still occupied by the original settlers "or their descendents" in 1898.[20]

The Newtown situation of small marginal "colonies" of black folk scattered among the white majority was much like that of African Americans in New York City during the era of the color line. Before slavery ended, black people lived on every street in Manhattan, and free African Americans were scattered throughout the non-elite neighborhoods. This remained the picture as Manhattan moved north through the 1800s; pockets and "colonies" of African Americans appeared and disappeared, but there was no solidly-black residential district. The rule of the real estate market was that blacks were the last to occupy housing, at higher rent than the previous white

tenants, before it was torn down and replaced. Consequently, most nineteenth-century black Manhattanites lived in scattered, poorly maintained, marginal slums.[21]

They also lived among working-class whites, particularly Irish. Blacks and Irish frequently fought, and during the 1863 draft riot many African Americans were singled out for attacks, several were lynched, and the Colored Orphanage at 42nd Street was attacked. Black men married to Irish women were particular targets, pointing to the interracial contact that also marked the black-Irish relationship, and was evident from the 1700s on in the city's "black and tan dives" and poor neighborhoods. Even during attacks on African Americans by police and neighborhood toughs in the 1900 Manhattan riot, several black victims recalled white friends and strangers who harbored and aided them.[22]

Neither the residential locations nor the everyday experiences of nineteenth-century African American New Yorkers were as segregated as those of their twentieth-century counterparts. Nor were those of nineteenth-century Newtowners. Indeed, one of the points raised against the continuing expense of the "colored" school by the *Newtown Register* in 1883 was that:

> it seems as though the exclusiveness acquired by the separation of the races in the school room would be destroyed by their indiscriminate and affectionate intercourse in the streets at play. For it is a fact that the white children seem to prefer colored playmates and are most frequently found rollicking and tumbling in the arms of their brunette playmates when removed from the restraint imposed in the school rooms.[23]

Newtown's black solidarity, first around its church, and later in its 1862 response to President Lincoln, seems to have declined in the 1870s. By then, the youngest of the founding United African Society members were in their late sixties or older, if still alive. A dwindling band of black Presbyterians ("three or four") led by Samuel Stephens (probably the same Riker family employee commemorated as "Samuel Stevens" at Saint Mark in 1911) wished to continue within this denomination. But, during the 1870s, a new majority of Methodists ("scores") arose among the black Newtown and Winfield populations, and the Corona Avenue church was closed for several years as the schism intensified.[24]

Black Methodism in Newtown sprouted from various roots. The AMEZ church, home of many militant African American leaders since 1796, had long been active in New York, and a Macedonia Zion AME church in Flushing (still in existence) began in 1810. The African Methodist Episcopal (AME) denomination, formed in 1816, had prospered in northern and border states, and, as a result of the work of its missionaries after the Great Awakening of the 1830s, had grown faster than the AMEZ before the Civil War. Both denominations expanded into the South after the war, with the AME again leading numerically, its 1856 national membership of 20,000

expanding to more than 200,000 by 1876. The white Methodist church also moved into the South, where it actively recruited black members.[25]

In Newtown, the evangelically-minded white Methodist circuit included congregations dating from 1839 in Newtown Village, and from 1853 in Maspeth where the church was physically closer to African Americans in Winfield than was the old black Presbyterian church. As the black Methodist-Presbyterian schism arose, the minister of the white First Presbyterian Church of Newtown assumed stewardship of the black church's building and sought to resolve the discord. In 1880 he invited a Maspeth Methodist minister to preach there for the black Methodist majority. These worshippers may earlier have attended the Maspeth church, or drawn still other black Methodists from it: an 1882 report revealed that "A protracted meeting, we are informed, is now being held every evening in the little church in Dutch Lane by the colored M/E. [Methodist Episcopal] church, recently of Maspeth."[26]

By 1884, black Presbyterians again worshipped at the "old and very dilapidated" Newtown church, and "the A.M.E. Church at Maspeth" was meeting in a "new, neat and convenient" building close to both the mainly white Maspeth Methodist church and the black community of Winfield. Neither the Presbyterian nor the AME groups survived for long at these sites, however, though other black religious services appear to have been held later in the century at the old 1828 church site. A Rev. J. W. Van Zandt, arrested in Flushing in 1896 in response to a paternity support claim filed by "Mary Blake, also colored," was identified as former pastor "of the colored church on Union [Corona] Ave." At the time of the arrest he was conducting camp meetings, to which admission was charged, and "claimed to be able to cure diseases by the laying on of hands." On an 1898 list of thirty-two Newtown churches, two "Zion (colored)" bodies were mentioned, but not their locations. No "colored" Presbyterian nor Methodist church was listed in 1898; not until the early 1900s was a new AME congregation organized at the old Corona Avenue church site.[27]

Meanwhile, a few black Newtowners worshipped at the white First Presbyterian Church from the 1830s on, sitting in the "negro pew" gallery which dated from the slavery era. On 15 February 1885, however, "Mr. John Cornelison and his wife, respectable colored people residing in the Village of Newtown," seated themselves in the rear pew. A white usher immediately directed them upstairs, whereupon the Cornelisons objected and exited the church. This breach of the color line was long remembered; one white woman who had moved to Newtown village in 1872 recalled the incident in the 1930s, remarking that the Anglican and Dutch Reformed churches also had some black congregants, but that the color line eventually dissolved in these houses of worship.[28]

Reliance on existing sources limits the history of nineteenth-century black Newtown to events of note to whites. Obviously, a social life of births, deaths, marriages, visiting, and entertainment existed, if it remains unchronicled. A Newtown Register item hinted at this invisible side of

African American life in 1889:

> The *first* annual afternoon & evening picnic to be given by our colored citizens will be held at Held's Schuetzen Pk. on Thurs. Aug. 22. Music will be furnished by Prof. Dilly. Admission 25¢. The affair will be directed by the following committee of arrangements: James Graham, Joseph Kennedy, Mrs. E. Bounty, M. W. Ceaser.[29]

A Graham family was among the free black Newtown households counted in the 1830 census; the other surnames were not, indicating some movement of new black residents into Newtown between the 1830s and 1880s. Schuetzen Park, located in Glendale on Myrtle Avenue near Woodhaven Boulevard, was one of the many German immigrant-run picnic grounds in southern Newtown township (Ridgewood, Glendale, Maspeth) that flourished between the 1870s and the early 1900s. Their prime time was the weekend, particularly Sunday.[30] It is one more measure of the post-1828 color line era that black Newtowners enjoyed their event on a Thursday, when few whites would want to use the facility.

Although less than 2 percent of the population of both Manhattan and Queens was black when it began, the new century was a time of massive migration to the city from the southern United States and the Caribbean region. Today, one of four New Yorkers, and one of five Queens residents, is black. But, following the 1900 race riot in Manhattan, and the subsequent development of solidly black settlement in Harlem, the nineteenth-century pattern of black marginal settlement within white neighborhoods would change. The socially circumscribed color line now gave way to geographical lines of residential segregation.

In Elmhurst (formerly Newtown Village), blacks dwindled in number as newly opened residential sections were racially restricted, and more and more African American households relocated to the emerging black neighborhood of East Elmhurst-North Corona to the northeast, an area that remains strongly black today. By 1929, Saint Mark, successor church to the Newtown Village black congregation established 101 years before, finally sold its remaining plot in Elmhurst—now solidly white—and reopened at 96th Street and Northern Boulevard (where it continues to the present time) in the growing North Corona-East Elmhurst black community.[31]

NOTES

I thank May O. Guerrier, of Queens College, for assisting me in my research at the Long Island Collection, Queens Borough Public Library, and Steven Gregory, of Wesleyan University's Department of Anthropology, for sharing material he discovered in his own research.

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Baseball and the Blue Laws

By Jeffrey A. Kroessler

The explosive growth of American cities brought urban dwellers, many of them members of the immigrant working class, into conflict with rural interests, mainly of native American stock, in each city's immediate hinterland. These conflicts became especially acute in the western towns of Queens County in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but such class and ethnic tensions were hardly unique to the growth of New York and Brooklyn. With an expanding manufacturing base and the development of suburban villages, western Queens changed dramatically in the second half of the nineteenth century. At the same time, the county also became an increasingly popular playground for the crowded populations of New York and Brooklyn. Every Sunday throngs of working-class city dwellers descended on largely rural Queens to patronize the picnic grounds, amusement parks, beaches, and ball fields. However much those Sunday visitors may have enjoyed their day in the country, they caused considerable consternation among local residents.

By the 1850s, manufacturers in Brooklyn and Manhattan began relocating their plants to Queens, usually selecting relatively isolated spots rather than long-established villages. The industrial sites included Conrad Poppenhusen's hard rubber company in College Point; Henry Englehardt Steinway's piano works along the East River, near Astoria; "Sohmerville," the neighborhood around the Sohmer piano factory, just below Astoria; and the tinware factories of Charles Lalance and Florian Grosjean near Woodhaven, a village between Jamaica and East New York. The industrialists fostered the growth of communities around the factories, in some cases actually building homes for the workers and donating such essential institutions as schools, libraries, and churches.[1]

With its largely German population, College Point also became a favorite summertime spot for the organized picnics of Sunday schools, political clubs, and labor unions; as many as ten thousand people a day crowded the ferries and trolleys to visit Witzel's Point View Island resort, and Donnelly's Grove. These and other resorts were popular among politicians of both parties; Republican boss Tom Platt and Tammany leader Tim Sullivan each attended events there.[2] Despite the business generated by these visitors, however, the village was far from comfortable with the noise and disorder they caused,

and, as the German population there grew, the question of Sunday closings became increasingly problematic.

Except for College Point, the population of the town of Flushing was largely native-born American. In 1875, for example, two men on the town's excise commission, Benjamin Cox of Whitestone and George L. Gillette of College Point, were members of the Flushing Law and Order Association; the third was Henry Kraemer, "keeper of a lager beer saloon" in College Point. Cox and Gillette favored strict enforcement of the law mandating the closing of saloons on Sundays, while Kraemer pointed out that "it will be utterly impossible to enforce this provision in College Point." Even the Law and Order men admitted

> that it seems a hardship to enjoin the German from quaffing his Fatherland beverage to his heart's content on the day of all the week to him. It may be argued that the lager beer saloon is not, as a rule, the cause of any great crime or wickedness and that the whisky shop is. There is a difference in favor of the beer saloon in this respect, but is it a distinction that the law can recognize?[3]

In practice, Flushing authorities left enforcement up to the citizens of College Point. However, in 1887 conditions deteriorated to such a degree that the alarmed village trustees took the drastic step of temporarily banning Sunday picnics because of "the lawlessness of the men and women who attended these gatherings." This was done in spite of the considerable financial loss suffered by the hotels and parks that employed many of the villagers.[4]

While bargain prices for land and the relative absence of government regulations brought manufacturers to Queens, the picturesque rural landscape and the lax enforcement of the blue laws attracted thousands of working-class families every Sunday during the warmer months. This did not please the residents of those neighborhoods which became favorite picnic spots. In the summer of 1874, the *Flushing Journal* reported that: "A lot of drunken rowdies from New York, calling themselves 'chowder' parties, go through the village every few days. For the most part these fellows come from the city to enjoy a good 'drunk' and escape arrest."[5] Enforcement of Sunday closing laws, and the behavior of the city-dwellers who swarmed into the county every weekend, became major local issues in the 1880s and 1890s.

William Steinway was well aware of the conflicts over drinking and the Sunday activities of workers, not only because he had an interest in North Beach, a resort whose profitability depended on Sunday business, but also because he was himself a German-American.[6]

In an interview in the *New York Times*, Steinway recognized that "rigorous enforcement of the Puritanical blue laws [fell] with the greatest severity upon the working classes, who are compelled to live in small, ill-ventilated rooms in which cooking, washing, and ironing are done—generally with a numerous family." To enforce the blue laws on Sunday, their only day off, not only severely restricted the scope of their leisure activities but

challenged habits and practices central to their culture. "Accustomed to take a glass of light, cool beer with his wife and grown up members of his family," declared Steinway,

> that comfort was taken from him, and warm Croton water was his only drink. Instead of being able to go to some garden, where he and his family could listen to good music and take a glass of light cool beer or light wine mixed with seltzer water, the family is compelled to remain in the dingy tenement house rooms in rainy weather or walk the street in good weather.

Tempering his remarks with references to "light" alcoholic beverages, and emphasizing the proper role of beer and wine within the family, Steinway attempted to refute the contention of prohibitionists and other supporters of Sunday closings that alcohol consumption destroyed family life. The piano manufacturer recognized that there was little room for compromise over this issue, which was as much a conflict between native-born Americans and the German immigrant community as it was between "wets" and "drys":

> It is an exceedingly difficult task to suggest a liberal Sunday clause in the excise law that will uphold the sanctity of the American Sabbath and yet permit the opening of saloons and gardens where good music and light beverages may be dispensed in an English-speaking country. For it is a sad fact—and more especially among young men—that disorderly persons, inclined to personal violence and ruffianism, are more prevalent in English-speaking countries than in others that I know of. This whole thing is not a drinking question with German-Americans, It is entirely a question of personal liberty.[7]

Although he had achieved financial success and a prominent place in New York society, Steinway still could empathize with his workers who endured life in tenements and faced cultural pressures as German-Americans. Still, dependent as he was on Sunday business to keep his streetcar line and resort profitable, he was speaking as much as a paternalistic capitalist as an immigrant libertarian.

Many city dwellers were accustomed to taking occasional trips into the nearby countryside. The trip by ferry and horsecar, often followed by a considerable walk, could take as long as two hours, but that probably served to heighten the experience, accentuating the differences between the home environment and the recreational spots in rural districts. A turn-of-the-century guidebook noted that the trolley itself could be a form of recreation:

> Trolleying has a thousand fascinations, and is the most inexpensive of sports. It can lead the explorer into a hundred and more pleasant places, and make him forget his cares. He has scenery, history, fresh air for his objects....By train but a fraction of this countryside is revealed. The bicycle laid it open to a few but by no means to all. To those who most needed these glimpses on the skirts of the city—the tired women, the

> mothers, the babies, the restless children, the men worn out by days of work—they might as well have been hundreds of leagues away.[8]

One of the more popular activities was visiting the rural cemeteries beyond Manhattan. Paying respects to the departed was only one reason for the popularity of cemeteries in the nineteenth century. Visiting those places was a free activity, always an all-important consideration, and, though owned by churches or private corporations, in a general sense the cemeteries were public spaces. wide open and, in the early years at least, not overly cluttered by monuments. Above all, these outings offered a temporary escape from urban conditions. The Sunday traffic was so great that the enterprising owners of streetcar lines, including Long Island City Mayor Patrick Jerome Gleason, who controlled the Calvary Cemetery line, raised fares to ten cents compared to the five cents charged during rush hours.[9] Families usually brought picnic baskets from home, but bought beer and ice cream from the many saloons and restaurants established at the last stop of the street railway lines.

Another popular destination was the picnic park. Astute farmers fenced off part of their land and invited visitors to bring their baskets, the farmer providing the ice and beer. Soon more imaginative entrepreneurs built elaborate parks which offered music and dancing, vaudeville acts, athletic contests, bowling alleys, and an indoor hall. These parks still permitted patrons to bring their baskets, for that was the only way many families could afford such outings. The places were especially popular with labor unions, ethnic clubs, and political associations. Tammany Hall sponsored annual picnics which attracted thousands. In July 1891, for example, the General Committee of the First Assembly District of the Tammany Association of New York, five-hundred strong, journeyed to Whitestone (the annual Tammany-sponsored picnic for voters took place the next month, a day when "the whole First district is depopulated"):

> They left Rector street early in the day and arrived at Whitestone before noon. Corks flew and beer streamed in goblets to thirsty lips until the boat touched at Whitestone. Then there was a scramble for Stimmel's Hotel, for lunch was announced for half-past twelve.

One man whose day did not start well was Tammany Boss Tim Sullivan:

> Before lunch was over Assemblyman "Tim" Sullivan put in an appearance. He was wrathful, too. Not only did he miss the boat, but he was mulcted by the Long Island Railroad, a corporation which he has so often befriended in the Legislature. "I paid seventy cents for an excursion ticket when the price is fifty-five," said Sullivan, "and I had to pay ten cents from Whitestone to Whitestone Landing when the fare is five. Just wait until I get to the Senate next year.

Despite "Big Tim's" sweaty wrath, the picnic was a grand success, with athletic contests, dinner, a concert, and dancing with "a swarm of village

maidens."[10]

Although popular among urban workers throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the parks caused problems for local residents, one of whom stated in exasperation, "There is no protection for property and as the fruit season approaches, the inhabitants pray for rain on Sunday, as that seems to be the only thing which will allow them to enjoy a quiet day." This Woodside resident also accused the local constabulary of accepting bribes to permit the activities to continue:

> one of the constables arrested a number of ball players who came from New York; how these parties escaped without being before the magistrate is certainly puzzling. On Sunday last there was a crowd of young ball players from Winfield who filled the air with their shouts and profane language, but as there was probably no money in it, no officer appeared.[11]

A surprising element in this episode is this irate citizen's objection to baseball, largely because

> the players appear careful to select a place for the game in the immediate vicinity of some dwelling or church where their noise will be most calculated to disturb the public peace and offend other citizens who desire to observe the day. This, together with past experiences, with drunken brawls so often accompanying the pastime, has determined our citizens to put a stop to the sport.[12]

Others complained of the visitors' profanity, public drunkenness, urinating on shrubbery, stealing fruit and vegetables from gardens, and damaging property.

It is not surprising that urbanites flocked to the unregulated rural districts outside the city boundaries for recreation, for they had few other options. Public parks were rare. New York's Central Park and Brooklyn's Prospect Park were elegantly designed exceptions, but park administrators specifically banned ball-playing and the consumption of beer and other alcoholic beverages, precisely those activities that immigrant workers anticipated enjoying on Sundays. The Central Park Board of Commissioners recognized the conflicting interests which sought to enjoy the park, but showed little sympathy for those who wanted to pursue more active recreation. They noted in one annual report that it would be impossible

> to satisfy the requirements of the numerous cricket, ball, and other adult clubs within the area of the Park, and at the same time preserve in the grounds an appearance that would be satisfactory to the much more numerous class that frequent the Park for the enjoyment of the refined and attractive features of its natural beauties.

Even schoolboys were permitted to play baseball only in designated spots, and under strict supervision by teachers. Baseball remained prohibited in

Central Park until 1920.[13]

Of course, by the 1850s objections to the game itself had lessened. Compared to the evils of the tenement districts, baseball and other organized sports offered obvious virtues, and few believed there was anything innately sinful in playing baseball on the Sabbath. Rather, the affront lay in the loud, destructive, and often lawless crowds the games attracted, as well as the association with drinking and gambling.[14]

One source of problems in Newtown was William Monteverde's Grand Street Park in Maspeth, where as many as three thousand attended games on Sundays. In 1882, the Register described the crowds leaving Monteverde's park after the games:

> On Sunday afternoons and evenings it has been unsafe for a lady to ride from Maspeth to Williamsburgh in a Grand Street car. The rowdies crowd on top of the cars, putting their feet through the windows and defy the efforts of the conductors to collect the fares. The traffic is composed of crowds that any respectable lady will shun and render walking more preferable than riding.

In 1886, in response to complaints by neighbors, the authorities clamped down and arrested Monteverde for "keeping a nuisance at Grand Street." One witness testified that "during the games there had been loud shouting and obscene language used by the persons in the grounds," adding that the patrons annoyed him by "trespassing on his property, destroying articles owned by him, exposing their persons and, when remonstrated with, replying 'Go to hell, you son of a bitch.'" To gather this evidence the man had climbed a cherry tree. Another witness stated that he had "paid 10¢ to go inside. Had seen intoxicating liquors sold in the park and drank them himself." When asked the nature of the profanity coming from the ball grounds, a third witness replied, "Run, you son of a bitch!" Despite testimony from other property owners in the vicinity of the park that they did not consider it a public nuisance, Monteverde was convicted and, eventually, fined $250; within a few weeks, citizens again were complaining of illegal baseball games at parks in Maspeth, including Monteverde's. The presence of the sheriff was enough to stop the games one week, but it was impossible for him be present at every park, every Sunday. Monteverde again was arrested the next year, as were the proprietors of other parks. Larger economic interests were also at stake; by one account, the streetcar lines running into Newtown from Brooklyn lost $2,500 every Sunday the parks were shut down.[15]

Throughout the period, newspapers in Queens, and occasionally New York, commented on the rowdy and, at times, violent behavior of the visitors. An 1891 article in the *New York Times* entitled "Long Island's Curse—Lawless Visitors that the Authorities Cannot Catch," described numerous complaints about the influx of Sunday visitors, without providing examples or the location of the problem. The *Times* was only discovering what Queens had known for years:

> Thousands of people from New-York and Brooklyn swarm over Long Island on Sundays. Many seek legitimate pleasure and recreation, but many more seek beer. Many get intoxicated and boisterous. Saloons, liquor stores, lager beer gardens, and parks are thicker in many parts of Long Island than farmhouses. Saloons and beer gardens occupy the corners of every crossroad; the village streets are lined with drinking places and even in the country lanes and bypaths through the woods beer signs meet the gaze. Sunday ball playing and "Wild West" shows are indulged in the roughboarded inclosures called parks.

The small local constabularies in Long Island City and each of the towns was hardly equipped to control the crowds, but there was also a question about their willingness to enforce the laws, not to mention the usual suspicions regarding their honesty. The Times piece concluded by suggesting that, "many officials are directly or indirectly interested [and] large sums of money are contributed by the proprietors of the parks and disorderly houses to a fund used as 'hush money.'[16]

While Newtown tried repeatedly to shut down the parks, Mayor Gleason permitted such activities to flourish in Long Island City. Though his predecessor, George Petry, had suppressed ball playing, Gleason announced that the games would go on, and his police force did not interfere with cock fights, boxing matches, or gambling. He visited the most popular park in Long Island City, the People's Recreation Grounds, and according to the newspaper, "after a pleasant chat with the manager drove away." As long as New York suffered under the "strict enforcement of the Excise law," the saloons in Long Island City did a thriving business:

> Thirsty New Yorkers came over in droves and the consumption of beer was enormous. One well-known hotel keeper in Hunter's Point sold 34 kegs during the day and a like increase in the local trade was observable in other sections. Men even came over from New York by the Astoria Ferry with large tin pails hidden in market baskets and after having the pails filled with beer returned to New York.

As the only park guaranteed to be open on Sundays, the People's Recreation Grounds attracted, according to the *Star*,

> the disorderly elements of New York City and the roughs of this city who delight in disorder and disturbance, [and] when the police attempted to interfere with their right 'to do as they pleased,' they turned upon the officers and attacked them.

Outside the grounds were wagons holding "kegs of lager and an ample array of beer glasses and the owners combined the pleasures of baseball with the liquid refreshment furnished by the contents of these kegs." Inside the park, spectators saw a game

> between nine colored gentlemen, the Gorhams, and a team of

> white trash called the Senators. The blacks were from Sullivan and Thompson Streets. The entire place was filled by a noisy yelling mob whose shouts and curses were heard a mile away but no effort was made by either the 'mounted cavalry' or the footmen of the police to put a stop to the disgraceful proceedings.

Beyond the obvious possibility of bribery as a motive for his willingness to tolerate violations of the law, however, it must be noted that Gleason owed his election as mayor to the votes of the working-class Irish in the city's First Ward, Hunter's Point, and Blissville, and it was to be expected that he would not interfere with the saloons and picnic parks patronized by his constituents.[17]

Alarmed citizens in Astoria, College Point, Woodside, and other communities formed "Law & Order" societies to combat violations of the law, but their efforts were never effective in closing the saloons and parks for any length of time. The leading citizens of College Point, including Adolph and Alfred Poppenhusen, Hugo and Herman Funke, and A. P. Schlesinger, were behind the movement but even their considerable economic power and social influence could not permanently close the saloons on the Sabbath.[18]

By the mid-1890s, after more than a decade of conflict over the question, the Queens County authorities learned to balance the demands of residents and the rights of the Sunday visitors, in part by tacitly admitting that they could not strictly enforce the Sunday laws:

> Clergymen and other orderly people complain that settlements are overrun by pleasure seekers. Ball playing, beer drinking and dancing in the picnic parks are among the excesses complained of. The Sabbatarians demand that ball players be arrested, that the licenses of offending saloon keepers be revoked, and that the picnic grounds be summarily closed. Objections to interference is made by thousands of anxious persons who like the sort of outing the nearby villages afford. The problem for officials to solve is delicate and difficult. Their best course, under the circumstances, is to take a reasonably liberal view of their responsibilities. They should be no more ready to countenance disorder or encourage evil than they should to enforce unnecessarily a puritanism at variance with comfort and healthful relaxation for the masses of the people. District Attorney Fleming is commendably disinclined to interfere with the innocent amusements of the public.[19]

Many eventually accepted that the "parks or places of resort for the overflowing population of New York and Brooklyn have become almost a necessity to save the overrunning of the entire country embraced within the suburbs of these cities."[20] The Sunday visitors would come to Queens in any event, and it was certainly better to have them inside the picnic groves, ballparks, and such resort areas as North Beach and the Rockaways, than to suffer their depredations across the entire countryside.

In his muckraking series collected in *The Shame of the Cities*, Lincoln Steffens reached the same conclusion. In "The Shame of Minneapolis," an article published in the January 1903 *McClure's*, he described how the very enforcement of laws against prostitution bred official corruption: "The so-called moral element of the people played into the hands of the police criminals by requiring strict laws against vice and crime." In other words, "vice had to be permitted to run" if any city were to limit opportunities for bribery and other forms of official misconduct. Although Steffens mainly addressed the police corruption which accompanied enforcement of the laws against disorderly houses, his point may be extended to any illegal activities enjoyed by the urban population. Percy Jones, the reform mayor of Minneapolis, asked Steffens, perhaps rhetorically, "*Can* a city government deal with vice and crime without some compromising arrangement with the criminals?"[21]

The issue of Sunday baseball remained controversial even after the creation of Greater New York in 1898, for municipal authorities now could close down the parks which had operated with impunity in Queens. Max Rosner, the owner of Dexter Park, an immensely popular ballfield near the Brooklyn-Queens line, evaded the Sabbath laws by selling pencils, programs, and seat cushions for twenty-five cents for grandstand admission, ten cents for the bleachers. Sunday baseball became a legal and political issue in August 1918, when John McGraw's New York Giants took on Christy Matthewson's Cincinnati Reds, in a game to benefit the families of the men of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment; about forty thousand fans attended, under the subterfuge of having paid admission to enjoy a pre-game concert. McGraw and Matthewson were arrested, though the judge quickly dropped all charges, stating that "the public owes each of them a vote of the highest commendation for lending their services gratis to the patriotic cause." In 1922, "Gentleman" Jimmy Walker introduced the bill which legalized Sunday baseball in New York by permitting the voters of each community in the state to decide the question for themselves. It was one of his few legitimate achievements in the state legislature.[22]

Conflicts over enforcment of blue laws in the late-nineteenth century are but one aspect of the changing relationship between the expanding metropolis and its immediate hinterland. As long as the towns of western Queens had political autonomy, enforcement was uncertain. There was always the possibility that the authorities could enforce Sunday closings and local standards of behavior, but it was equally true that they could turn a blind eye toward such activities, often as the result of payoffs. Political power in the towns was too diffuse to enforce the law with any consistency, however, and the sheer number of visitors only compounded the difficulties facing the sheriffs, even if they honestly tried to carry out their job. Moreover, many residents of Queens profited from the Sunday business. While urban workers needed leisure spots, the residents of Queens had a right to expect the visitors to respect their property and obey local laws. Clearly, there was little room for compromise over Sunday closings. In the end, the physical expansion of

Brooklyn and New York meant that the city dwellers would triumph in this clash of values between urban and rural, immigrant and native born, working class and middle class, contested around the ball fields of Queens.

NOTES

1. For College Point, see Robert Hecht, *History of College Point* (College Point: Bicentennial Commission of College Point, 1976), chap. V; for Steinway, see Vincent F. Seyfried, *300 Years of Long Island City* (Queens Community Series; Hicksville: Edgian Press, 1984), chap. 9; for Lalance and Grosjean, see Seyfried, *The Story of Woodhaven and Ozone Park* (Woodhaven: *The Leader Observer*, 1985), chap. IV.

2. Hecht, ibid., 63-68.

3. *Flushing Journal*, 10 April 1875.

4. *Long Island City Star*, 1 July 1887.

5. *Flushing Journal*, 25 July 1874.

6. See Jeffrey A. Kroessler, "North Beach: The Rise and Decline of a Working Class Resort," in Joann P. Krieg, ed., *Evoking a Sense of Place* (Hempstead: Long Island Studies Institute, Hofstra Univ., 1988).

7. "Chat with Mr. Steinway," *New York Times*, 24 November 1895.

8. Cromwell Childe, *Trolley Exploring* (Brooklyn: *Brooklyn Daily Eagle Press*, 1902), 7-8.

9. *Long Island City Weekly Star*, 25 January 1889.

10. *Flushing Journal*, 1 August 1891.

11. *Newtown Register*, 15 and 29 June 1882; 25 June 1885.

12. Ibid., 10 May 1883.

13. Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell Univ. Press, 1992), 248-49, 312.

14. Melvin L. Adelman, *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-1870* (Urbana, IL: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1986), 280; Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The People's Game* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1990), 6.

15. *Newtown Register*, 17 August 1882; *Long Island City Star*, 18, 23 and 30 July 1886; 22 April and 22 July 1887.

16. *New York Times*, 31 May 1891.

17. *Long Island City Star*, 15, 22, and 29 April, May 6 and 20, and 17 June 1887; Seyfried, *300 Years of Long Island City*, 122.

18. *Newtown Register*, 8 July 1880, 6 March 1884; Seyfried, ibid., 120.

19. *Flushing Journal*, 13 May 1893.

20. *Newtown Register*, 25 June 1885.

21. Lincoln Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1931), 376, 384, 387; Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (1904, reprint; New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 65-67.

22. Seymour, *Baseball*, 264; George Walsh, *Gentleman Jimmy Walker, Mayor of the Jazz Age* (New York: Praeger, 1979), 33; Louis J. Gribetz and Joseph Kaye, *Jimmy Walker: The Story of a Personality* (New York: Dial Press, 1932), 71-75.

A Stadium for Flushing Meadows

By Matthew Kachur

During the late 1970s, a movement to rename Shea Stadium in honor of Jackie Robinson flared briefly in New York City. While the idea arose out of genuine interest in hailing the great Brooklyn Dodger infielder who broke baseball's color line, political spite on the part of the city administration probably played the major role. Mayor Edward I. Koch was reportedly peeved at William A. Shea's failure to disclose the legal problems of a former Shea associate, who came under fire after being chosen by Koch as general services commissioner. That Shea was a principal financial backer of Abraham Beame in the 1979 mayoral primary could also not have endeared him to the eventual victor.

Whatever the genesis of the renaming movement, it failed to catch fire. The New York Mets, beginning with their days as lovable losers under Casey Stengel, had become a fixture at Shea, with the stadium's name too linked with the team for a change to gain support. In short, New Yorkers and Long Islanders had become accustomed to the name of the stadium in Flushing. Political observers, however, noted that William Shea, in a bit of characteristic behind-the-scenes maneuvering, had engineered enough resistance among politicos, business people, and reporters to insure that the plan was quickly nipped in the bud. Shea even went so far as to garner a letter from the Jackie Robinson Foundation, contending that the proposal would be an "injustice" to Shea. The stadium remained as it was, named for the corporation lawyer who was widely credited with bringing it into being.[1]

Most people might find it somewhat curious to name a baseball park for a lawyer—especially when the eponym is no crusading tribune of the people but a business lawyer, the kind who plies the legal trade out of the limelight, serving on boards of directors and as counsel to corporations. In the end, it is probably not an affront, even to the illustrious Robinson, that Shea Stadium is named for a power broker—after all, stadiums get built by power brokers, and it is probably more honest all around that they be so known.

With all due respect to William Shea, the stadium that bears his name had its origins in the vision of another power broker, probably the biggest of all—Robert Moses. It is impossible here to catalogue the accomplishments of New York's master builder; even a simple listing of the parks, beaches,

expressways, housing developments, bridges, dams, and other public works built under his direction would require pages of text. It took his biographer, Robert A. Caro, more than a thousand pages to document Moses's effect on the environment of New York City and State, as well as to present his damning interpretation of Moses's wielding of power.

A particular Moses project, one that was an enduring and central part of his vision, concerns us here: the development of the Flushing meadows in central Queens. These "meadows" were, in fact, an area of low-lying marshland, the nature of which provided built-in resistance to the human growth of nineteenth-century Queens. While their swampy nature resisted the meadows' development as part of the built environment, certain New Yorkers found a use for the area. Working with the sanction of the corrupt Tammany Hall machine, one "Fishhooks" McCarthy appropriated the land as a dumpsite for his Brooklyn Ash Removal Company. By the 1920s, the refuse of nearly the entire borough of Brooklyn found its way, over private rail tracks, to Corona, Queens, with resulting ash heaps reaching heights of up to 200 feet. The so-called meadows were nothing but "mire" up to a depth of sixty feet, speculated one Queens newspaper. An essayist writing in the *New York Times* in the 1940s took a look back at the dump:

> Smoking by day, glowing by night, these city dumps threw off odors which gave offense for miles around. The entire section became infested with rats; river and bay were polluted by sewage, and the Meadow was a breeding place for mosquitoes that tormented communities far removed...Nature could not have been more outrageously defiled, and for a long period the immediate vicinity of the dump was one of the ugliest, foulest sections of Greater New York.

The dump was a legend in popular lore, immortalized by F. Scott Fitzgerald in The Great Gatsby as a fantastic, ghastly "valley of ashes."[2]

While the swamp may have testified to nature's ability to impede "progress," and the ash heap to man's capacity for corruption, there were positive aspects, as Caro notes. The marshy nature of the area, and its later appropriation as a garbage dump, both worked to keep the area intact; through the early twentieth century it remained a large open space within the growing city, waiting, so it seemed, for development as a park. And, when Robert Moses dreamed of a great park to symbolize his legacy, it was to the Flushing meadows that he turned again and again.

As early as the late 1920s, Moses presented plans to turn this marshy dumpsite into a vast urban park, a swath of greenery to which access would be gained from the interconnecting parkways he proposed to lead in and out of the borough of Queens. Caro describes Moses's plan, rather hyperbolically, as

> a dream out of his youth that had remained bright in his old age—a dream of a great park, the greatest in New York City, the greatest within the limits of any city in the world, the ultimate urban park, *rus in*

> *urbe* supreme, a park worthy of being named "Robert Moses Park"...a true "Central Park" to the whole city. For a man with a vision so broad that it required vast open spaces for realization, here was a vast open space—at the city's geographic and population center. And in some way the very ugliness of the meadows seemed to furnish inspiration, too. They, and the Riker's dump beyond, were "a cloud of smoke by day and a pillar of fire by night," he was to write. Rereading Isaiah, he came across "Give unto them beauty for ashes"—after that, his dream had a slogan. He would turn what may well have been the ugliest part of New York City into its most beautiful.[3]

In 1930, Moses, as chairman of the Metropolitan Park Conference, used a meeting of the organization to present a proposal that would remake the face of the metropolitan area. Miles and miles of new parkways and boulevards would be laid across the five boroughs, and dozens of parks would be fashioned, some simply ribbon parks alongside the parkways, others on a more ambitious scale. One of the latter was a great park that would salvage the Flushing meadows for the people of the city. Moses's plans for the meadows foundered on the shoals of the state legislature, but sailed forward with the decision, in the late 1930s, there to place the planned World's Fair. He hoped to use his influence in running the fair to oversee permanent improvements to the land. "Everything was planned," he wrote later, "with the idea that Flushing Meadow Park ultimately would take the place of the World's Fair." Moses succeeded in putting in some of the infrastructure required by a great park, but his overarching plans were foiled by World War II, the fiscal condition of the city, and the financial mismanagement of the fair's directors. Moses returned to the Flushing meadows in the mid-1940s, pushing to place the permanent home of the United Nations in the park. Although the U.N. did not settle in Queens, of course, at least Moses was able to direct some of the preparatory funding for attracting it to the meadows toward permanent park improvements. The fulfillment of his plans for a great park, however, would have to wait.[4]

One feature of Moses's plan for a Flushing Meadow Park, dating back, at least, to the time of the 1939-1940 World's Fair, was to build a municipal stadium and sports center in the northern reaches of the park, close by Flushing Bay. The proposal won the support of civic leaders in Queens, but, as with the more general park plans, never came to fruition. However, in the late 1950s, when the Brooklyn Dodgers and New York Giants threatened to move from New York, Moses was given another opportunity to return to his earlier stadium proposal.[5]

That the Dodgers left Brooklyn for Los Angeles is a decision that to this day rankles Brooklynites, whether their residence be present or past, in fact or in spirit. The passions surrounding the move have, to a large degree, obscured the specifics of the affair. It was not simply a case of a greedy

owner who, eyes on the main chance, abandoned a borough, but a complicated municipal drama involving urban renewal funds, interborough political squabbles, and more. It is not the purpose of this article to unravel the controversy surrounding the leaving of the Dodgers. However, central to this discussion is the role of Robert Moses and his unstinting attempts to insure that whatever stadium emerged—whether home to the Dodgers, Giants, or some new team—would be in the Flushing meadows.[6]

When Ebbets Field opened in April 1913, it sat in a largely barren section of Brooklyn. The surrounding open fields and vacant lots, however, did not lay fallow for long. As the extension of the subway system into the outer boroughs made Ebbets Field possible, so did it spur development of what then were the outer reaches of Brooklyn, a development that the stadium symbolized, and, to a lesser degree than the subway, fueled. By the mid-1950s, the neighborhood was transformed, its open fields now vast tracts of apartment houses interspersed with industry.

Ebbets Field, now surrounded on all sides, became a cramped facility whose seating capacity, 32,000, was inadequate for a modern baseball franchise. Not only was its expansion impossible, but there was no room for additional parking. Charles Ebbets's inclusion of some accommodations for cars when he built the stadium was thought of as a unique innovation; by 1950, having space for only 700 cars was the stadium's bugaboo. In short, the automobile age made Ebbets Field obsolete. While the Dodgers were a successful, money-making franchise, attendance steadily fell; when the team's principal owner, Walter O'Malley, looked to the future, an imperative goal was the provision of a new stadium in which his team could play.[7]

There seems to be evidence that Walter O'Malley, contrary to some scenarios, was willing to remain in Brooklyn. In his view, however, he needed the city's help to do so. In an earlier era, Charles Ebbets could set up a dummy corporation, covertly send out real estate agents, and slowly assemble vacant lots on which to build a stadium. In the 1950s, no such private undertaking seemed possible. O'Malley aimed to convince the city to assist him to procure a site on which he could build—with private capital—a new stadium. His ideal location was near the intersection of Atlantic and Flatbush Avenues, close to the Long Island Railroad terminal. His idea was to convince the city to condemn the site through its power of eminent domain, then resell the land to the Dodgers.[8]

The Dodger stadium scheme quickly became part of a larger redevelopment proposal involving the entire neighborhood around the O'Malley site. The project included renovation of the railroad terminal, relocation of the decrepit Fort Greene meat market, and the improvement of various substandard housing and commercial tracts. As such, it won spirited support from Brooklyn politicians, and more cautious endorsement from Mayor Robert F. Wagner and other members of the Board of Estimate, who voted to fund a series of feasibility and engineering studies. The plan went through many permutations, involving, at various times, municipal

construction backed by large bond purchases by the Dodgers, city ownership of the land combined with private construction, and, eventually, the creation of a city sports authority to oversee the entire operation. The crux of the issue was that the project involved the use of urban renewal funds through Title I of the Federal Housing Act of 1949, which provided federal funds toward local purchase of blighted areas for renewal, through public or private development, that conformed to a "public purpose." The crucial question was whether a stadium for the Dodgers constituted a public purpose.[9]

While the specifics changed through the months, one constant remained: no matter what plan would be floated, Robert Moses was in a unique position to effect the outcome of the situation. Moses, of course, ruled the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority and the New York City Parks Department as virtual fiefdoms. He also held the purposefully vague position of city construction coordinator. Most importantly, he chaired the city's slum-clearance committee, a position that gave him authority over all urban renewal projects within the metropolis; consequently, his was the city's most important voice in the use of Title I.[10]

From the beginning, Moses was hostile to O'Malley's proposal, writing to him, in 1955, that: "[A] new ball field for the Dodgers cannot be dressed up as a Title I project." In an article for *Sports Illustrated*, Moses commented that, "From the point of view of constitutionality, Walter honestly believes that he in himself constitutes a public purpose." And, in a later letter to the city's corporation counsel, Moses advised: "Acquiring land for sale to Walter O'Malley is not a public purpose and would be a scandalous procedure anyway."[11]

While Moses couched his reservations on the downtown Brooklyn proposal in high-minded language that questioned the project's public purpose, his real objections can only be guessed at. Robert Caro is skeptical about whether ethical considerations affected Moses's administration of Title I projects, quoting one observer: "'Macy's could condemn Gimbels—if Robert Moses gave the word.'" Neil Sullivan, in his account of the Dodgers' move to the West, concludes: "When Moses told Walter O'Malley that Title I of the Federal Housing Act would not permit the use of land for the construction of a baseball stadium, what he meant was that he did not wish the land used in that way." Sullivan argues that Moses probably objected because, with the renovation of the railroad terminal a central feature, such a development would clash with his general vision of transportation that favored the automobile over mass transit. Speculation aside, Moses threw up roadblocks at every turn while the Atlantic and Flatbush Avenues proposal was being thrashed out.[12]

As spring 1957 turned into summer, a number of proposals were floated to solve New York City's baseball troubles. Most were fanciful, some barely realistic, none able to win the support of all the principal players. In April, Robert Moses—content so far to disparage the legitimacy of the downtown Brooklyn proposal and to work to lessen Board of Estimate funding of engineering studies—weighed in with his solution: a municipal stadium in Flushing Meadow Park.[13]

His plan called for a 50,000-seat stadium on the site of the old World's Fair, in Queens. Estimating the cost at ten-to-twelve million dollars, he proposed that the city retain ownership and lease it to the Dodgers. In *Sports Illustrated*, as mentioned above, he reviewed his interest in the Flushing meadows, and how the idea for a stadium there had long simmered on one of his many backburners. Citing the location's "obvious advantages," Moses told his readers: "It is large enough. It can provide all required parking on the surface without garages. It is," he continued significantly,

> accessible by way of major arteries, some of which are about to be substantially widened and improved as part of the federal-state-city arterial program...If the city were willing to begin foundations before the entire plans are finished, we could complete the job for the opening of the baseball season of 1959.

Devoting much of the article to describing how the downtown Brooklyn proposal was a "dead duck," and disparaging O'Malley and his motives, Moses found "certain" one thing: "[W]e in the Parks Department can build a first-class, all-purpose sports center in Flushing Meadow in jig time if we are given the green light."[14]

Moses's plan was received coolly by O'Malley, won cautious endorsement by Wagner, but was reviled by Brooklyn politicians. One gets the feeling, in fact, that a Dodger move to Queens was even more of an anathema than a move by the team to the West Coast. In the end, O'Malley failed to embrace the proposal, recognizing, probably correctly, that it would fail to come to fruition in the face of interborough squabbling. The resistance of Brooklyn politicians, O'Malley's coolness, Wagner's caution, and the increasing bitterness of the debate doomed the Flushing meadows proposal. While Moses was unable to bully his plan through, his stamina did not flag. In the previously cited letter to the municipal corporation counsel, Moses, after explaining the downtown Brooklyn proposal's illegitimacy, concluded: "What remains is Flushing Meadow." And, in September 1957, after the failure of the last serious effort to implement the Atlantic-Flatbush scheme—a last-minute entrance by Nelson Rockefeller—Moses wrote to Wagner: "Why not have another look at the idea of a Municipal Stadium at Flushing Meadow?"[15]

In the end, Moses's arguments against the downtown Brooklyn proposal carried the day, helped by others who agreed that a Dodger stadium would be an inappropriate use of taxpayer money. The inability of borough officials to see past parochial concerns, the cautious approach of the city administration, and the increased bitterness on all sides made Walter O'Malley's announcement on 8 October 1957 something of an anticlimax. The Dodgers would, indeed, move to Los Angeles.

As one might expect, the struggle over whether the Dodgers would leave Brooklyn (and the Giants abandon Manhattan) had its political repercussions. With 1957 a mayoral election year, Robert Wagner's Republican opponents

did not hesitate to attempt to make political capital out of the affair, using the administration's inability to come up with a solution as a symbol of its inadequacy—evidence for the contention that Wagner was a "do-nothing" mayor. John R. Crews, the Brooklyn Republican leader, charged the administration with "procrastination and antagonism," and boasted: "When the Dodgers go, the Democrats will be right behind them." Robert Christenberry, the Republican candidate for mayor, kept up a steady drum beat of criticism of Wagner on the issue, and made political hay out of Rockefeller's entrance onto the scene, congratulating the future governor for his effort "to prevent further municipal deterioration, when the matter should have been effectively handled by the Wagner administration." Finally, after the Dodgers announced their decision to leave, the Republicans scored the mayor for the ineptitude and feebleness of his efforts at keeping them in New York.[16]

Wagner, however, also had to contend with those who had decided that the Dodgers should be allowed to go quietly, and that taxpayer money should not be used to subsidize, in any way, the operations of a baseball team. Harris J. Klein, the Republican candidate for Brooklyn borough president, called on the mayor to cancel all expenditures involving feasibility studies on the downtown Brooklyn site. Another Brooklyn politician, Assemblyman John J. Rooney, proclaimed: "Let the Dodgers move to Los Angeles if the alternative is to succumb to an arrogant demand to spend taxpayers' money to build a stadium for them in Brooklyn." The taxpayer subsidy issue seems to have been a strong one, and Wagner, while continually claiming that all would be done to keep the Dodgers in Brooklyn, also assured his constituents that the city would not be "blackjacked" into anything, a stance endorsed by the editors of the *Times*.[17]

The urban historian Richard Wade enjoys quoting a short phrase of Robert Wagner's, in which the mayor described his political credo: "When in doubt, don't." During the Dodger controversy, the mayor evidently doubted, and so didn't. While not committing to any proposal that would keep the team in the city, Wagner did attempt to cover all the bases, as it were. In late September, about a week before O'Malley was to announce his final decision, the mayor pledged to appoint a committee charged with the task of bringing another National League team to New York, should the Dodgers leave. This pledge was reiterated when the Dodgers announced their decision to move west. At the same time, he and his aides dismissed the criticisms of Christenberry and others as "ridiculous." In the end, Republican attempts to use the situation to their advantage failed miserably. About a month after the Dodgers announced their move to Los Angeles, Wagner won reelection by the largest margin in the city's history.[18]

The loss of the Brooklyn Dodgers appears, then, to have been a blip on the political radar screen. The month of November had not passed, however, before Wagner announced the formation of the promised committee. While the 1957 election showed no evidence of political fallout from the leaving of the Dodgers, it seems plausible that Wagner recognized the potential of the issue.

As the sportswriter Leonard Koppett later put it: "A vacuum had been created. And if nature abhors a vacuum, a politician who may be blamed for its creation abhors it more." Perhaps in the hands of a more astute politician than the neophyte Christenberry, charges that the loss of the Dodgers and the Giants was a high-profile example of the mayor's laxity might find a more lasting resonance among those dissatisfied with the mayor's style of governance.[19]

The seriousness with which Wagner took his baseball committee can be seen by the men who sat on it: Bernard Gimbel, chairman of the department store and president of the New York Convention and Visitors Bureau; James Farley, the former postmaster general of the United States, former head of the Democratic National Committee, and chairman of Coca-Cola's Export Corporation; and Clinton F. Blume, a former president of the Real Estate Board of New York and an important figure in the city's business circles. The fourth member was less well-known, but William A. Shea was to become its most important member.[20]

When Shea died in 1991, he was remembered with warmth, not only for his role in bringing National League baseball back to New York—and for his many acts of charity—but also for the adeptness with which he practiced the art of the backroom deal. Other, less nostalgic, assessments of Shea's career than those sounded at his death have been made, however. The journalists Jack Newfield and Paul DuBrul, in their book *The Permanent Government*, called Shea's law firm a "factory of legal graft." Another journalist, Nicholas Pileggi, also referred to the state's "permanent" government, calling Shea its "unofficial chairman":

> To the politically savvy...Bill Shea will never be a forgotten urban hero. He is the city's most experienced power broker, its premier matchmaker, a man who has spent 40 years turning the orgies of politicians, bankers, realtors, union chiefs, underwriters, corporation heads, utility combines, cement barons, merchant princes, and sports impresarios into profitable marriages.[21]

Investigations by journalists like Pileggi centered on Shea's activities in the late 1960s and early 1970s, after cementing his role as a broker of power. When Wagner appointed his baseball committee in 1957, Shea was just making a name for himself as a behind-the-scenes operator, with positions on a number of obscure state boards involving the insurance business. He served, as well, as a director of and counsel to various corporations, and was influential in Brooklyn Democratic party circles.[22]

The baseball committee faced a difficult task. Could it attract an existing team to New York? If not, would it be able to convince the league to expand, and if so, could an ownership group for a New York team be found? The Yankees, now the only major league team in town, claimed sole territorial rights—was this claim serious, or could it be finessed? The most important question was put by Ford Frick, the baseball commissioner, in December 1957:

If a team does come to New York, he asked simply: "Where will they play?"[23]

While Frick seems to have thought there was no ready answer, evidently Shea felt otherwise, helped in this view by a certain New York official, Robert Moses. For Moses, just as the Flushing meadows site was the answer to the Dodger question, so, too, was it the perfect spot for anything Wagner's baseball committee came up with. Indeed, considerable spade work had been done to forward a municipal stadium in Flushing, and, it appears, William Shea was involved well before his appointment to the committee. Before the Dodgers and the Giants announced their respective moves to the West Coast, George V. McLaughlin floated a plan to keep at least one team in New York City. McLaughlin, a Brooklyn banker and longtime public official, proposed the creation of a syndicate to buy the Giants or else to form a new franchise. McLaughlin was one of Robert Moses's oldest and closest aides, associated with the master builder since the 1930s. The McLaughlin plan centered around a new municipal stadium to be located, by no coincidence, in the Flushing meadows. To help him organize this effort, McLaughlin chose a lawyer named William Shea. While the Giant purchase never got off the ground, so confident were these men of the stadium's being built that Shea, when writing to the National League about the procedure for applying for a new franchise, assured the league president that a new ballpark in New York City was a certainty. When, at its first meeting, the mayor's baseball committee elected Shea its chairman, the answer to the crucial question of where a new team would play seemed already answered, at least as far as the major players were concerned.[24]

In January 1958, after Shea's committee had begun its work, the Board of Estimate endorsed in principle the construction of a municipal stadium, and Wagner directed Moses to investigate and recommend possible sites. Given the fact that throughout 1957 Moses and his minions had busily worked out and circulated detailed plans about the building and operation of a municipal stadium in the Flushing meadows, whether it was to be used by the Dodgers or some other team, it was fairly obvious what location Moses would recommend. Indeed, even though Wagner declared in January that the issue had not been decided, Moses baldly stated that the Flushing meadows site was the only one to which he would agree; in news reports, the Queens location was a given. By July 1958, Wagner confidently flew off to a meeting of the National League with a detailed proposal in hand for a stadium in the Flushing Meadows.[25]

The main reason for lack of debate about the site was Moses's championing of the location, combined with so much preparatory work performed under his direction. Having so well-advanced a proposal at hand was quite propitious, considering that, as Frick emphasized again and again, the city needed quickly to show something tangible to the lords of baseball for them to endorse a new team in New York. A number of other factors contributed. First, at this early stage, the question of how the stadium would be paid for was pushed aside, with vague assurances from Wagner that it

would not cost the taxpayers a nickel. Also, working now from a clean slate, with the sentimental issue of the Dodgers and the Giants not a concern, most New York officials, now able to make their decision unfettered by borough loyalties, apparently agreed that the site was one of the best locations for the undertaking. Unlike Ebbets Field, the new stadium would be accessible to a number of arterial highways, as Moses continually stressed. Although nostalgia for the old neighborhood ballparks abounds to this day, it was clear by the late 1950s that the new age of cars and suburban living had to be accommodated. Moreover, the Flushing meadows location would prove successful because so many Dodger and Giant rooters had moved to Long Island. Suburbanites from Nassau and Suffolk conveniently could drive there, just as city fans could reach it by subway.[26]

While there may have been a consensus on where to build a new stadium, getting a team to play there was another matter. McLaughlin's attempts in 1957 had come to naught, and Shea, in his official capacity as the mayor's representative, was similarly unable to lure an existing team. Shea then focused on persuading the National League to expand, and arranged the July meeting among himself, Wagner, and the league hierarchy. The National League owners, however, did not welcome new members into their club. As Leonard Koppett writes in his history of the Mets: "There was a stone wall of opposition to any increase in size. No owner possessing one-eighth of a valuable monopoly wanted his share reduced to one-tenth." In spite of the mayor's personal appearance, the National League merely appointed a committee to investigate the expansion issue, and there the matter languished, condemned, it seemed, to perpetual study. Frustrated by the major leagues, Shea decided on a new strategy: if he could not get into the National League, he would organize a new circuit, eventually dubbed the Continental League. If the majors wished to welcome the new league, so be it. If not, the Continental League would compete with the older leagues for players and fan loyalty. It was to be war: an old-fashioned baseball war.[27]

Baseball "wars" are a venerable part of the sport's history, from the National League's vanquishing of the American Association in the 1880s, to the Players League revolt in 1890, the American League challenge at the turn of the century, and the abortive Federal League in the early 1900s. In the early years, the dominant National League could always crush any challenger. After joining with the American League, this dominance of the "major leagues" continued, aided by the support of conservative baseball editors, and, most importantly, by sympathetic judges who upheld the sport's antitrust status. In the late 1950s, however, there was increasing criticism of organized baseball's effective monopoly, going so far as to be the subject of congressional hearings. With the eyes of Washington, D.C., upon it, organized baseball's freedom of action was more limited than in the past. William Shea, well aware of the changed climate, used it to his advantage. Employing his contacts in Washington, lobbying New York's representatives, making use of effective public relations, he kept the Continental

League in the news, making sure that organized baseball's response to his proposals would not be lost on those who would consider its antitrust status.[28]

Shea first proposed his third league in November 1958, after the summer's meeting produced no result. By July 1959, his veiled threats had taken on some muscle with the announcement that he had enlisted other baseball-bereft cities in the effort. The next summer, Shea's assault on organized baseball resulted in what has been described as a "shotgun marriage," in which the Continental League was subsumed into the existing major leagues. The most promising of Continental League sites—in the National League, New York and Houston—would host the newest franchises in an expanded league. For all his bluster, expansion was probably what Shea had in mind all along. The Continental League hiatus gave him time to cement the Flushing meadows proposal, and to put together the ownership group that would, eventually, run the New York Mets. In October 1960, the issue was sealed with telegrams from Wagner to members of the National League's expansion committee, promising that a municipal stadium would be built. Three years after the Dodgers and the Giants left the precincts, a new National League team would come to New York.[29]

New York City, then, had its new baseball club. In the meantime, the Flushing meadows proposal was winding its way through the governmental process. In October 1959, the Board of Estimate voted, unanimously, a $170,000 appropriation to pay for initial plans and specifications. By April 1960, the administration was ready to ask for an additional $450,000 to fund the completion of final plans. This, too, was passed by the Board of Estimate, although Bronx Borough President Eugene Lyons opposed the measure. Meanwhile, a bit of discontent stirred among some members of the general public. After the April vote, one public-spirited citizen pledged a lawsuit, while letter writers to the Times scored the plan as a "misuse" of public funds. Another correspondent asked whether the city's finances were in such good shape that it could spend half a million dollars on plans for a ballpark. These rumblings were the early stages of a political battle that led *Sports Illustrated* to comment: "Not within memory has a sporting enterprise been attended by so much rancor, recrimination and confusion as New York City's efforts to get a home built for its new ball club...It has become...a political forkball."[30]

The editors of *Sports Illustrated* surely exagerrated when describing the political to-do over New York's municipal stadium. In reality, the proposal was marked by the ease with which it was implemented. In spite of some heated rhetoric, the building of the stadium was never in doubt, and the one serious hurdle that arose was quickly and decisively cleared.

The essence of the controversy was again over whether the city had any business spending its money on such a project as a municipal baseball stadium. Wagner, for his part, insisted that the project would be financed outside of the city's debt structure; that is, the bonds the city would float to pay for construction of the stadium would be paid off by revenue derived from leasing the stadium. In other words, the project would finance itself.

Opponents, who came to be led by Comptroller Lawrence Gerosa, insisted otherwise. As early as February 1958, Gerosa expressed the wish that the stadium be built with private capital. Later, when voting for the original appropriations, he voiced reservations about the financial arrangements. As months went by, and the cost of the project, almost inevitably, rose, Gerosa announced his opposition, charging that the city was, in actuality, committing itself to the subsidization of the operation of a baseball team, to the tune of $10 million—perhaps even $50 million. Wagner disputed these figures, saying that the comptroller was picking numbers out of thin air. The mayor continued to contend that the financing was sound, and that the lease arrangement with the new team would be the toughest in baseball.[31]

While the dispute between Gerosa and Wagner may have arisen out of genuine disagreement over the stadium issue, there were other facets to the confrontation. While Gerosa had been on Wagner's ticket in the elections of 1953 and 1957, the two had broken politically since the last election, and Gerosa was planning a mayoral run of his own in 1961. With the election approaching, Gerosa was clearly trying to make as much political hay as possible, fanning the flames with talk of school aid and hospital money being diverted to build a baseball stadium. "We have no right," he intoned, "to gamble away school money, subway money and hospital money for the benefit of a few promoters." Wagner continued calmly to note that the stadium was being built outside the city's debt limit, in which funds for school construction, for example, would have to be included. He noted dryly that a measure he had supported that would have allowed a school construction bond offering—outside the debt limit—had been opposed by Gerosa. Wagner was also backing a charter revision that would expand the powers of the mayor at the expense of other officials, including the comptroller. Late in the battle, a clearly exasperated Wagner attacked Gerosa personally, calling his fellow official ignorant of the laws of the state. "The basic trouble with the comptroller," a Wagner press release stated, "is that he is a man of limited ability and less knowledge on the one hand, and with no limit on the other to his ambition." The mayor said that the only reason he could think of to oppose the stadium project was through "lack of information or petty politics."[32]

Gerosa, joined by Lyons of the Bronx, mustered enough votes on the Board of Estimate to force second readings on the various appropriations measures, but on second voting—in which passage required only a majority, rather than a three-fourths margin—the two were unable to quash any measures relating to the project. The City Council, for its part, overwhelmingly supported the stadium plan. The most vocal opponent—the body's only Republican, Stanley Isaacs—called it an example of "reckless financing." Isaacs contended that if there was a "remote chance" that the project would pay for itself, a private developer would have stepped in. The rhetoric of the minority leader notwithstanding, measures on the Flushing meadows stadium sailed through the council. The next stop was Albany.[33]

The city needed the state's approval to build on park land, lease the structure, and issue the bonds. The administration also hoped for the state's authorization to forego the normally steep down payment required on public projects. City Hall was "freely predicting" a favorable vote from the legislature. However, the Albany interlude turned out to be the most serious, or at least the most dramatic obstacle. In what was termed a "stunning setback" to Mayor Wagner, the assembly rejected the stadium enabling legislation in March 1961. The rejection was led by Queens representatives, who brought up the tax-money giveaway issue and also cited local concerns, such as increased traffic around the stadium area. However, because of maneuvering by the sponsors, the bill, significantly, was eligible to be called up for a second vote. Mayor Wagner expressed disappointment, but wasted no time in getting in touch with the legislators. While a ten-day wait was anticipated before the bill's second consideration, Wagner did not wish to delay that long. After a furious night of lobbying, threats, and arm-twisting, the assembly, after barely twenty-four hours, reversed itself and overwhelmingly passed the measure.[34]

The meaning of the two assembly votes remains elusive. One likely explanation is that representatives found it a good opportunity to flex their muscles for their constituents. Knowing that the bill could be called up again by its sponsors, the legislators perhaps felt free to vote against it, and then, after allowing themselves to be lobbied by the administration, they could go back to the folks at home and claim they had won concessions of some kind, or had been diligently keeping an eye on the city. Whatever the case, the state senate went through no such shenanigans, and passed its bill unanimously. With the signature of Governor Rockefeller, the battle was effectively over: a stadium would rise in the Flushing meadows.[35]

The political background of Shea Stadium is not of crucial importance in the history of New York City and its environs. There are, however, certain modest insights that a student of the city can gain by examining the maneuvering to place a municipal stadium in the Flushing meadows. One topic that is further illuminated is Robert Moses and his role in the making of New York City. It seems clear that Shea Stadium is where it is because that is where Robert Moses wanted it. While he alone was not able to cause a stadium to rise there, as was seen during the Dodger controversy in the 1950s, once the mayor threw his weight behind the plan the decision on location was that of the master builder. Indeed, after the Board of Estimate originally approved the stadium project in principle, William Shea frankly admitted that, for the time being, nothing could be done because Moses was away on vacation.[36]

The episode also provides further insight into Moses's ostensible boss, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Jr. As years go by, Wagner's political skills become more and more appreciated. In the Flushing meadows stadium affair, Wagner seemed to sense not only what was most beneficial for him politically, but also

was able to show himself an astute judge of public opinion. What seemed unthinkable in 1957—the city's building its own stadium—became a popular option by 1961, and Wagner recognized how much farther he could go in attracting a new team to the city. While we are not privy to what went on in executive Board of Estimate sessions, the ease with which the project went through is testimony to Wagner's ability to build consensus and govern with a minimum of rancor, the Gerosa affair notwithstanding.

The story of the Flushing meadows stadium also leads to consideration of the intangible issues of civic pride and boosterism, and the role such concerns play in the life of the city. In an earlier era of stadium-building, the idea of the "big league city" was one that had considerable resonance. For the Yankees to settle in the Bronx, or the Dodgers to move further out in Brooklyn, was considered by local boosters to be a climactic event in their civic lives: not only would it attract new businesses and raise property values, but the stadium would serve as a symbol that the particular area had arrived, that theirs were boroughs with which to be reckoned.

The controversy over the Dodgers and the Giants in the late 1950s, and the fight to bring a new National League team to the city in the early 1960s, shows how ingrained the thought processes of an earlier era had become. While Giant or Dodger fans were unhappy because of what they perceived as betrayal, urban boosters were unhappy because of the loss of prestige that the move engendered, not to speak of the loss of business revenue. Bernard Gimbel was urging the city to build a municipal stadium as early as 1955, and, as his membership on the baseball committee indicates, he came to be one of the most aggressive lobbyists for the Flushing meadows proposal. Wagner, speaking at the dedication of the stadium in 1964, touched on the notion that the stadium is both a symbol of the city and a revenue-producer:

> The greatest city in the world should have the world's greatest stadium and sports arena. Today, the people of New York City can be proud of just that...Shea Stadium adds significantly to the prestige of our city. It will also make a continuing contribution to our economy by attracting great numbers of visitors for a variety of sports, cultural, and other special events.[37]

The idea of the prestige of the city being at stake also was voiced by some who opposed the Flushing meadows stadium project. It was not a matter of the city doing something it ought not, but that the city should be doing it bigger and better. Assemblyman Louis Wallach, of Queens, said the proposed stadium was "inadequate" and "entirely unworthy" of New York City. A municipal stadium, he believed, should seat at least 90,000 spectators, not a mere 50,000. Even Stanley Isaacs, who opposed the project because he felt its finances were unsound, said that if the city was going to build a municipal stadium, it should be an all-out effort; of the proposal as currently formulated, he was "ashamed." Brooklyn Borough President John Cashmore probably went the farthest: "We must be prepared to build on a scale that

surpasses anything we have seen in the city heretofore. We must match and surpass the standards set by other cities if New York is to maintain its position among the cities of the nation."[38]

In any event, the story behind Shea Stadium is complex, involving the issues of city prestige as well as a healthy dose of municipal politics. Surely William Shea was somewhat disingenuous when, after the assembly had rejected the stadium bill, he said: "I've always thought that in trying to get baseball into New York we weren't playing politics. Baseball is above politics." As for Robert Moses, well, he was being similarly cagy when, at the stadium's ground-breaking ceremonies, he intoned, obscuring much of what had gone on: "My faith in the ultimate triumph of the democratic process has been restored."[39]

NOTES

1. *New York Times*, 23 April 1979; William A. Shea entries in Biography Scrapbook 112, New York City Municipal Reference and Research Center.

2. Robert A. Caro, *The Power Broker:Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York, 1974).

3. Caro, 343, *Power Broker*, 1082-83.

4. Ibid., 341-43, 1082-85; Robert Moses, "Robert Moses on the Battle of Brooklyn," *Sports Illustrated*, 22 July 1957, 48; Long Island Daily Press, 19 October 1953.

5. Moses, "Battle of Brooklyn," 48; *New York Journal-American*, 3 November 1940; *New York Times*, 18 July 1957.

6. The move of the New York Giants to San Francisco left an equally bitter taste in the mouths of many New York fans. Because a Giant tenancy at the Flushing meadows appears never to have been a serious possibility, the following section concentrates on the controversy surrounding the Dodgers. The one proposal that would have led the Giants to Queens, floated by George McLaughlin and examined below in this essay, was quickly rejected by Horace Stoneham, owner of the Giants. Moreover, Giant general manager Chub Feeney has been quoted as saying that Moses never offered the Giants the Flushing meadows site (see Neil J. Sullivan, The *Dodgers Move West* (New York, 1957), 117-18.

7. Sullivan, ibid., 32; *New York Times*, 30 May 1957; Leonard Koppett, *The New York Mets: The Whole Story* (New York, 1970), 15. For the opening of Ebbets Field and the development of the surrounding neighborhood, see Matthew Kachur, "Brooklyn, Baseball, and Ebbets Field," seminar paper, 24 May 1991. Even if Ebbets Field could have been renovated and its parking facilities expanded, its inner-borough location with no access to arterial highways would have made the Dodgers's continued tenancy problematic.

8. Kachur, "Ebbets Field," 23-25; Sullivan, Dodgers Move, 44-57; *New York Times*, 20 August 1955.

9. Sullivan, ibid., 47-48, 54-55; *New York Times*, 20 August 1955, 22 February 1957; Caro, Power Broker, 777-78.

10. Caro, ibid., 12, 703-806 passim; Sullivan, ibid., 47-48; *New York Times*, 5 September 1957.

11. Robert Moses to Walter O'Malley, 15 August 1955, and Robert Moses to Peter Brown, 28 August 1957, files 11 and 12, box 19, Robert F. Wagner, Jr. Papers, New York City Municipal Archives; see also Robert Moses to city editor, *New York Herald Tribune*, 13 January 1956, file 11, Box 19; Moses, "Battle of Brooklyn," 27; Caro, ibid., 777; *New York Times*, 20 August 1955.

12. Caro, ibid., 777; Sullivan, Dodgers Move, 50-53.

13. *New York Times*, 19 April 1957. When City Council President Abe Stark proposed a new

stadium on the parade grounds adjacent to Prospect Park, a site controlled by the Parks Department, Moses's negative assessment proved decisive. By predicting that a large construction project on the parade grounds would deprive thousands of sandlot ballplayers of a place to play, he won the sympathy of such people as Iphigene Ochs Sulzburger, the wife of the *Times*'s publisher, and a powerful voice in city park issues. Stark's plan died quickly (lest we forget, Stark was the Brooklyn clothier whose sign at Ebbets Field—"Hit Sign, Win Suit"—is a treasured piece of baseball folklore).

14. Moses, "Battle of Brooklyn," 48-49.

15. Robert Moses to Peter Brown, 28 August 1957 and Robert Moses to Robert Wagner, 25 September 1957, file 11, box 18, Wagner Papers; *New York Times*, 19, 20, 22, and 25 April 1957. In September 1957, Rockefeller proposed to become a part-owner of the team, or assist in buying the downtown Brooklyn site (see Sullivan, *Dodgers Move*, 134-35). After satisfactory terms could not be negotiated with the Board of Estimate, the plan failed after a flurry of headlines; Moses: "Nelson has been badly advised and the City has nothing to gain...Nothing remains but the Flushing Meadow proposal" (Robert Moses to William Peer, 20 September 1957, file 11, Box 19, Wagner Papers.

16. Robert F. Wagner Biography Scrapbook II, New York City Municipal Reference and Research Center; *New York Times*, 30 May, 28 August, 12 and 22 September, 10 October 1957. Wagner was also under pressure from other than political opponents (like Brooklyn Borough President John Cashmore) who wished to see the Dodgers accommodated.

17. Telegram, Harris J. Klein to Robert F. Wagner, 4 June 1957, file 11, box 18, Wagner Papers; *New York Times*, 31 May, 4 and 6 June 1957. The Wagner files include many letters to the mayor's office from "ordinary" citizens on the Dodger and Giant situation, about evenly divided between those who pleaded to keep at least one team in town, and those who objected to spending taxpayers' money to help a baseball team.

18. *New York Times*, 12 and 27 September, 9 October, 6 November, 1957.

19. *New York Times*, 30 November 1957; Koppett, 19.

20. *New York Times*, 30 November 1957.

21. *New York Newsday*, 4 and 5 October 1991; Jack Newfield and Paul DuBrul, *The Permanent Government* (New York, 1983); Nicholas Pileggi, "No Matter Who Loses the Elections, Bill Shea Wins," New York, 11 November 1974, 45.

22. Pileggi, ibid., 45-49; *New York Times*, 15 July 1957, 28 June 1959, 18 April 1964, 4 October 1991; Biography Scrapbook 112; Pileggi charges Shea with overseeing a vast system of legal patronage, carrying a corps of political operatives on his staff (available to the politician best situated to provide the sweetest deals), and participating in many shady banking transactions; another example of Shea's growing power came just as the stadium deal was coming to a close in 1962, when, as counsel to Shoup Voting Machines, he managed to bring in an $8.5-million city contract without competitive bidding, Shoup's first city business in thirty-seven years (see Pileggi, ibid., 48, and a series of articles in the Times in summer 1962).

23. *New York Times*, 30 November, 11 December 1957, 3 January 1958.

24. Caro, 362, 391, 693, 720, 741, 764; Sullivan, *Dodgers Move*, 118-19; *New York Times*, 21 June 1957; George V. McLaughlin to Robert F. Wagner, 21 June 1957, with enclosures and memorandum, and 13 June 1957, file 11, boxes 18 and 19; Baseball Committee Report, 30 April 1958, 1-3, file 11, box 19, Wagner Papers; Biography Scrapbook 112. McLaughlin served, at this time, as vice-chairman of Moses's Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority. Much of his correspondence relating to the proposal was written on TBTA stationary, making the relationship with Moses even more explicit. Moses told the Times that McLaughlin's proposal was the "first intelligent, honest, realistic" proposed situation to New York City's baseball controversy.

25. Letters and memoranda, Robert Moses to Deputy Major John J. Theobold, 22 April, 1 and 19 August 1957 and Mayoral Statement, 31 January 1958, file 11, Box 19, Wagner Papers; *Long Island Daily Press*, 6 February 1958, 7 October 1959; *New York Times*, 1 February, 8 July 1958.

26. Mayoral Statement, 31 January 1958; *Long Island Daily Press*, 7 February 1958; *Long Island Star-Journal*, 13 April 1960; *New York Times*, 3 January 1958. The decision for Flushing meadows was not without some interborough squabbling. Bronx officials, for example, continually opposed the plan—their borough now hosted the only city team, and they wanted to keep it that way. They also pestered the Wagner administration to commit to parking improvements at Yankee Stadium. Brooklyn politicos, who made a lackluster attempt to steer the stadium project to their borough, quickly fell in step with the administration.

27. Koppett, 19-20; *New York Times*, 8 July, 14, 15, 18 November 1958, 28 July 1959.

28. Koppett, ibid., 20-21; *New York Times*, 15 November 1958, 28 June, 28 July, 10 August 1959, 17 and 18 April 1964; Pileggi, "Bill Shea," 48. For earlier baseball "wars," see Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years* (New York, 1960) and *Baseball: The Golden Years* (New York, 1971), as well as David Q. Voigt, *American Baseball*, I-III (Chicago, 1983).

29. *New York Times*, 28 July 1959, 15 October 1960; Koppett, ibid., 21; Voigt, American Baseball, III, xxvi, 22, 111-12. The other Continental League cities were Toronto, Denver, and Minneapolis-St. Paul, with Dallas, Atlanta, and Miami also mentioned as potential participants at various times. Shea was the acknowledged leader of what has been called an elaborate "charade"; one wonders how badly he used the boosters of other cities in his quest to get a team ready for New York.

30. *New York Times*, 22 and 23 October 1959, 20, 27, 28, and 29 April, 5 May 1960; Long Island Daily Press, 7 October 1959, 25 March 1960; *Long Island Star-Journal*, 13, 28, and 29 April 1960; *Sports Illustrated*, 27 March 1961, 11.

31. *New York Times*, 27 and 28 April 1960; 18, 25, 26, 27, and 28 January 1961; Long Island Daily Press, 7 February 1958, 28 January 1961; *Long Island Star-Journal*, 13 and 28 April 1960; Mayoral Statement, 24 April 1961, file 11, Box 19, Wagner Papers.

32. *New York Times*, 27 January, 18, 24, 25 March 1961; Mayoral Statements, 23 March, 24 April 1961, file 11, box 19, Wagner Papers.

33. New York Times, 13 January, 27 and 28 January 1961; Long Island Daily Press, 28 January, 2 February 1961; *Long Island Star-Journal*, 21 December 1960

34. *New York Times*, 13 January, 10,11, and 15 February, 16 and 17 March 1961; *Long Island Daily Press*, 8 March 1961.

35. *New York Times*, 25 March, 23 April 1961.

36. *New York Times*, 31 January 1958.

37. Telegram, Bernard Gimbel to Robert Wagner, 19 August 1955, file 11, box 19, Wagner Papers; *New York Times*, 14 November 1958; Robert Wagner, speech at dedication of Shea Stadium, 16 April 1964, Transcriptions of Speeches, Wagner and LaGuardia Archives, LaGuardia Community College, Long Island City, New York.

38. *New York Times*, 22 October 1959, 27 November 1960.

39. *New York Times*, 16 March, 29 October 1961.

When Great South Bay Froze Over: Gleanings from the Baymen's Oral History Group—Part Two

By John M. Kochiss

Editor's note: this is the second part of the recollections of Sayville's baymen culled, as was part one, from the author's tapings at the Suffolk Marine Museum. John M. Kochiss and the LIHJ *thank Roger B. Dunkerley, the museum's director, and David Van Popering, his assistant, for their friendly cooperation.*

Dredging with Horses

Since colonial times, the baymen have used tongs and hand-hauled dredges from boats to harvest oysters. When the bay froze over, however, dredging with sailboats became nearly impossible. Unlike tonging through small holes chopped in the ice, the process of cutting a pool of open water large enough for a sailboat to work a dredge could not be accomplished easily, if at all, before the advent of the power boat.

Dredging was necessary in winter, when oysters were in demand but often scattered, as they were after tonging had thinned out the lots on the floor of the bay. Accordingly, many generations ago, the baymen devised several simple but effective ways to dredge in ice without using boats. One such method, described by Marinus Verschuure, involved using two horses to pull a dredge under the ice through relatively small, easily-cut openings.

A crew of about a half-dozen men began by cutting two cake-size holes from 100 to 150 feet apart. Then they tied two ropes to a dredge (each rope somewhat longer than the distance between the holes), dropped the dredge into one of the holes, fastened one rope to a horse positioned at the opening, and ran the other rope under the ice to the second opening by means of a "running board"—a piece of wood one- to four-inches thick and sixteen- to 187-feet long. When desired, two overlapping boards were used to extend the distance covered.

Small holes about one-foot square, cut in the ice a running-board distance apart, were utilized as relay points. A man grabbed the board (with dredge-rope attached) at each hole and sent it on to the next hole until it reached its destination, where the rope was tied to the other horse, also stationed at the opening. Dredging began when a bayman led the second horse away from, but on line with, all the openings. When it reached the opening where it originally was positioned, two men lifted the dredge to the surface, dumped

its contents on the ice, and shoveled them then, or later, into bags or barrels.

It was now the first horse's turn to pull the dredge back. In like manner, he walked away from his opening, dragging the dredge along the bottom. When the dredge reached the opening, two men hauled it to the surface, shoveled the contents into bags or barrels, and, when these were full, sent a loaded horse-drawn sled ashore to the oyster shanty.

After the horses had pulled the dredge back and forth enough times to satisfactorily clean the bottom of oysters, the men lengthened the original opening laterally, in the usual "cake" size, and dredging resumed. They repeated this procedure until the desired area was dredged out.

Although none of Marinus's colleagues recall seeing this method in operation, they all remember hearing about it. However, Oliver described another technique using horses, in which all members of the group had participated at one time or another:

> When I was a kid they used to bring the oysters in here on the first of November from offshore, and lay them down right here off the dock (West Sayville)—not too far off—on what they used to call the "lay down grounds." And that's where they used to cut a track—a strip of ice maybe 200 feet long and about six feet wide. They'd have this dredge and the horse would walk along that track pulling that dredge. When he got to the other end, two jackass Dutchmen would hoist it up, dump it on the ice, shovel the oyster shells and everything else into wooden baskets, and put them in bags or barrels, and they'd put them on a sled. When they got a sled load the horse would pull it ashore into the Bluepoint's oyster shanty, and if the horse fell through the ice, you know how they got him out? With a rope around his neck and choke him and every time he'd breathe in they'd pull that tighter and the horse swelled up and started to float. They'd then roll him up on the canvas or some old bags. When the horse came to again, he'd pull the oyster sled into the shanty. Jake Ockers thought more of a horse than of a Dutchman. He used to say "Take care of the horses. We can always get plenty of Dutchmen but can't get horses."

Jerry Dominy added that "They also used to get a line on the back feet, or one of the back feet, and pull him up [out of the water] that way."

Nelson: "They used to say they'd give a horse a quart of brandy, but I doubt that. When we had brandy out there it didn't go to the horses!"

Oliver: "I never ever remember seeing any brandy out there..."

> Ade: In the wintertime, when the wind blows, the ice shifts. If there happened to be a place where one piece slides over the other it makes a crevice and it's not safe. You would never get a horse to go cross the crevice like that. He'd put both feet ahead and hold right there. It's impossible to get a horse across where we would walk right across the bay. They had more brains than we did. That's where the phrase "horse sense" came from.

Oliver agreed, and resumed his description of dredging with horses:

> They had about six or eight men in the crew—two on each end to haul the dredge up and two or thee other guys shoveling up, putting in the baskets and barrels and a man to lead the horse. The dredge was a little bit larger than the sailboat dredge. They had cutting boards on them to cut (hold) the dredge down when the horse pulled it. They kept throwing the dredge in that same place until them oysters was done. And then they'd cut the ice again and move it over to make another track. I don't believe I was over six or seven years old (in 1915 or 1916) when that was done.

Constance Currie, an occasional visitor from the Sayville Historical Society, asked Oliver "Ollie" Locker, a veteran bayman, where the oyster company got the horses. In response, Ollie told an amusing story he had heard from a veteran oysterman, Stanley Sharp, who picked it up from even older baymen years ago: "They used to get farm horses. One time Joe Deratta sold a guy a horse and the guy brought it back the next day and said, 'You know this horse can't see?'and Joe said, 'I told you he no look good.'"

Dredging on Ice with Steamers

For centuries, oystermen used their own muscle power to handle the tongs and rakes, and to raise the dredge pulled by sailboats. When power arrived on the bay in the form of so called "steamers," the oyster companies and shippers were the first to abandon the traditional tongs and the sailing dredge boat. The steamer, as the gasoline-powered boats were then and even today called by the older baymen, was capable of harvesting far more oysters, in a fraction of the time, than was a tonger or a sailing dredger.

Because baymen at that time could not afford steamers, they stayed with sails and tongs. Gradually, small affordable gasoline engines were developed and improved, until, by the 1920s, practically all of the baymen had converted their sailboats to power, thus ending the age of economical sail on the bay.

The powered oyster boat, variously called dredge boat, dredger, or steamer, used two dredges—one on each side to catch oysters. Its dredge was similar to the sailboat and the horse- drawn dredge, but bigger and, of course, heavier. It was dragged along the bottom somewhat like the others, but raised mechanically to the deck and unloaded by the combined strength of three or four men; sometimes one, sometimes two steamers pushing at the other's stern, might do the job.

In fair weather, dredging by steamer was a simple routine—one motored out to the grounds, dredged, and came home. A frozen bay, however, presented the two-fold problem of getting to the oyster beds by boat, and opening an area large enough to work in. A steamer might bully its way to the grounds if the ice was not thick. In the beginning, the low-powered steamers could break through only the thinnest ice. Thirty- or forty-foot boats then had perhaps only a twelve-horse-powered engine. Later, even with

increased power, they could, at best, break through three or four inches. If no natural opening, such as the one at Green's Point, was available and the route was iced and solid, they were forced to cut their way through, a long and laborious task. And, when they reached the oyster lots, they faced a far more massive ice field to open. The relatively simple traditional technique of cutting cakes and disposing of them under the ice proved sufficient for making a boat channel, but practically useless for clearing large areas of ice for dredging. The shippers, or perhaps some individual, solved the problem by using the power of the steamer to move large cakes of ice.

Baymen like the Hoek brothers (Ade and Clarence), Dan Bevelander, Nelson Van Wyen, John Buys, and Ollie Locker, who worked for the shippers on the ice, were familiar with the procedure. During the bitterly cold winter of 1935-1936, which all the men remember so well, Ollie, who worked on the Bluepoint Company's ice crew that used the method, described that clever way of opening large sections of ice for steamers to dredge in:

> We started cutting ice on the 5th of December and cut until the 17th day of March. They started a "hole" off Green's Point (traditionally, an area mostly free of ice), and they moved their first cake of ice near lot number one. We cut that ice all the way out to Gulf Channel, by number 29 buoy, to the northeast lot, a clam lot, and the next lot to the south of it was the oyster lot.
>
> We cut a twenty-foot hole in a "U" shape and had two stakes maybe fifty feet apart. We had them in line so we could keep a perfect straight line. As long as you keep them right in line when cutting you got a range and you keep a perfect straight line. The outside line had to be beveled. You held your plow at an angle. The plow only went down twelve inches and if the ice is fifteen- or sixteen-inches thick you have to go back maybe three or four times until you got down twelve inches, which was as deep as you could go with each cut. Then you'd have to take the saw and saw it on a bevel.
>
> Then we put a line right through the middle of the twenty-foot strip and made it eight feet and twelve feet. And then we cut them about sixteen-feet wide, and four men would stand on there. Just as soon as they got below the main body of ice, another four men on the main body of ice would take shoving poles and shove it under. After they shoved that under on the twenty-foot U shape all around that cake, then they'd cut this big cake off—maybe ten acres of ice—and them steamers would get behind it and shove this whole big cake over to that other side. And while the steamers was pushing it, I'd chop a hole and put a stake or peg down in there with about six fathoms of line, fifteen thread rope (about a-half inch) and I'd make another peg, with a loop into it, that when that cake hit the ice I'd jump across and chop another hole and shove that peg down in, with a loop. About as soon as the ice hit the other side, I'd jump across there and chop a hole above that peg and

pull it up—shove it through the loop—and pull it tight as I could, and that would hold the big cake against the main body. These would freeze together overnight. I used eight coils of rope—eight coils of fifteen thread that winter.

By that time after they were pushing with those steamers the outer guys was cutting the ice (next to the first U) to make another cake. And by the time we got this new cake cut and that ice all sunk on that side of the cake, they'd have these oysters cleaned up with the four boats.

When they got ready to move the big cake then the steamers went behind that and they throwed their dredges over the side, one on this side and the other on that side and you let your dredge go so far that it hooked on that cake of ice. And the steamers pushed behind the ice and they pushed it over.

While Ollie talked, the men sat listening intently, occasionally nodding in agreement. At one time, Ade interrupted to clear up a point: "You see, from putting these dredges in the ice, it would hold the bow of that steamer firm, otherwise, with the motion of the steamer it would crawl up on the ice and break down. You didn't want that. You wanted to hold that whole cake intact."

Ollie agreed, and went on:

They always threw the dredges over because otherwise, when they got on that ice, some of the boats like the *Teddy* would run up on the ice. So then we throwed the two dredges, one on each side, and hooked them teeth under that ice so that we had something to hold on to push that ice.

The ice finally broke up in March in a rather unusual way, continued Ollie:

And that last day we cut ice, the last day we were in the ice around the 17th of March, we was out by buoy and the ice was seven-inches thick. And Kobus Kwaak said "Well, these are the last two lots we got. After this is done we're through!" And I jumped on the ice and it was spongy and I says to Kobus Kwaak, "We're not goin' on that. It's going to drown somebody out there."

"OK, we're goin home," he says. And we went home and that night we got a nor'easter and the next morning we came down and the whole bay was cleared out of ice. I've never seen it clear out like that in my life before. It used to pile up on the flats, but this must have all turned to slush.

Ade Hoek, who then worked for Vanderborgh, confirmed this and then backed up a bit:

Yea, then we got a blizzard with a foot of snow and we had to start all over again. And we worked one day at Nichols Point and we got a

nor'easter and the whole thing went. All that work and a nor'easter took it all. Over night it was all gone.

Shellfish Lots

When an individual or a shipper cultivated shellfish in the bay, presumably he acquired the oyster or clam grounds legally, marked them accurately, and was able to find the lot under any conditions. Getting a lot was easy, but not necessarily the most legitimate way. Baymen leased shellfish lots from the towns of Islip and Brookhaven: four acres were allotted to each qualifying person in Islip, and ten acres in Brookhaven. In spite of these limitations, however, shippers managed to acquire larger acreages. George was first to explain: "A man and his wife were allowed a lot each, but the shippers got them to sign over their lots to them, so they got two lots for nothing from a family. That's how Jake Ockers [the 'oyster king'] got his lots."

John Buys elaborated:

> Islip town always leased. It goes all the way back to my grandfather, and so forth. It's like everything else. The farmers today start with a little plot. They go out of business and sell to the man next door. First thing you know the other guy's got a big thumb on it. And that's what happened here. Same thing. We'll take Vanderborgh, for instance. They had my grandmother's name on a lot. You see, my grandfather and grandmother both had the lease, but my grandfather never went out on the bay. My grandmother naturally didn't, either. All these lots the companies had were named by people who originally had these leases at one time. So Garrett Vanderborgh's lot kept these names on the lots so that they could distinguish them one from another. But they originally belonged to these individuals. And he'd take that name because, for a while, the law said you could only have so much.

Ade, in his usually descriptive manner, punctuated John's remarks: "The names on the deed that you received from the town were the names of people already laying in the cemetery."

John explained why the law looked the other way: "Oh, well–politicians! Any law you start, the first thing you know each time you get a little more lenient."

Once again, Ade quipped: "These were run kind of shabby."

The process of marking and locating a lot's boundaries was far more involved than obtaining a lease. Most lots were square or rectangular, ran approximately north and south, and varied in size from four to ten or twelve acres. The law required anyone holding a lot to mark only the northwest corner, with stakes in the spring and buoys in the fall. Stakes were usually oak or chestnut saplings driven into the bottom, and long enough to stick several feet out of the water. A buoy was, customarily, a floating six-foot two-by-two, anchored in position by a line to a three-foot stake, called a stob,

that was pounded into the bottom. Stob—an old word for stake, or stump of a tree—perhaps was used to differentiate it from a longer stake. The somewhat bunched together shellfish lots were mostly in the west end of the bay. Unless your lot was on the fringe of the group, your northwest corner was all that you needed to mark—as the law obviously recognized. The other three corners served as some other person's northwest corner.

Some baymen put down a stake at each corner, themselves. Others even put a buoy, or stake, between. "That's so you wouldn't get over the line," George explained. "When Paul Zegel got his lot he wanted it split—middle stakes all around. He'd be better off with a fence."

During most of the oyster era, the baymen marked their lots so well with stakes that, as George further commented, while the rest of us smiled: "One fellow said he thought he was in the middle of a forest somewhere."

Ollie agreed: "You didn't need a compass after you got on the other side of Nichols Point."

Baymen were not required to set markers themselves, although many did. When George worked for the Baymen's Association, in the early 1930s, he put down more stakes and buoys than perhaps any other bayman. "Every year I put down 625 stakes for the baymen in the west bay, including the west channel."

As the oyster industry declined after World War II, fewer individuals held lots and fewer markers appeared in the bay. In addition, the companies secured more lots as a result of the division of the bay into three sections, and did not need as many markers. Further to discourage the town officials from enforcing the marker law, according to George, "The yachtsmen got kicking about them stakes because the yachts were ripping their sails on them."

When a bayman or a company acquired a lot, the northwest corner was marked or located by the new holder, the previous lessee, or the proper authorities. In any case, after it was accurately marked, the holder made sure it could be found in fog, haze, or when the bay froze over and destroyed or obscured the marker. To do this, the bayman "ranged in" that corner by eye. He tried to find two prominent objects on shore—a church steeple, tall building, or water tower—that lined up from his position over the spot. In another direction, preferably about 90 degrees from the first one, he ran another range. The intersection, or "fix," of these two ranges located the point.

Some men were good at taking ranges and finding buoys. Ade Hoek gave an example:

> I'll tell you my experience with Kobus Kwaak. I, with an axe in one hand, and the steamer captain walked out on the ice. The whole bay was covered with ice. After studying the shore he says "cut here," and we cut there and the buoy came right up. It would usually pop up on the first try.

Don Bevelander spoke up:

> John Sharp was the same. The first time I went on the bay with him,

> we went out west. He says to Ollie Bishop, he says, "Well Ollie, the buoy is coming up right here." Ollie said, "Yah! We could bring the boat up—and there she comes!" And we were right in the middle of the bay! John said, "Them ranges are here (pointing to his head) and I'm not gonna give them to anybody." He must have died with them. I was one of his deck hands then, on one of the Bluepoint's boats, the *Brush.* He was a smart bayman, believe you me.

Apparently, John Sharp possessed other unique characteristics, as Ade affirmed: "Daylight saving time he would never set his watch on. 'Nobody in Washington's going to tell me what to do.' He was very independent."

Ollie Locker made some additional, interesting comments on Sharp:

> All of them brothers were independent. There were four bachelor brothers. Each one had a hoe, each one had a rake, each one had a lawn mower, and each one had an axe—and they all lived in the same house! They rode their bicycles in the middle of the road. Everybody rode a bicycle out of the shanties—600 or so of them—to and from work.

Stakes and Buoys

Since the earliest times, the baymen set stakes and buoys on their watery lots to establish boundaries, as surveyors do on shore. But, unlike permanent landmarks, these markers must be replaced semiannually, because they are inadequate for use throughout the year. Ice, which frequently forms on the bay, pulls the stakes under, and breaks them in the process. On the other hand, floating buoys run freely under the ice with little undue stress or damage. Although hidden until the ice melts, they usually remain in place. Even under ideal conditions, however, a floating buoy cannot be spotted as easily as a stake. Not only do stakes protrude several feet above the water, but the flags with identifying numbers that usually fly from their ends increase their visibility. Sometimes, baymen tack a burlap bag on the end to be able to see a stake better, especially in fog or mist. Each marker is proper and effective in its own season. Baymen, therefore, set stakes in the spring, after the ice disappears, and replace them with buoys before the ice returns.

George, the most experienced stake- and buoy-setter in the group, told how he and his father did it in the 1930s. Stakes, as he claimed, could be easily hand-pushed some three or four feet into a soft or "tacky" bottom, but in a hand-powered pump had to be employed for clay or hard ground.

> We tried to get oak for the stakes but on the last end it was mostly all maple, because you couldn't get oak stakes. These stakes were smoothed out pretty good. They were about, I should judge, two or three inches. No, they were bigger than that, 'cause they didn't like us to put any bigger ones than that on account of sailboats. They got the sails caught on them. They'd trim them all up by axe—but with the mark left on.

I remember the Bluepoints used to send to Maine for ironwood. That was hard as a rock, and very crooked. That was the disadvantage of them. The oaks were quite straight. We put down the stakes generally around April—before they started to plant the oysters we tried to get the stakes in.

Ollie remained respectfully silent while George was speaking, but interrupted here to contribute some interesting information: "On the 15th of March the first schooner would come here in the bay. And if you happened to have an 'easter after this, and you come here on a Monday morning, you could see six or seven schooners lay out there loaded with oysters."

George returned to the subject of stakes:

We would put down the stakes in the spring, about in April, because the ice would cut them off if left over the winter. There would be very few stakes left. That's why they went to the buoys. The buoys would run under.

We had a pump to drive the stakes. When we first started in we just had a hand pump. So then we got a small scow, my father and I—maybe twenty feet long, four feet wide, and we got a small Continental engine in her with a little pump and that worked swell, because you go right up to 'em and stick 'em right down there, with stakes as high as twenty feet. And we'd tie the bottom to a nozzle. In other words, to a piece of pipe and just whip them up and then get them down as far as you wanted 'em, and then pull the pipe up. In some places, it was kind of muddy—sticky like, never rocky. That was kind of hard to pump through. And you take the bed lots where the oysters were. There were a lot of oysters sticking up—dead shells you might sell, say. After you got through maybe a foot of that you could push those stakes right out of sight without any pump, because it was mud. Such a funny thing, you know.

George shifted attention to buoys, the other half of the lot-marking system, and explained how he installed them for the baymen. He said buoys were tied to short stakes (stobs) which were hand-driven into the bottom, pile-driver fashion, with a pole or stake called a buoy-stobber, or driver:

In the winter time you would take what we call a buoy-stob. That was a piece of a tree—about three feet long, bore a hole in it and put that in the bottom and then you'd have a two-by-two on the other end for a buoy. You'd have a pipe about three feet long into a stake as the buoy-driver. You'd put the buoy-stob about two feet up into that, then pound it down into the bottom and when you get it down into the bottom you pull the pole out and that would be it. And your buoy would be floating your two-by-two that was maybe six-foot long and would be sticking out of the water about three feet. When the ice came, it would run right over the top of them. The buoy would run under so that it would be

there in the spring. We lost very few of them. We put those buoys down in October. That would give them time to get soaked—just waterlogged enough so that when the ice ran over them they'd go under easier yet pop up again when the ice left.

They drove them the same way in my father's time. But they did put rocks on to the buoys because a lot of times you'll find rocks on these corners. We'd catch them in the conveyor a lot—big rocks. Sometimes you'd swear they couldn't get in the conveyor. They're that big, you know. My father told me they sometimes used to take boxes they'd send milk and stuff in—wooden boxes years ago—pack them in. They'd fill them with stones and put them on the corner with the buoy on them.

In the spring, if the buoys happened to be gone you'd have a lead line—a big sweep line with sinkers on it—maybe a hundred feet long, and you made a circle to find that old stob that was stinking up in the bottom. We'd drag that. Then after a while I got a sextant. I could find them with a sextant and come pretty close to it. I used to get the angles on them so I didn't need that sweep line anymore. The trouble was, though, where you had one of the angles was the wireless station at West Sayville, which was a big tower—three big towers—and they just took them down. Who would ever expect that, you know? So that threw us all adrift. But Joe Clancy got other angles, so we was all right at that.

Some of the buoys were unpainted, but most of them were copper painted to keep the barnacles off 'em. The Bluepoints didn't have any color on theirs. They just had plain buoys. Rudolph would have a chop. He chopped a piece out of the buoy. Fred Ockers had a dredge ring on the top of his with an "O" on it—that's how we used to tell them apart.

Oliver, who set all the stakes and buoys for his own lots, gave his version of driving a stob:

When you put the stob down (they were thirty-six inches long), and you had a hole bored into that stob twelve inches down from the top so you could put a fifteen-thread rope through it. Then you had this buoy-stobber and a piece of pipe three-feet long on the end of this stake (the stob-driver). Then you had a bolt through it to hold it in place—hold the stake into that piece or pipe. And that piece of pipe was a three-inch pipe that you could shove the stob into. And you had to make sure that you bored the hole an inch, so you'd drill a hole in the stob thirteen inches down, 'cause if you didn't, if you had it twelve inches down, then, when you humped that stob-driver you'd cut the rope off. You had to keep it an inch above that, so that when it hit—just thump, thump with your hand—you'd raise it up twelve inches and go booomp, booomp. And as soon as that stob got started getting sound in the end of that pipe, you'd pull it up. You could feel it.

Oliver returned to George's former comments about replacing stakes, and related how he used a sharpie (rowboat) to locate old stobs and stakes.

> We used to take a stake with a thread line tied on and we would know about where the corner was. Then we would go ten feet to one side of that and put the stake in. When we rowed around with the sharpie you'd keep pulling that line tied near the bottom of the stake, until you get to stop on that stob of an old stake that was there, you'd then put the stake down there in the corner. You could make the sweep line as long as you wish—100 feet or so—and put the lead sinkers about two feet apart.

When the bay froze over, and a bayman wanted to locate a corner buoy which ran under the ice, he again used his ranges to locate the corner. At the fix, he chopped his ranges to locate the corner, chopped a small hole in the ice, inserted his sixteen- to eighteen-foot shoving pole, and walked around the hole with it sticking out of the ice.

If the ice was not too thick, the oyster companies usually did not have to cut holes to locate buoys. They simply ran down a range with a steamer, and crushed through the ice until a buoy popped up, circling the area of intersecting ranges until one did. Should ranges be obscured by fog or haze in an ice-free bay, the oystermen needed to locate only one lot. From there, they knew how far and in what direction to go to reach any buoy or corner.

Fyke Fishing in the Ice

Although shellfishing was the shippers and independent baymen's primary winter activity on an ice-bound bay, some baymen fished through the ice They used fykes, an effective method of catching more fish than with a hook and line that recreational fishermen do on frozen lakes to this day. Dan Bevelander is the only bayman in the group who fished regularly with fykes in the ice or at any other time, but countless other baymen down the years besides Bevelander, his brother John, and their father before them, have caught fish with this rather intriguing device. Nevertheless, the number of fyke fishermen has decreased, particularly during the first half of this century, making the Bevelanders the last fyke fishermen in the bay's western half.

Fishermen in some distant time and place developed fykes specifically to catch bottom-swimming fish like flatfish and flounders. Dan Bevelander claims that the type he used and made was a modification of a Holland type used by the early West Sayville Dutchmen—the word "fyke" itself is of Dutch origin. The West Sayville Holland type had three circular hoops that shaped the fyke. Since these often rolled over, Bevelander made his hoop round on top—a half circle—and flat or straight on the base. This sat on the bottom better and resisted any rolling tendencies. Don credits John Van Vessen, a West Sayville bayman, with designing this feature sometime in the 1920s.

Fykes are fish traps similar in theory and size to lobster traps or pots. Those employed by the West Sayville Dutchmen were about five-foot-long

conical net bags, with a net funnel on the end into which the fish were led by a long "leader" net. Upon reaching the leader, the fish turn and invariably follow the leader to the deeper, or off-shore, end. As Dan Bevelander often said, "Fish always head for deep water when they reach an obstacle."

Bevelander set or arranged his fyke gear under the ice as he did in open water, but, of course, he had to cut holes in the ice to drop, pull, set, buoy, stake, and anchor it all. He described the procedure like this:

> We had eight fykes on a gear and had therefore eight holes, one hole for each. We cut about a five-foot hole to start and put a fyke in there and ran 60 feet of leader under the ice, cut another hole, and put a fyke in that; then sixty more feet of leader, etc. The fyke was right below that five-foot hole.
>
> You had to have a leader running from fyke to fyke to guide the fish to the opening or funnel of the fyke. It was a two-and-a-half-foot deep net, sixty feet long, with little sinker weights on the bottom to hold it upright. It was tied right into the funnel of the fyke. And we had anchors, grapples, on each end of the string gear.

Getting leaders under the ice was an interesting operation, requiring a long rope called a "running line," a fifteen-to-twenty-foot pole, and small relay holes chopped in the ice between, and in line with, the fyke holes. To begin, Bevelander tied one end of the running line to the leader and the other end to the pole. He then pushed the pole, with running line, under the ice from the first fyke hole to the nearest relay hole cut within pole's reach. He relayed it on to each successive relay hole until the pole reached the second fyke hole. Now he pulled the leader under the ice those sixty feet and tied it to the second fyke to be dropped in the hole. He repeated this procedure until all eight fykes and leaders were set down.

Bevelander dropped the gear's two holding anchors through their own separate holes some twenty-five to forty feet in back of the end fykes. He also drove into the bottom, next to the anchors, seven-or-eight-foot-long stakes made from old tong handles. The stakes extended above the ice a few feet, and black or white cloths flew from their tops, making good visible markers.

Bevelander talked about the fishing season and how he cared for his nets:

> We never tarred or preserved them in any way. In the spring of the year, when we were through with fishing we would put them in the lot, let them dry out for a week, give them a good shaking up, and put them in storage in the cellar.
>
> We always made our own fykes—everything. In the winter time then it wasn't fit to do anything outside, we went down to the cellar and mended our fykes, made new leaders, patched everything up and soon as the bay broke up, we would go fish which probably would be in the middle of February. We figured that's the end of the ice. And we would

work them until after Lent. Then the prices would drop and that would be the end of the big fish and the money.

But at times when we got tired of waiting for the bay to break up we would chop holes in the ice and set out fykes under the ice, even in January. And then we would set then up at the cove here by La Salle Military Academy on the north shore of the bay. That's where the fish were at early winter. And we would just keep on doing it until the ice broke up and then when we got too much dirt in them, leaves, and what not, the fish would stop running there and over to the beach we'd go, to Pickety Ruff, a nickname for one of the places just east of Cherry Grove.

Very few of our fish died. We used to ice them as soon as we caught them. They used to tell us that when our fish got in the market (Fulton) the fish were still jumping in the box!

But alas, fyke fishing, like so many other bay activities, eventually ended. The Bevelanders quit because,

it wasn't worth it anymore. Everyday we could, we would go to the fykes. Lots of days we'd come in with two, three boxes—one box! Sometimes we'd have to go clamming to make money to buy gas to go fishing. If we got $5 a box we thought we got a lot of money—and we even had to buy the box itself. Now (1988) they get $5.95 a pound for fillet. I said to the fella in the market, "We used to get $5 dollars for a whole box." He says, "How many years ago?" I says, "About thirty." Yes, boys, times have changed.

No fish is what hurt us. What exactly put us out of business was we set them in March and we had a very cold spell. The bay froze over and we couldn't even cut the ice, it was so thick. When we finally got out there, all we saw was parts of our gear laying on top of the ice and under the ice. The ice had smashed the fykes all out of shape. It was just a wreck. My brother John said, "I don't think it's worth fixing them up anymore."

And, since that day in 1955, the Bevelanders never fyke fished again. Times have indeed changed. The bay produces far less than formerly. Oysters are not even a memory for many living along the South Shore today; clams are very scarce; and commercial fishing doesn't pay anymore. The once renowned Great South Bay bayman, who labored there since colonial days, has followed his prey into extinction.

* * *

The Baymen's Oral History Group. the source of the above information, still meets at the Suffolk Marine Museum, in West Sayville, on the first Wednesday of every month except January and February. New members and all who are interested in Long Island's early-twentieth-century life and times are welcome.

Surprisingly, after meeting for more than a decade, the members continually add new stories and insights concerning the Great South Bay's maritime history. At these sessions, one has the unique opportunity to talk with and question people who lived in the vanished era of commercial sailing craft, horse-drawn carriages, and stage coaches.

The museum is fortunate in possessing audio tapes of every meeting. All tapes, totalling more than five hundred hours, are catalogued, described, and some transcribed. This extensive, ever-expanding collection is the only authoratative source available for in-depth study of the bayman's life and work.

Editor's note: We hope to persuade John M. Kochiss to provide us with more of his taped conversations with Great South Bay baymen.

The Formation and Development of Brooklyn's Black Churches, from the Nineteenth to the Early Twentieth Century

By Clarence Taylor

In November 1885, the Bridge Street African Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal (AWME) Church of Brooklyn gave a concert celebrating the purchase of a new pipe organ. The organist of Brooklyn Tabernacle Church played the "William Tell Overture," the choir sang "As Mountains Around His People," and two members of the congregation performed a violin and piano duet of "Could I Teach the Nightingales." However, the highlight was the performance by Edward G. Jardine, whose firm built the $3,000 instrument:

> Mr. Jardine gave an idea of the calmness and repose of nature...Peasants enjoying a rustic dance...are interrupted by the distant muttering of thunder...the winds moan, the storm breaks with full violence; it subsides and the vespers Hymn is sung...as a safe deliverance from the tempest.[1]

The event highlights more than the incorporation of secular elements into the services of Brooklyn's black Protestant churches. From the first half of the nineteenth century, black Brooklynites began to establish religious institutions that would address their needs in an urban society. Parishioners were exposed to classical music and architecture, literature, elocution, fine art, and scholarly sermons stressing intellectualism, self-improvement, and how to cope financially in the larger white society. In short, culture was an important aspect of the continual struggle to lighten the yoke of white oppression.

This cultural attitude in the black churches has been attacked by scholars who contend that these institutions did little to oppose racial inequality in the early twentieth century, and, rather than lead the struggle, merely promoted decorous religious culture. For example, Gayraud Wilmore contends that,

> by the end of the First World War the Independent Black churches were becoming respectable institutions. Having rejected the nationalism of Turner [AME Bishop Henry McNeal Turner] they moved more and more toward what was presented by white churches as the model of authentic Christian faith and life. The dominant influence of the clergy in the social betterment and civil rights groups helped to keep these organizations on an accommodationist trajectory.

To label these churches accommodationist, however, is too simplistic. The

significance of black church culture must be understood in its historical context. Until recently, little was written about the culture of urban black churches in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[2] This article explores their emergence, with emphasis on their values, sacred world view, and impact on the black public. It examines how urban African Americans asserted their social, economic, and cultural independence, implemented strategies for moral and economic uplift, and challenged their image in the eyes of the dominant society.

Western nations justified slavery by claiming to save the souls of slaves from damnation by delivering them from heathen practices. However, many owners refused to attempt to convert their slaves because they did not think that blacks had the mental capacity to understand Christian principles; they feared that Christianity would lead to slave rebellions, and cared little about the spiritual life of their chattels. As for the slaves, many rejected Christianity because it stressed literacy (memorization of verses and catechisms), lacked drama, and condemned certain African practices including spirit powers, voodoo, and conjurers or magic men.[3]

But, in the Great Awakenings of the 1740s and antebellum decades, large numbers of African Americans converted to Christianity. During these eruptions of religious fervor, fiery ministers challenged traditional Christianity and offered salvation to all, regardless of social and economic position. These awakeners contended that salvation did not come through a priestly class or from formal knowledge. Instead, one found God through conversion by faith or rebirth, as evidenced by trances, visions, shouting, dancing, "fits," and other ecstatic acts. The conversion experience appealed both to whites and blacks whose illiteracy restricted their involvement in the Episcopal, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches, all of which required followers well versed in the Bible.[4]

As African Americans embraced evangelical Protestantism, they reshaped its form and content to accommodate their needs. They accepted the basic doctrine of conversion through faith, but their sacred world view included a God who could deliver them from slavery; thus, the Old Testament was essential, because its narratives stressed the theme of faith and deliverance. When singing about the Hebrews' deliverance from bondage because of their faith in God, slaves played out their own hope of deliverance from oppression. Like the peoples of all preliterate societies, slaves made little distinction between words and action. As Lawrence Levine observes: "Ideas and words are seen as part of the same reality as the events to which they refer; words are powerful, often magical parts of the real world in their own right; ideation is as 'behavioral' as any other form of action."[5]

By seeing themselves in the context of sacred time and space, African Americans in bondage were able to invoke the presence of God any time and any place. Worship was not limited to a church; it could take place in the fields, by a campfire, or when a person was alone. "By creating sacred time and space," Levine observes, "man can perpetually live in the presence of his

gods, can hold on to the certainty that within one's own lifetime 'rebirth' is continually possible, and can impose order on the chaos of the universe." Emotional behavior—ecstatic dancing, shouting, moaning, sobbing, fainting, singing in the fields as well as in places of worship—was seen as proof of the Holy Spirit's perpetual presence in an individual or a congregation. [6]

To African Americans, Christian worship was communal, with active participation by the congregation essential, as in the call-and-response ritual and the ring shout. In call-and-response, an individual sang or preached and the congregation responded. In the ring shout, a group of congregants danced in a circle, singing, clapping, and stamping, often working themselves into a frenzy. Shouts of encouragement were heard throughout this activity. Blending the individual voice with the communal helped to create a corporate identity, in which the leader's role was no more important than that of any congregant.[7]

Although sermons were delivered by preachers considered leaders of congregations, the preacher's role in worship did not supersede the congregation's. Sermons were not erudite lectures but rituals, intended to evoke an emotional response; ecstatic behavior evidenced the presence of the Holy Spirit. Sermons would be meaningless without an emotional outpouring.[8]

The ritual style continued after slavery, with many late nineteenth century observers observing the highly emotional and communal aspect. For example, the black abolitionist William Wells Brown recalled visits to black Baptist churches in Tennessee between 1879 and 1880, at one of which a young man

> was introduced by the pastor as the preacher for the time being. He evidently felt that to set a congregation to shouting was the highest point to attain, and he was equal to the occasion...[H]e took from his pocket a letter...and began, "When you reach the other world you'll be hunting for your mother, and the angel will read from this paper..." For fully ten minutes the preacher walked the pulpit, repeating in a loud, incoherent manner, "And the angel will read from this letter." This created wildest excitement, and not less than ten or fifteen were shouting in different parts of the house, while four or five were going from seat to seat shaking hands with the occupants of the pews. "Let dat angel come right down now an' read dat letter," shouted a Sister at the top of her voice...the signal for loud exclamations from various parts of the house. "Yes, yes I wants to hear the letter." "Come, Jesus, come, or send an angel to read the letter"...and other remarks filled the house.[9]

However, when urban black communities developed and the position of some African Americans improved, they began to reinterpret religious life. Rejecting "uncultured" antebellum practices, they created churches that stressed a world view different from that of traditional African American Protestantism, a process exemplified in Brooklyn.

Brooklyn's Black Population

People of African origins have resided in Brooklyn since the seventeenth century, when most were slaves on farms owned by Dutch settlers. Harold X. Connolly notes that the first comprehensive census, in 1698, reported that 15 percent of Kings County's population (296) consisted of African slaves. No free blacks were listed in the county's six towns of Brooklyn, Bushwick, Flatlands, Flatbush, Gravesend, and New Utrecht. By the early eighteenth century, the slave population had grown rapidly, making Kings the "heaviest slaveholding county in the state of New York." By mid-century, one-third of the county's population was of African origin, few of whom were free; by the end of the century, only 3 percent (46) of New York's free blacks resided in Kings, the smallest number in a state where one-fifth of black people were free.[10]

Between 1800 and 1870, the population of Kings rose from 5,720 to 419,921, led by the dominant city of Brooklyn, with 396,099 residents. Although its growth was not as dramatic as that of the white population, the black population increased from 1,811 to 5,653 between 1800 and 1870, with 4,931 in Brooklyn.[11]

Throughout the nineteenth century, no neighborhood claimed a majority of Brooklyn's black residents. During the 1830s, blacks purchased land in the Ninth Ward, where they founded the independent communities of Weeksville and Carrsville, within one mile of each other, in today's Bedford-Stuyvesant. By 1875, 650 blacks resided in Weeksville-Carrsville, with another large concentration in the Fourth Ward: by the 1830s one-third of Brooklyn's blacks resided in these areas.[12]

Formation of Black Churches

Except for the family, the black church became the most important institution of African Americans. Churches helped them to gain independence, met religious, educational, and social needs, alleviated the impact of racism, and provided a satisfying community life. As Brooklyn's black communities developed, so did numerous churches, the first of which was established early in the nineteenth century. The increasing number of free blacks included locally manumitted people and others who moved into the area after steam ferry service began to Manhattan, in 1814.

Some joined the predominantly-white First Methodist Episcopal Church of Brooklyn, known as Sands Methodist Church. Reflecting white resentment to this, church officials not only imposed a quarterly charge of ten dollars on people of African origin, but the pastor, Alexander McCaine, publicly justified slavery and later published a pamphlet, "Slavery Defended from Scripture."[13]

Deciding to form their own congregation rather than endure racism, blacks collectively withdrew from Sands and held services in their homes. They sent

a delegation to Philadelphia to meet with Richard Allen, the founder of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, to seek acceptance and a minister; the group was recognized by the state as the First AWME Church. By charging members fifty cents a month, the congregation raised enough money in 1819 to buy land and build a church on High Street. After moving to Bridge Street in 1854, the church changed its name to Bridge Street AWME Church.[14]

Soon other AME churches were organized. Sometime between 1827 and 1835, the black community of Williamsburgh joined the newly-formed AME Zion Church to organize the Union AME Zion Church. Objecting to having to worship apart from white members, the AME Zion church broke off from St. John's Church (Methodist Episcopal) in 1800 (adding Zion to its name to distinguish itself from the AME church established by Richard Allen in 1796). In 1844, the Mount Zion AME Society was created, and three years later the Weeksville community organized the AME Bethel Church (later known as Bethel Tabernacle AME Church). In 1850, black people in Williamsburgh formed the First AME Church, followed two years later by an AME church in Flatbush. After the second floor of their church collapsed, killing ten people and injuring forty, the congregation of Fleet Street AME Zion Church (recognized in 1885) moved to Bridge Street in 1905, and changed its name to First AME Zion Church.[15]

The next largest group of churches established by blacks was Baptist. Unlike the early black Methodists, who gained congregational independence but depended on the church's white bishops for ecclesiastic recognition, the Baptists had no hierarchical structure. This made it easier to establish churches and explains why their services were considered more evangelical and spirited than the Methodists.'[16]

In 1847, six members of the Manhattan Abyssinian Baptist Church formed a Baptist church where they lived, in Brooklyn, thus eliminating the arduous trip to Manhattan for Sunday worship. They hired Samuel White, formerly of Abyssinian Baptist Church, as pastor, purchased two lots, and built the Concord Street Baptist Church of Christ. Weeksville's integrated Berean Missionary Baptist Church became the second black Baptist church in Brooklyn when the white members left in the early 1850s. Other Baptist churches established before 1900 include Calvary in East New York (1875), Bethany (1883), and Holy Trinity (1899).[17]

The African Methodist and Baptist were Brooklyn's largest but not its only denominations. The same year that Concord was established, James Gloucester (son of the founder of black Presbyterianism in Philadelphia) started a Presbyterian mission on Fulton and Cranberry Streets; he moved to Prince Street in 1849, and received permission from the Brooklyn Presbytery to organize the Siloam Presbyterian Church. Congregational and Episcopal churches also made inroads. A Colored American Congregational Church was established in 1853, the Nazarene Congregational Church in 1873, and, in Canarsie's small black community, the Plymouth Congregational Church

in 1888. In 1875, a small group organized a Protestant Episcopal Church, with services held in the home of a businessman, Kellis Delamar, at 417 State Street; Prince T. Rogers, of Fayetteville, North Carolina was selected pastor. The following year, the group received mission status and named itself the St. Augustine Protestant Episcopal Church, with parish status granted in 1890.[18]

Most churches began modestly—Concord, Bethany, Varick Memorial, and St. Augustine in founders' homes, and St. Phillips Protestant Episcopal in a store at 1887 Pacific Avenue. Unable to buy or build, both Siloam and Nazarene rented halls on Fulton Street, while the small Holy Trinity Baptist Church rented a building on Claver Place and Jefferson Avenue. Financially strapped, many churches were unable to attract or hold leaders or full-time managers. Between 1847 and 1863, Concord had five ministers, Bethany four from 1883 to 1887. William H. Dickerson, of Siloam, resigned after church officials cut $200 from his $1,000 annual salary which they could not afford to pay.[19]

Except for Concord Baptist and the AWME, membership remained small. As late as 1889, many had fewer than one hundred members, with Berean reporting thirty-five, Nazarene forty-six, St. Varick fifty-two, and St. Augustine eighty-six. Fleet AME Zion and Bethany Baptist each reported slightly more than one hundred. Despite humble beginnings, many churches thrived. Trustee boards became more efficient, kept accurate records, and rendered monthly and annual financial reports to the congregations.[20]

Some churches turned to desperate measures to augment the Sunday collection, a steady but insufficient source of income. Siloam Presbyterian rented pews, the AWME collected fifty cents per member, but most used more innovative methods. St. Augustine and Siloam each charged for annual excursions and bazaars; AWME, Zion AME of Williamsburgh (Varick), and Siloam gave concerts; Fleet Street sold tickets for the annual picnic; and Bethel AME organized competing fund-raising groups.[21]

Brooklyn's black churches plunged into the fight for African-American liberation. During the antebellum period, they emerged as active agencies in the struggle against slavery, with Bridge Street AWME and Concord Baptist serving as sanctuaries for runaways, and Siloam Presbyterian's creating a fund for the Underground Railroad. The Christian Union Convention, organized by ministers from Manhattan and Brooklyn, met in January 1861 to

> take into consideration of our present oppressed condition and to take measures to invite Christians throughout the United States to observe a day of fasting and prayer to Almighty God for his interposition in our behalf in these times of trial and peril.

Among the convenors were Samson White, pastor of Concord Baptist Church, and L. C. Speaks, pastor of Bridge Street AWME.[22]

Brooklyn's black churches also contributed to the drive for literacy. Concord, Bridge Street, and Siloam established Sunday schools whose purpose was educational as well as religious; they were well-run

organizations with staffs of teachers managed by superintendents. Bridge Street AWME had nine teachers, Concord ten, and Siloam seventeen; in 1859, Bridge Street Sabbath School serviced forty-four students, Concord sixty-five, and Siloam 154. Classes, held not only for children, numbered ninety-six students at Siloam and nine at Concord; at Bridge Street, all were adults. Libraries at Concord and Siloam had forty-five and one hundred books, respectively.[23]

As black churches multiplied after the Civil War, they joined in creating Sunday Schools with enrollments sometimes more than half the size of a church's membership. In 1891, Concord reported 696 church members and a Sunday school enrollment of 430; Bridge Street AWME had 874 members and 542 Sunday school members; Union Bethel AME had 89 Sunday School members out of 107 church members.[24] In 1892, Calvary Baptist's congregation totalled 354 compared with a Sunday school membership of 550; Siloam's 175 church members compared with 210 Sunday school students; St. Augustine had 170 in Sunday school as opposed to 150 church members. In 1886, Berean Missionary Baptist church had only 60 members but 165 enrollees in Sunday school, while Nazarene Congregational reported 1,342 Sunday School members and only 102 church members in 1900. Sunday schools drew from outside the churches because they combatted illiteracy and gave religious instructions to African Americans, enabling many to acquire skills for advancing in an urban society.

The Growing Significance of the Black Middle Class

As Brooklyn's black population increased, social and economic differences developed within communities. By the end of the Civil War, most Brooklyn blacks were relegated to the lowest labor market positions, with little chance of advancement. The 1870 and 1880 censuses reveal that the vast majority of African Americans were manual laborers. Most employed black women worked as domestic servants or laundresses, most black men as farm laborers, waiters, seamen, draymen, and porters. Blacks were almost entirely excluded from factory work, and only a handful owned businesses.[25]

Despite harsh discrimination and a rigid class system, urban society offered occupational and educational opportunities denied to blacks in rural life, thus promoting the development of a small but significant black elite. Some came from families who occupied high positions among the black population before the Civil War, usually in the professions as doctors, lawyers, and educators. Others moved into the group by becoming owners of businesses, ministers, and skilled workers whose ranks included dressmakers, undertakers, carpenters, barbers, butchers, tailors, brick masons, shoemakers, and clerks.[26]

William H. Smith, of the Bank of New York, was a "Wealthy Negro Citizen" of Brooklyn in 1895, worth over $100,000, who lived in a "handsome house" on Lafayette Avenue where he employed several servants.

Samuel R. Scottron, a lamp and mirror merchant with an annual income of $25,000, was an active Republican who was appointed to the Brooklyn Board of Education in 1894. Peter Ray (1825-1906), one of Brooklyn's first black physicians, graduated from Castleton Vermont Medical School in 1850, opened an office and a drug store, and became a major property owner, a member of the Kings County Medical Society, and treasurer of the Brooklyn College of Pharmacy, which he helped to establish. Susan Smith McKinney-Steward (1847-1918), the first African American woman to practice medicine in the state (and only the third in the country) graduated from New York Medical College for Women as valedictorian, in 1870. McKinney founded the Women's Hospital and Dispensary in Brooklyn, later the Memorial Hospital for Women and Children, and participated in the woman suffrage and temperance movements. Her earnings enabled her to support her husband, stricken with apoplexy in 1890, and six other family members in a house in "the fashionable quarter" of DeKalb Avenue.[27]

Maritcha Lyons (1848-1929), one of Brooklyn's key black educators, was the daughter of Abro and Mary Lyons, whose house was a station on the Underground Railroad. Fleeing New York City during the anti-black draft riot of 1863, the Lyons moved to Providence, R.I. where Maritcha was the first black to graduate from public high school. After teaching at Colored School No. 1 (later P.S. 67) under the supervision of Charles Dorsey, a leading black educator, she became an assistant principal and a trainer of teachers.[28]

Rufus L. Perry, (1834-1895), escaped from slavery in Tennessee, studied theology, and became a minister in Ann Arbor, Ontario, Buffalo and, finally, at Messiah Baptist Church in Brooklyn. He founded and edited the *National Monitor*, a religious monthly, and wrote *The Cushite: or the Descendants of Ham*. Frederick M. Jacobs received a B.A. from Wesleyan University, of Bloomington, Illinois; a degree in theology from Howard University; and a doctor of divinity degree from Livingstone College in Salisbury, North Carolina. While pastor of Fleet Street AME Zion Church, he earned a medical degree from Long Island Medical College, in 1901; soon afterward, he left Fleet Street to establish a lucrative medical practice in Brooklyn. William Dixon (1833-1909), a former teacher and principal, served as pastor of Concord Baptist Church from 1863 until his death in 1909. In addition to founding the New England Baptist Association (he was elected president in 1900), Dixon was moderator of the largely white Long Island Baptist Association.[29]

T. McCants Stewart (1852-1923) attended Howard University and the University of South Carolina, where he received an A.B. and, in 1875, an LL.B. After a brief practice of law, he studied theology at Princeton and became pastor of Bethel AME Church in New York City in 1879, then gave up the ministry to become a teacher at Liberia College. In 1885, he moved to Brooklyn, became an editor of the New York Freeman, and, in 1886, resumed his law practice as attorney for Bridge Street AWME Church. Stewart was appointed to the Brooklyn Board of Education in 1893.[30]

Intraclass marriage was common. For example, in 1874, Susan McKinney

(then Susan Marie Smith) married the Reverend William McKinney, a "modestly wealthy man" who owned a building valued at $6000. Two years after his death in 1896, Susan married Theophilus Gould Steward, chaplain of the Twenty-Fifth U.S. Colored Infantry and a professor of history at Wilberforce University. Her older sister married the abolitionist, Henry Highland Garnet, and her daughter Annie married M. Louis Holly, son of the bishop of Haiti. Elaborate weddings, held in large churches, were followed by catered receptions, "attended by representatives of the leading families in Brooklyn, and many from New York."[31]

Many social affairs were interracial, including literary events, dances, and concerts featuring music by European composers; these events promoted racial harmony, showing that blacks and whites could enjoy each others company. Brooklyn's black elite also engaged in what a businessman, Samuel Scottron, described as the "self uplifting" of African Americans:

> The Negro has advanced rapidly...But it remains for him to show that he is contributing to the force that moves things! That he is not...clinker in the furnaces, but good coal affording light and heat...What can the Negro do for himself and what is he doing?...in the answer...lies the future of the American Negro.

Scottron also crusaded for the abolition of slavery abroad; together with Henry Highland Garnet, Charles Dorsey, Thomas Dixon, and A. N. Freeman, the minister of Siloam Presbyterian Church, he belonged to the American Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.[32]

Maritcha Lyons, active in the Women's Club movement and the Women's Loyal Union, attacked the evils of segregation:

> Civil rights are hinged to life, liberty and happiness. Where bigotry and race prejudice are rampant their permanency is jeopardized. The future destiny of the United States...depend upon the coherence of its citizens—all its citizens. This is the groundwork upon which rest the stability of a democratic form of government.

To Lyons, there was only one solution to America's race problems:

> The abuses that exist are the outcome of unscientific, unscrupulous propaganda [by] those who...obstruct the path of the colored American. These obstacles, illogical assertions...specious reasoning—must be cut down or dug up by the keen blade of unprejudiced opinion; must be burned away by the ardent glow of an unquenchable reverence for humanity.[33]

Many of Brooklyn's black elite endorsed educational facilities. At the opening of a new building for one of Brooklyn's "colored schools" (schools servicing African American children), Richard P. Greener, a well-known black educator, contended such schools were needed to make black children aware of their rich heritage: for these children to become "useful [they] must be trained

by sympathetic heads and hearts of their own race." In 1883, when the Board of Education considered closing the "colored schools," Rufus L. Perry, Charles Dorsey, Thomas Dixon, and others spoke out against such a decision. Dorsey, the principal of a colored school, also operated an evening school for African Americans for which white speakers also expressed support.[34]

By the 1850s, Brooklyn's black elite had created institutions that provided opportunities to cultivate leadership and acquire economic and social independence, as well as to struggle against discrimination and poverty. The African Civilization Society was made up of prominent blacks, including Daniel Payne, the president of Wilberforce University; Henry Highland Garnet; J. Sella Martin, claimed by the weekly Anglo-African to be a most promising preacher; and two Brooklyn ministers, Rufus L. Perry and Amos Freeman, the pastor of Siloam Presbyterian Church. The society aimed to: "promote civilization and Christianization of Africa and of the descendants of African ancestors in any portion of the earth"; destroy the African slave trade; make people of African origins industrious "producers as well as consumers"; and elevate "the condition of the colored population of our own country and of the other lands." After emancipation, the Society devoted itself to establishing and maintaining free schools in the South. In 1865, the Society reported having hired twenty-four teachers for the ten day and night schools it supported, its work involving hundreds of men, women, and children.[35]

The purpose of the Brooklyn Howard Colored Orphan Asylum, opened in 1866 and incorporated in 1868, was to "shelter, protect, and educate destitute orphan children of Colored parentage and to instruct them in useful trades." Besides housing more than three hundred children and educating them with a professional teaching staff, the institution's medical team included specialists in ear, eye, nose, and throat, stomach and intestine, and genito-urinary treatment, as well as a dermatologist and a dentist. Although it received financial support from white people until 1902, the Asylum had an all black staff, and a predominantly black board of directors which included William T. Dixon, W. T. Timms, pastor of Holy Trinity Baptist, and L. J. Brown, pastor of Berean Baptist; according to the historian, Carleton Mabee, all its superintendents were black. The Women's Auxiliary, established in 1904, raised funds and provided clothes, bed linen, and "other comforts" for the children; members included Maritcha Lyons, Mrs. Charles Dorsey, and Verna Waller, wife of Owen Waller, M.D.[36]

By the late nineteenth century, newspapers recognized the black elite. In 1892, the Brooklyn Daily Eagle reported an affair of the "Colored four hundred of Brooklyn, [the] elite of Brooklyn's colored citizens." In 1895, the New York Times asserted that: "As soon as negro men amass a comfortable fortune, they move from this city across the East River, because they can find in Brooklyn more economical and satisfactory investments."[37]

The Black Middle Class and the Black Churches of Brooklyn

The churches most clearly demonstrated involvement of the black middle

class. Of the twenty officers of Siloam Presbyterian Church in 1899, twelve of the seventeen with known occupations held middle- and lower-middle-class positions, the majority as clerks. The board of trustees of Bridge Street AWME Church in 1918 was dominated by prominent middle-class men, including a real estate and insurance broker, the treasurer of the Howard Orphanage, and a machinist. The secretary, James E. Bruce, was listed by the Brooklyn Daily Eagle as a member of Brooklyn's "Colored 400." In 1918, the officers of Concord Baptist Church included five clerks, an undertaker, a realtor, and a carpenter. Among the five trustees of Bethany Baptist were an engineer and a carpenter. Some officials worked outside the church as janitors and servants, thus indicating that Brooklyn's black churches were centers of class mixing, where working people often shared positions of power with the elite.[38]

As middle-class people gained prominence in Brooklyn's black churches, they used these institutions to develop their image as rational, urbane, literate, community leaders, addressing demands made on blacks by an urban society. They shaped the churches to reflect the new urban setting, which demanded accommodation to the values of the larger society in which they wanted to prepare African Americans for success. Their churches emphasized rational understanding of Christian traditions, elaborate ceremonial practices, appreciation of architecture and music, seminary training for ministers, deep concern for personal achievement, and liberal values in the secular world. Hence, secular concerns took on a greater significance.

The black Baptist Churches carried certain early Southern religious practices well into the twentieth century—revivals, shouting, "falling out," and other ecstatic behavior. However, as with white-affiliated denominations during the postbellum period, there was a trend toward formal services, scholarly sermons, and architectural beauty. As Carter G. Woodson observed of African Methodist and Baptist Churches in the late nineteenth century:

> Preaching became more of an appeal to the intellect than to...emotions. Sermons...minister[ed] to a need observed by careful consideration of the circumstances of the persons served, hymns in keeping with the thought of the discourse harmonized therewith, and prayers became the occasion of thanksgiving for blessing which the intelligent pastor could lead his congregation to appreciate and of a petition for God's help to live more righteously.[39]

Architectural and interior beauty, an important expression of black church culture, was a way to demonstrate an urbane, polished style of worship identifiable with European cathedrals. The AME churches in 1908 described architecture as "the art of building according to principles which are determined, not merely by the ends the edifice is intended to serve, but by consideration of beauty and harmony." This was evident in the black churches of Brooklyn, which collectively organized building committees and raised funds to finance large brick Gothic structures with pointed arches,

stained glass windows, lavish outer carvings and interior designs, decorated altars, fancy wooden pews to accommodate hundreds, and elegant chapels.

Sometime between 1890 and 1914, during the pastorship of L. J. Brown, Berean Baptist Church purchased a brick building with high arches, stained glass windows, and small garden, to which it added two elaborate wings shortly after. St. Phillips Protestant Episcopal purchased a two-story castle with a large tower and stained glass windows. In 1899, St. Augustine Protestant Episcopal Church purchased St. Mary's Chapel on Canton Street, a large, brick building with an extended entryway and high-arched, stained glass windows. At least six churches claimed they could seat at least three hundred worshippers.[40]

The AWME Church at 309 Bridge Street was bought from the First Congregational Church for $12,500, in 1854. One of Brooklyn's most elegant churches, it had two wooden pillars in the entrance porch, a spacious gallery, and a hall that seated twelve hundred people comfortably. By the turn of the century it added a thirty-light, oxidized brass chandelier.[41]

Great care was given to decoration. On Sundays, the Bridge Street AWME Church had flowers

> tastefully arranged...The Bible desk was covered with beautiful white silk...trimmed...with silk cord and silk moss fringes. In the center was a cross of Lilies of the Valley. Behind the pulpit was suspended a large cross of choice flowers.

Flowers at Siloam Presbyterian were "elaborate, perfuming the church with their fragrance"; the Zion AME Church of Williamsburgh's lecture room was garnished with flowers, the pastor's harvest table "heavenly laden with choice fruits, flowers, vegetables, wheat, etc." Many churches established floral committees.[42]

The stress on design reflected the new secularism of the black churches. Parishioners saw their churches as places of beauty to hold in reverence, changing the perception of sacred space in black culture. Unlike earlier African Americans who extended the spatial boundaries of the sacred, the black elite religious institutions limited it to a house of worship, giving the secular a greater role. It de-emphasized the mystical and reenforced worldliness, materialism, and aesthetic beauty.

Like architecture, music was intrinsic to the style of black church worship. In traditional African American Christianity, music was spiritual and participatory, involving singing, dancing, and shouting by the congregation as well as the performers: however, Brooklyn's black churches of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries incorporated European classical music and sponsored recitals, cantatas, and concerts featuring prominent artists. Choirs were trained by experts, with some masters given the title of "professor of music." In the summer of 1905, choirs led by the "professors" of Bridge Street AWME, Fleet Street AME Zion, and Concord Baptist competed for a "silver cup"; all three "showed excellent training, but the

honors...were given to Concord."[43]

Some churches purchased large pipe organs and hired trained organists, whose performances of Bach, Handel, Brahms, and Franck set the tone for Sunday services. Recalling an earlier period, before gospel music became a dominant force at Berean Missionary Baptist Church, a veteran member recalled that Baroque music was common. Music no longer was a participatory ritual, but a performance parishioners appreciated solely for its artistic value. Churches hired professional choirmasters, organists, and other musical experts to direct services, to which parishioners responded as though attending concerts. Instead of traditional clapping and shouting to music, they listened, and applauded at the end.[44]

The churches also moved toward a well-trained ministry. Early on, the black Presbyterian, Episcopal, and Congregational denominations required pastors trained at seminaries like Fisk University, in Tennessee; Trinity, in Alabama; Lincoln, in Pennsylvania, and Biddle, in North Carolina. Later, this became a requirement of the AME churches, which, at state conferences as early as the 1840s, passed resolutions for the establishment of seminaries, of which the first significant ones were Wilberforce, in Ohio, and Morris Brown, at Atlanta. Because of a shortage of seminarians, AME policy was for educated ministers to circulate among congregations.[45]

After the Civil War, the Baptists, who previously had no general educational requirements for ordination, established divinity schools; among graduates with pulpits in Brooklyn were Rufus L. Perry, William Thomas Dixon, Francis Blair of Bethany Baptist, and S. E. Lee, of Shiloh Baptist Church. As larger numbers of seminary-trained black ministers appeared in Brooklyn, sermons became more scholarly. Few are preserved, but occasional summaries in the black press offer evidence that they were well-constructed Bible lessons with exegetical outlines and conclusions with practical application, an approach that cut across Presbyterian, Episcopal, Congregational, African Methodist, and Baptist lines. Emphasis on thought instead of emotion is evident in accounts of sermons that were "full of instruction [and] eloquent, as in one delivered at Bridge Street AWME by J. W. Gloucester, of Siloam Presbyterian. Taking his text from Deuteronomy 30, Gloucester reminded the congregation that Moses presented "life with its attendant blessings to people, as the condition of proper obedience to the divine law; or death with its curses as a result of disobedience," then cautioned his listeners that "Man possesses the ability to choose right or wrong; to accept Christ or reject him."[46]

Learned sermons also reflected a changing sacred world view, which in earlier times encompassed every aspect of life but in the new urban black church culture was limited to morals and ethics. One came to God not through mystical or emotional experience, but through knowledge and reason. Without losing their zeal for politics, churches were more accommodating of the cultural hegemony of the dominant society. While continuing to address the concerns of African-Americans, they advocated a

more mainstream view: individuals must actively strive to improve their lives in this world by good behavior, high-minded morals, and hard work.

In a sermon at Bridge Street AWME, "Our Progress," Rufus L. Perry contended that, twenty years after emancipation, blacks had made strides in the fields of real estate, business, journalism, and religion by the hard work on which racial progress depended. "Prospects of the Colored People of the South," an 1886 sermon by William H. Dickerson, of Siloam Presbyterian, pointed out the progress of blacks. Speaking of the "noble men of the race," he referred to Richard Allen, founder of the AME Church, and John Gloucester, founder of black Presbyterianism. He reminded people of African origin of their great historical past, and encouraged them to improve their status by working hard.[47]

One of the most important means to uplift the black masses was literacy. Brooklyn's black churches promoted literacy, hoping to challenge the notion of black inferiority and to define blacks as rational human beings who could appreciate literature, think abstractly, and advance socially and economically. Next to Sunday schools, literary societies were the best tools for promoting literacy. Soon after the establishment of the Brooklyn Literary Union of Siloam Presbyterian Church in 1886, other groups were formed, including Concord Baptist Church's Literary Circle, St. Augustine Protestant Episcopal's Literary Sinking Fund, Nazarene Congregational's Literary Society, Union Bethel AME's Young People's Literary Society, Bridge Street's Turner Lyceum, St. John's AME Star Lyceum, and Fleet Street's AME Zion's Progressive Literary Union. Lecture rooms were centers of cultural events, literary presentations, talks, and concerts. Speakers and performers at Concord included the journalist, Ida B. Wells; T. Thomas Fortune, editor of the *New York Age*; T. Stewart McCants, an author, attorney, pastor, and organizer of many black literary societies; and the local YMCA's Guitar and Mandolin Club.[48]

The societies sponsored debates, lectures, elocution contests, recitations, concerts, and discussions of issues facing black America. The Rev. Rufus L. Perry delivered a paper on the progress of the black race and an attorney, William Edwards, addressed a Concord Literary Circle meeting on "Improvement: the Order of the Age." At another program, Ida B. Wells discussed the "Afro-American in Literature." At the Literary and Sinking Fund Society of St. Augustine Protestant Episcopal Church, a member read from Mark Twain and vocal duets and a violin solo were performed. "There is no other city in the union," declared the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, "that possesses as intelligent a community of young people as the City of Churches." In addition to routine business, the agenda of the Brooklyn Literary Union's bi-monthly meetings included singing, prayer, and such literary exercises as lectures, discussions, and debates.[49]

Brooklyn's black elite took an active part in the literary societies. Fredrick Douglass and the writer, Frances E. W. Harper, were honorary members of the Brooklyn Literary Union, the officers of which included T. McCants

Stewart, its president, and the publisher, T. Thomas Fortune. Among the directors were Charles A. Dorsey and Maritcha Lyons, each the principal of a "Colored" school; M. P. Saunders, the treasurer of the Howard Orphanage Industrial School; Fredrick B. Watkins, a member, like Dorsey, of Brooklyn's "Colored 400"; C. H. Lang, one of the wealthiest of the "400"; Susan McKinney; and the ministers, William Thomas Dixon and Rufus L. Perry. The chairman of the Turner Lyceum's board was Walter S. Durham, an accomplished singer; the president of the Star Lyceum was R. M. Brown, a general commission and export merchant; and the president of the Progressive Literary Union, J. Howard Wilson, also belonged to the "400."[50]

The literary society organizers thought of themselves as part of what W. E. B. Du Bois called the "Talented Tenth," the best and brightest of the race, obligated to uplift the black masses by exposing them to the best literature, music, speech, and by keeping them informed on issues confronting the race. The *New York Age*, published by T. Thomas Fortune, a major organizer of New York Literary societies, proclaimed the need for

> superior contact which an intellectual and enlightened mind can give...Those of the race who have had intellectual and mental training are to be the levers with which the masses are to be lifted. A literary society in Brooklyn organized with a view to the mental uplift of the community, is an imperative necessity.[51]

Use of culture to lift the underprivileged was not unique to black churches, but was part of a larger movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Waves of immigrants, mainly from eastern and southern Europe, along with blacks from the southern United States moved to northern cities, replacing a mostly white, native-born, work force and bringing their own unique culture to the workplace and urban centers. The period witnessed the growth of labor unions and the rise of the dime novel and other forms of popular culture. According to the historian, Daniel Walker Howe, the American gentry was "mostly middle-class, mostly Whig-Republican, literary men and women," who wanted to humanize the new industrial-capitalist order by "infusing it with a measure of social responsibility, strict personal morality, and respect for cultural standards." These people esteemed the Victorian virtues of hard work, soberness, postponing gratification, and sexual repression, as a means of molding the new work force. Lawrence Levine remarks that museums, art galleries, opera houses, theaters, and symphony halls became "active agents in teaching their audiences to adjust to the new social imperatives in urging them to separate public behavior from private feelings, in keeping a strict reign over their emotional and physical process."[52]

The churches emphasized that blacks could accomplish the best in art, literature, intellectual pursuits, and music; they went against a wave of opinion contending that blacks were mentally and morally inferior. Through a flood of pseudo-scientific literature, songs, magazines, motion pictures, and other forms of popular culture, people of African descent were portrayed as

innately shiftless, lazy, childish, stupid, amoral, oversexed, violent, beastly, as natural gamblers and as dangers to American society.[53]

D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* exemplified this type of propaganda. Based on Thomas Dixon's 1902 novel, The Klansman, the film portrayed Africans liberated from the domesticating influence of slavery as beasts. Once formerly loyal black servants teamed up with the unscrupulous carpetbaggers, they destroyed the social fabric of the South. Black Union soldiers beat up decent white Southerners; black brutes lusted after and attempted to rape white Southern women, and black mobs killed anyone who stood in their way. Once blacks gained control of South Carolina's state legislature, they made a mockery of the legislative process. Black buffoons ate chicken, drank whiskey, took their shoes off and picked their feet, and horrified whites by passing a bill that legalized interracial marriages.[54]

The popular image of African Americans as brutish and dangerous had political implications. Southern states disfranchised African Americans by means of the grandfather clause, the poll tax, and the white primary, and denied them equal access to railroads, buses, schools, libraries, hotels, hospitals, restaurants, parks, playgrounds, water fountains, toilets, and cemeteries by Jim Crow legislation. The North, in turn, imposed restrictive covenants; racially biased neighborhood improvement associations, municipal ordinances, and blockbusting by realtors forced blacks into Northern ghettos.[55]

Between 1873 and 1898, United States Supreme Court decisions stripped African Americans of their constitutional rights. In the Slaughterhouse Cases (1873), the Court curtailed privileges and immunities protected by the Fourteenth Amendment by giving states the green light to restrict the rights of blacks. In the Civil Rights Cases (1883), it held void the Civil Rights Act of 1875 on grounds that the Fourteenth Amendment's prohibition of racial discrimination was confined to state action and did not extend to the acts of individuals. And in Plessy v. Ferguson (1896), it upheld the spurious "separate-but-equal" doctrine to justify racial sepaeration. Such decisions sent a message across the nation that the highest judicial body would not oppose the crusade to lock blacks into a caste system.

Discrimination was not limited to the courts. Between 1886 and 1900 twenty-five hundred people were lynched, the great majority of them Southern blacks. From 1900 to World War I, 1,100 blacks were lynched in the United States. Moreover, an epidemic of race-riots hit both northern and southern cities, including Atlanta, Brownsville, Texas, East St. Louis, and Chicago.[56]

To suggest that struggle can take only one form limits our understanding of the human reaction to oppressive conditions. Wilmore and others who argue that black churches did little to oppose racial oppression ignore culture as a mode of resistance. In a racist environment, the black churches promoted social equality and human rights for African people. As arbiters of culture, the black churches helped create an image of African Americans as

intelligent, scholarly, and artistically accomplished within the terms the dominant white culture had set. This image directly challenged the mainstream racist view of blacks as beastly, lazy, childlike, stupid, and menacing. By becoming literary and artistic centers, the churches countered the prevailing stereotype of blacks.

While the black church was adopting a Eurocentric culture, the minister's role was changing drastically. In African American evangelical Protestantism, the preacher shared control of the worship with his congregation. The ministers of the black elite religious institutions were, for the most part, seminary-trained professionals, helping parishioners gain the understanding of the Bible and Christian doctrine necessary for salvation. In some sense, the pastor became an intermediary between God and the individual, thus decreasing the congregation's active involvement during a service.

In their crusade for a cultural hierarchy, black churches took any deviation as illegitimate and, therefore, intolerable. Insisting on proper behavior and correct leisure activities for the masses, they viewed with disdain many earlier aspects of African American religion, particularly emotionalism, as evidenced by a speech at a National Baptist Convention:

> there is a third class representing quite ten thousand...bellowing like an untamed animal of the Balaam specie while their thousands of followers scream...and shout...Men of this type have no business in the pulpit. They split churches, break up homes and demoralize the[ir] communities...The poor people put their money into church property, pay the pastors' salaries, but have no knowledge of the real work of the Church of God. Their dilapidated, ramshackle, greasy buildings are parodies on clean, restful, sacred places, where the people, like David, are glad to go to meet God.[57]

High church culture probably attracted many southern black migrants and working-class blacks. Most African Methodist and Baptist Churches increased in membership between 1900 and 1920, while white-affiliated denominations grew slightly or decreased. However, by the end of the 1920s, practically all churches, including Siloam, Nazarene, St. Augustine, and St. Phillips, had grown.

When black churches defined legitimate culture in terms of literary societies, educated clergy, and scholarly sermons, they signaled a dramatic shift in the sacred world view of African Americans. Unlike traditional African American Christianity, in which there was no separation between words and action, in the sacred world of the black churches words became mere symbols, separate from action, descriptions and not reality. This distinction limited the power of African Americans to control their lives; this separation helped close an avenue by which blacks could make decisions in a society that relegated them to the lowest social and economic levels. By denying the full variety of religious expression, the black churches made many feel uncomfortable and unwelcome. Some sought other religious forms,

such as Holiness-Pentecostal churches, the earliest of which appeared in Brooklyn in the early 1900s; they increased dramatically during the heavy black influx of the late 1920s.

Although many were unhappy with the elite churches and fled, others decided to stay and struggle to reshape these institutions. As the century progressed, demographic and cultural changes helped to redefine Brooklyn's black churches, making them responsive to the needs and desires of working people and their communities.

NOTES

1. *New York Freeman*, 7 November 1885.

2. Gayraud S. Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1986), 142; see also ibid., 122-26; James H. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power* (New York: Seabury Press, 1969). For a more positive analysis of the role of the black church, see W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro* (New York: Schocken Books, 1945), and Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1945). Bishop Turner, a Republican party organizer in Georgia during Reconstruction, forged a theology of black liberation; in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, he championed black emigration to Africa as a solution to racism in America.

3. Albert Raboteau, *Slave Religion* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1978), 97-110; Mechal Sobel, *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1979), 59-71.

4. Raboteau, ibid., 128-34; Sobel, ibid., 85; Gary Nash, *The Urban Crucible* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1979), 204-212.

5. Lawrence Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1977), 157.

6. Ibid., 30-31; Sobel, *Trabelin' On*, 140-48.

7. Sobel, ibid; Levine, *Black Culture*, 22, 33.

8. Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 231-39.

9. William Wells Brown, "Black Religion in the Post-Reconstruction South," in Milton C. Sernett, *Afro-American Religious History: A Documentary Witness* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1985), 240-41.

10. Harold X. Connolly, *A Ghetto Grows in Brooklyn* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1977), 2-5.

11. Ibid., 6-8.

12. David Ment and Mary Donovan, *The People of Brooklyn: History of Two Neighborhoods* (New York: Brooklyn Arts and Cultural Association, 1980), 21. Weeksville-Carrsville was bounded by Atlantic Avenue on the north, Ralph Avenue on the east, Eastern Parkway on the south, and Albany Avenue on the west; the Fourth Ward community included Fulton Street on the west, Sands Street on the north, and Bridge Street on the south.

13. *The African Wesleyan Methodist-Episcopal Church (Known as Bridge Street AWME Church) Anniversary Book* (Church Publication, 1980) 13-18; Leonard P. Curry, *The Free Black in Urban America* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1981), 183.

14. *Bridge Street AWME Church*, 16-21.

15. *Black Churches & Brooklyn* (New York: Long Island Historical Society, 1984); Records of church incorporation, Kings County Clerk's Office (these note the establishment of a Saint Peters African Church in 1837 and a Metropolitan AME Church in 1885, without further information); *Black Churches & Brooklyn, First African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church Centennial Celebration 1885-1985* (Church Publication, 1985), 14.

16. Curry, *Free Black*, 177.

17. *Amsterdam News*, 4 June 1955; *Berean Missionary Baptist Church's Anniversary Book* (n.p.: Church publication, 1976); for Bethany, Calvary, and Holy Trinity Baptist churches, see *Black Churches & Brooklyn.*

18. Stanley M. Douglas, "The History of the Siloam Presbyterian Church," in *Centennial Yearbook of the Siloam Presbyterian Church* (1849-1949); *Black Churches & Brooklyn*; *Amsterdam News*, 8 July 1925, 9 October 1948, 21 October 1950; *Black Churches & Brooklyn.*

19. For early history of Concord Baptist, see *Amsterdam News*, 4 June 1955; *Bethany Baptist Church Centennial Celebration* (church publication, 1983); Black Churches & Brooklyn; Douglas, "History of Siloam"; *Book of Memories: The Holy Trinity Baptist Church, Inc., 1899-1972* (New Jersey, 1972); *New York Age*, 13 February 1892.

20. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle Almanac*, 1889, 96-103.

21. Douglas, "History of Siloam"; *Bridge Street Anniversary Book*, 1980, 40; for St. Augustine see *New York Freeman*, 31 October 1885; for Bethel see *New York Age*, 16 April 1905; for Siloam see *New York Globe* 8 August 1884.

22. *Amsterdam News*, 4 June 1955; Douglas, ibid.; *Bridge Street Anniversary Book, 1980*, 53-54; Connolly, *Ghetto*, 14; *Weekly Anglo-African*, 2 February 1861.

23. *Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Brooklyn Sabbath School Union, 1858/1859.*

24. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle Almanac*, 1891, 102-11.

25. Ibid., 1892, 1896, 1900.

26. *Schedule of Population, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870,* and *Tenth Census, 1880.*

27. Ibid.; *New York Times*, 14 July 1895; Connolly, *Ghetto*, 23-24; *Amsterdam News*, 17 January 1943; William Seraile, "Susan McKinney Steward: New York State's First African-American Woman Physician," *Afro-Americans in New York Life and History* 9 (July 1985), 27-40; *New York Times*, 14 July (?) 1895, 5 June 1887.

28. Maritcha Remond Lyons, "Memories of Yesterday: All of Which I Saw and Part of Which I Was: An Autobiography," in Harry A. Williamson Papers, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 5-38.

29. Woodson, *History of the Negro Church*, 219-21; Connolly, Ghetto, 25, *New York Age*, 27 February 1908, 10 June 1909.

30. Charles E. Wynes, "T. McCants Stewart: Peripatetic Black South Carolinian," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 80, (1979), 311-17.

31. William Seraile, "Susan McKinney Steward," 27-40; *New York Times*, 5 June 1887, 14 July 1889; *New York Freeman*, 17 October 1885; *New York Age*, 26 December 1891.

32. *New York Age*, 27 February 1892, 1 June and 20 July 1905; *New York Globe*, 1 February 1885.

33. Maritcha Lyons to May Loeb, 17 August 1918.

34. *New York Globe*, 1 and 17 February 1883; *New York Freeman*, 17 and 31 October 1885.

35. *Annual Report of African Civilization Society*, 31 May 1865.

36. *Brooklyn Howard Colored Orphan Asylum Annual Report, 1912-1913*; Carleton Mabee, "Charity in Travail: Two Orphan Asylums for Blacks," *New York History* 55 (January 1974):55-77.

37. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 16 September 1892; *New York Times*, 14 July 1895.

38. *Brooklyn Directories*, 1893-1918; for Bridge Street and Concord, see *Bridge Street AWME Centennial Book*, 1818-1919; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 16 September 1892; for Siloam see Douglas, "History of Siloam."

39. Woodson, *Negro Church*, 196.

40. *Twenty-Third Quadrennial General Conference of African Methodist Episcopal Churches*, 1908), 50-51, 64; *Berean Baptist Church Anniversary Book*, 1976); *Eagle Almanac*, 1891, 102-

11; *Weeksville Then & Now* (New York: Society for the Preservation of Weeksville & Bedford-Stuyvesant History, 1983), 30.

41. *New York Freeman*, 24 January 1885; 309 Bridge St. was the former estate of Edward and Margaret Pierrepont, who had signed the property over to the First Congregational Church.

42. *New York Globe*, 31 March 1883; New York Freeman, 11 April 1885.

43. *New York Age*, 1 June 1905.

44. Author's interview with Myra M. Gregory, a member of Berean Baptist since 1912; *New York Age*, 3 August 1905, 20 February 1892, 20 April 1905, 1 June 1905, 2 April and 21 May 1908; *Bridge Street AWME Centennial Book*, 1818-1918; Douglas, "History of Siloam;" *New York Globe*, 23 August 1924, *New York Freeman*, 24 January and 17 October 1885.

45. *New York Globe*, 23 August 1884; *New York Freeman*, 22 November 1884; Woodson, Negro Church, 180-82.

46. Baptist seminaries included Shaw University, Raleigh; Morehouse, Atlanta; Roger Williams, Nashville; Virginia Seminary College, Lynchburg; Arkansas Baptist College; and the University of Louisville; *New York Globe*, 4 August 1883, 2 February 1884; *New York Age*, 31 October 1891; for Gloucester sermon, see *New York Globe*, 22 September 1883.

47. *New York Freeman*, 5 December 1885, 27 February 1886: New York Globe, 27 September 1884.

48. *New York Age*, 26 September and 17 and 31 October 1891; *New York Freeman*, 3 February 1885, 27 February 1886; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 17 September 1892.

49. Rufus L. Perry, "The Cushite: The Children of Ham, As Seen by the Ancient Historians and Poets (Literary Union, 1887, copy in Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture); *New York Age*, 31 October 1891; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 17 September 1892. At the Brooklyn Literary Union, papers could not exceed twenty minutes, except by special vote; debate disputants were limited to ten minutes each; papers and debates were followed by not more than forty-five minutes of general discussion; debates were decided by a vote of the Union (see "Constitution and By-Laws of Brooklyn Literary Union, 1886," copy at Brooklyn Historical Society).

50. "Constitution and By-Laws of Brooklyn Literary Union, 1886"; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 18 December 1892.

51. W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," in Booker T. Washington et al, *The Negro Problem* (reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1969), 31-75; *New York Age*, 27 February 1908.

52. Daniel Walker Howe, "American Victorianism As a Culture," *American Quarterly* 27 (December 1975):521-31; Levine, *Highbrow*, 199.

53. George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1971),l275-82.

54. Wyn Craig Wade, *The Fiery Cross: The Ku Klux Klan in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1987), 119-39.

55. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988) 238, 312-13.

56. Ibid.

57. *Thirty-Fifth Annual Session of the National Baptist Convention USA Incorporated*, 1915, 234-35.

58. *Eagle Almanac*, 1920, 222-27; see George Hobart, "The Negro Churches of Brooklyn, New York, 1930-1931": (New York: Brooklyn Federation of Churches and Greater New York Federation of Churches (New York, 1931).

One Brooklyn Block: Population Characteristics and Change, 1880-1910

By Charlotte Woods Elkind

Brooklyn, a settlement of Dutch farmers founded in or about 1637, spread out from the ferry landing across from lower Manhattan. The introduction of Robert Fulton's steam ferry, in 1814, sparked the development of the nation's first commuter suburb, on the heights overlooking the harbor. The village of Brooklyn, incorporated two years later with boundaries roughly the same as today's Brooklyn Heights, became a city in 1834. The city of Williamsburgh and the town of Bushwick joined it in 1854; by 1880, with a population of 566,663, Brooklyn was the third largest city in the United States. The next thirty years—the period studied in this article—were times of enormous population growth, political consolidation, and industrial development. The absorption of the towns of Flatbush, New Lots, New Utrecht, and Gravesend in 1894, and of Flatlands two years later, made Brooklyn's boundaries coterminous with those of Kings County. In 1898, by merging with Manhattan, Queens, the Bronx, and Staten Island, Brooklyn became a borough of Greater New York; by 1910 it contained 1,634,351 people.[1]

This study reconstitutes one block in Brooklyn Heights—the 250-foot square bounded by Middagh, Willow, and Cranberry Streets and Columbia Heights, one block up the hill from the ferry landing. A thirty-year comparison of the counts of block residents is based on census records, as well as property valuations, city directories, and wills. The period studied begins in 1880, three years before the opening of the Brooklyn Bridge, and ends in 1910, two years after the construction of the first subway to Brooklyn. Focus on a single block may be too narrow for general conclusions, but it can profile the circumstances of a few hundred people on a small square in Brooklyn at the turn of the century.

Like the old First Ward, of which it was part, the block did not share in the general growth of Brooklyn after 1880; its population rose between 1880 and 1900, but returned to the 1880 level in 1910 (see table 1).

Using manuscript census statistics for 1880, 1900, and 1910, I considered the variables sex, age, marital status, native-born or immigrant status, occupation, and relationship to head of household. The last established the pattern of the others, so cases were divided into three groups: family members, boarders or lodgers, and servants. Boarders and lodgers, usually male and single, were more transient and held fewer professional jobs than

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did heads of families. Although the group included professionals and entrepreneurs, the transient nature of boarders and lodgers contributed to residential instability on the block. I surmise that this group was the cause of the block's erratic population profile, and of the surge in its population in 1900. Furthermore, although the block's population in 1910 was only 5 percent more than in 1880, its social composition had changed: there were not only more boarders and lodgers, but the proportion of immigrants had increased,and the male-female ratio was reversed (see table 2).

Table 1.

County, Ward, and Block Population

	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910
Kings County	419,921	599,495	838,547	1,166,582	1,634,351
		+43%*	+40%*	+40%*	+40%*
First Ward	6,476	18,729	20,040	20,327	N.A.
		+189%*	+7%*	+1%*	
Block	N.A.	150	N.A.	211	157

*percent increase over previous census year

Source: *U.S.Census Statistics*, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, microfilmed by Research Publications, New Haven, CT; *Census Population Schedules*, New York: 1870, Brooklyn, Wards 1-2, micro copy T-8; 1880, city of Brooklyn, Ward 1, micro copy T-9; 1900, Borough of Brooklyn, E.D. 1-26, micro copy T623; 1910, Kings County, E.D. 1-40, micro copy T624, National Archives Microfilm Publications.

Table 2.

Block Population

	1880	*1900*	*1910*
Population	150	211	157
Sex Ratio *	58	178	157
Mean Age	31.275	32.227	36.271
Marital Status **	93S,41M,16W	140S,56M,13W	94S,47M,13W,1D
Percent American-born	78	74	62
Family members	84 (56%)	77 (37%)	78 (50%)
Boarders	42 (28%)	111 (53%)	69 (44%)
Servants	24 (16%)	23 (11%)	10 (6%)

* number of males per hundred females
** S=single; M=married; W=widowed; D=divorced

Source: *Census Population Schedules*, 1880, 1900, 1910.

Census data show changes other than the increase in population from 1880 to 1900, and the subsequent sharp drop in 1910 almost back to the 1880 total. Although, the city of Brooklyn experienced phenomenal population growth throughout these years, the First Ward had stabilized by 1880. On the block, the number of family members changed very little and the small number of servants declined, but there was an enormous increase in the number of males, and of boarders and lodgers. Population changes occurred within this male boarder/lodger group. By 1910, it had grown so that, although the block total of 157 was only 5 percent more than the 150 of 1880, the population mix had changed from 56 percent family and 28 percent boarder/lodger to 50 percent family and 44 percent boarder/lodger.[2]

Another change was the reversal of the ratio of men to women over the thirty years, with an almost 80 percent increase in the number of males contrasted with a one-third decline in the number of females. The proportion of women declined slightly among family members, but dropped steadily among boarders/lodgers. The declining servant sector was essentially female, with only one male in each year studied. As with population growth in general, the increase in male boarders/lodgers accounted for the change in the sex ratio.

The preponderance of American-born residents declined; by 1910, almost half the population was foreign-born (only among servants did the proportion of native-born increase, although foreign servants were always a majority). The mean age increased by five years, the change again driven by the boarder/lodger population, which was ten years older in 1910 than in 1880. Family members were three years older; servants five years younger.

Finally, the relative size of the three groups changed. Boarders/lodgers, who made up about one-fourth of the population in 1880, represented more than half in 1900, and somewhat less (44 percent) in 1910. Family members, more than half in 1880, fell to about one-third in 1900, but were half the population again in 1910. The small servant sector fell 5 percent each year.

Together, these trends suggest that the block became less a family community and more a home to transient workers. The larger proportion of boarders/lodgers and the decrease in the actual number of servants indicate possible social decline. During these years, the social preeminence of the Heights was rivaled by the new neighborhood of Clinton Hill, to the east, where, families like the Pratts of Astral Oil (a Standard Oil subsidiary) found space for large mansions with surrounding gardens.[3]

At the edge of the historic Heights district the block had its imposing homes and wealthy residents, but its north-south streets sloped steeply down to docks and warehouses, the ferry, the trolley lines, and the emerging commerce of lower Fulton Street. The mixed pattern of town house and boarding house side-by-side demonstrates the diversity that is typical of city living, especially before zoning laws separated land uses.

Definition of Population

The 509 cases studied are the "population" of one block, not a sample of a larger population. Even so, they could not include all who lived on the block. Transient as the residents were, with so many of them unmarried clerks, Spanish cigar makers, or Irish maids, even a yearly roll call would not have listed everyone. Itinerants would be missing, as they are today. The profile provided by four evenly-spaced censuses is further distorted because the manuscript census of 1890 was lost in a fire in Washington in 1921.[4] The 1892 state census is no substitute; without street addresses, it can only confirm the stability of families whose names also appear in the 1880 or 1900 counts.

In addition to gaps in the data, reliance on census returns include entry errors, omissions, damaged records, and arbitrary classifications. Occupations are tersely defined (printing, machinery), but may not separate owner or manager from clerk or laborer. For that reason, house valuations and family style (number of servants, presence of boarders) are helpful in defining status. Cross checks with other sources (city directories or real estate records) provide additional information, but also new ambiguities and contradictions.

Brooklyn's Growth

From 1870 to 1880, the population of Kings grew by 43 percent, and in subsequent decades by 40 percent; it almost quadrupled from 1870 to 1910. Such growth did not occur in the First Ward, whose boundaries match those of today's Brooklyn Heights. While its population almost tripled between 1870 and 1880, it grew at a rate of only 7 percent from 1880 to 1890, and by only one-tenth of one percent between 1890 and 1900. First Assembly District figures for 1910 could not be compared with earlier First Ward numbers, because the assembly district covered a larger area.

The original settlement by the ferry offered convenience, but by 1880 there was little open land for development. The completion of the Brooklyn Bridge by-passed this waterfront district and its commercial surroundings, as well as the residential heights above. Development of elevated railway lines over the bridge and a trolley network into Brooklyn allowed new settlers and potential commuters to find emptier pastures in the new neighborhoods to the east. There was little business development in the old village. On the block itself only one new house was built in thirty years.[5]

Apparently, the First Ward reached optimum density by 1880, after a decade of unusual growth spurred by construction of Brooklyn Bridge, which brought workers, engineers, suppliers, and other services into the neighborhood. The very concept of the bridge was an expression of Brooklyn's economic vigor and ebullience. Third in population since 1860, it was "the nation's fourth largest industrial city measured by the value of goods manufactured," with some five thousand factories employing forty-nine thousand people. By 1865, its industrial development spread along the East River shore from Newtown Creek to Red Hook. Margaret Latimer, a Brooklyn historian, observes that,

> Piers for ocean-going ships attracted the patronage of ten cargo and passenger steamship lines. In addition to the oil refineries, foundries, sugar refineries, grain elevators, and warehouses that spread along the Brooklyn waterfront, there were also a number of modern maritime facilities, such as the Atlantic and Erie basins in South Brooklyn.[6]

Brooklyn's cultural center developed around its City Hall, with the Academy of Music, the Mercantile Library, and the Brooklyn Art Association all erected on Montague Street in the 1860s, and the Historical Society established on Pierrepont Street in 1881. Toward the end of the century, banks, insurance companies, and law offices were replacing these cultural institutions; the new Academy of Music was built in Fort Greene, nearer fashionable Clinton Hill, and the Brooklyn Museum and the Public Library were erected at the edge of Prospect Park, all closer to the borough's geographic center.[7]

Although the numbers in the First Ward were stable in contrast to rapid growth in the rest of Brooklyn, its immigrant and racial profiles resembled the larger entity's. From 1870 to 1910, approximately two-thirds of the Kings County population was native-born, as was that of the First Ward in 1870 and 1890. In 1900, however, immigrants made up a 51 percent majority in the downtown area, with a smaller proportional increase on the block (1900-1910). Here, less than one-fourth of the population were immigrants in 1880, a number that rose slightly in 1900, and by over one-third in 1910. The First Ward experienced an increase in the proportion of males and immigrants in 1900, as did the block in 1910.[8] As Brooklyn's outer neighborhoods grew, the older housing stock of the First Ward and the block may have been more accessible and cheaper for immigrants seeking to leave Manhattan.

In the five census years, 1870 to 1910, the racial makeup of the county was 98 to 99 percent "white"; the same ratio prevailed in the First Ward, 1880-1900. Native-born residents usually outnumbered immigrants, but the proportion of the latter increased. Although Kings County contained slightly more women than men in 1900 and 1910 (51 percent), in the First Ward, as on the block, the female majority was overturned in 1900. More than half the 1890 First Ward population, and two-thirds of the 1880 block population, was female. But in 1900, females accounted for only one-third of the First Ward population, and about the same (36 percent) on the block. The increased number of men in downtown Brooklyn changed the proportions. Male dominance on the block continued in 1910.[9]

Physical and Economic Characteristics of the Block

During this period there were never more than twenty-five structures on the block, including ten pre-Civil War houses and one carriage house, all standing today. Property transactions provide information about this real estate and its assessed valuation, the only available financial variable.

The block was laid out, according to an 1816 map of the village of

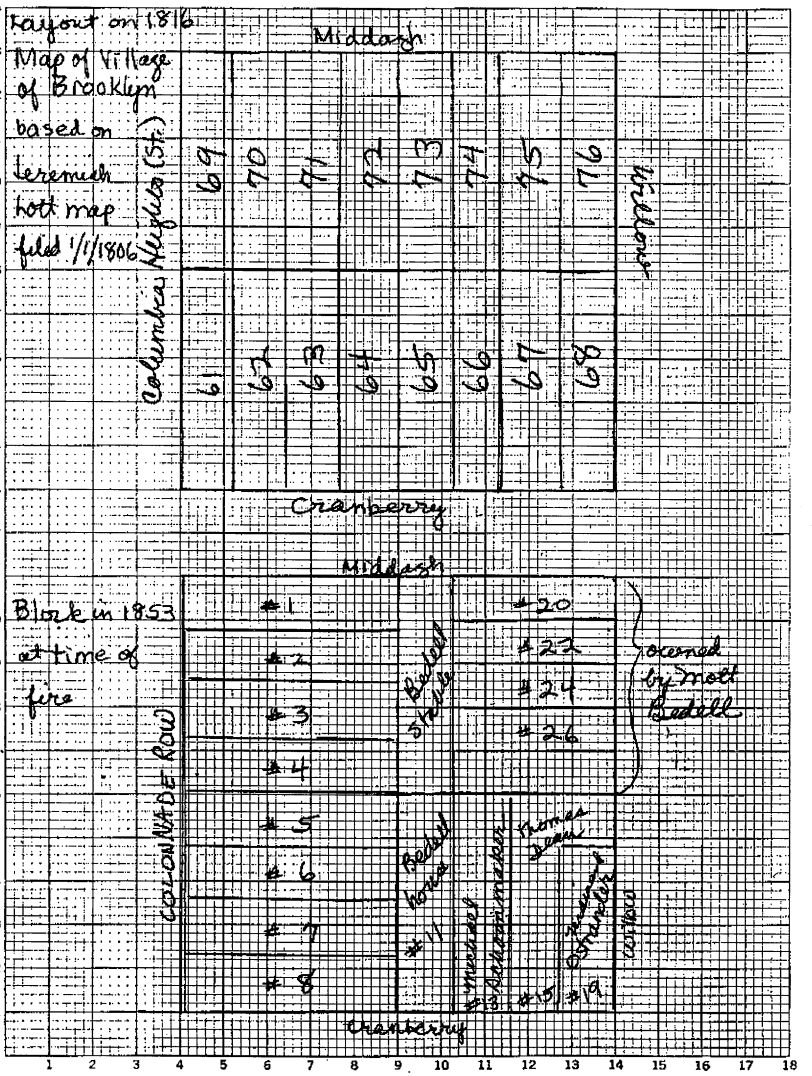

Figure 1 Block plan – 1816 and 1853

Brooklyn, with eight 25x100-foot parcels facing south on Cranberry Street and eight facing north on Middagh.[10] Conforming to this pattern, four red-brick houses were erected on Cranberry Street where they still stand. The most imposing of these, a Greek Revival house probably finished in 1841, was the home of Mott Bedell, a shipmaster and, later, a shipping merchant on Wall Street; it had an iron balcony joining the long parlor windows, and an

ornate iron fence. The property extended to Middagh Street (25x200 feet) where its stable is still intact. [11]

When General James Underhill built eight Greek Revival houses on Columbia Heights, in 1835, his Colonnade Row turned the block toward the harbor. "A monumental three-story wood colonnade united the houses which cost $15,000 when new."[12] In 1841 Bedell built four Greek Revival houses with a continuous brick facade on Willow Street. They had open galleries on the first and second floors in back, overlooking foreshortened gardens. Each was on a lot only eighty-feet deep because the Bedell stable cut their property. In the 1850s, Bedell squeezed two four-story houses onto two eighteen-foot-wide Willow Street lots. After a fire destroyed Colonnade Row in 1853, the western half of the block was divided into strips and small parcels, with some lots 20x25, and others a bit more than twelve feet wide. Thus was established the patchwork design of the block and its economic as well as architectural diversity.[13]

From 1869 to 1899, the block's real estate valuations declined; the few exceptions were for renovations, such as the addition of a third story, with a mansard roof, at 19 Cranberry, and probable work on the Middagh Street houses. When Mott Bedell built 9 Cranberry on the lot which had been his side garden, that assessment rose from $2,000 for a vacant lot in 1880 to $7,000 in 1881. The Italianate brownstones on Columbia Heights had consistently higher valuations than other houses on the block. They were larger (four of them four stories high), fifty- or fifty-five feet deep, compared to the forty- or forty-five foot depth of Willow and Cranberry Street houses, or the twenty-five foot depth on Middagh Street. These post-Civil War houses were built with indoor plumbing and some sort of heating system (the four antebellum homes on Cranberry and the Greek Revival row on Willow date to the period before any city water supply).[14]

All real estate valuations were higher in 1910, and, except for the six large houses on Columbia Heights, and 28 and 30 Willow, their 1910 valuations were higher than those of 1869. These eight structures had lost some of their initial elegance; all but 75 and 77 Columbia Heights had become rooming or boarding houses. The mean valuation for the block, $8,313.64 in 1869, dropped to $6,329.17 in 1899, and then rose to $8,565 in 1910, only 3 percent above the 1869 figure. This increase might have reflected an economic upturn, or could have resulted from the merger of Brooklyn with Greater New York and a consequent attempt to equalize assessments across the five boroughs.[15]

If Edward Willets, Jr., fourteen years old in 1884, had roller skated around the block on the uneven bluestone sidewalk, he might have noticed that each streetscape had its own character. His father, who owned the house with the highest valuation, would have known that the assessments reflected these physical differences. Nineteenth-century developers often built three or four row houses at one time.[16] This block had several such groups: 13-15 Cranberry, 20-26 Willow, 28-30 Willow, and 65-71 Columbia Heights. Valuations within a group were nearly identical, so that each side of the block

had a different pattern of assessments. Values were lowest on Middagh, higher on Willow, even higher on Cranberry, and generally highest on Columbia Heights.

Because the 1870 census listed the value of real estate and personal property for some heads of households, it provides information on individual financial standing not given in later censuses. Mott Bedell was listed with real estate valued at $750,000 and a personal estate of $32,000, while his son-in-law, Abiel A. Low, had real estate worth $500,000 and a personal estate of four million dollars. Bedell's neighbor, Edward Willets, a commission merchant in Manhattan, had real estate worth $30,000 and a personal estate of $5,000. His father Daniel, also a commission merchant, owned the vacant lot at 73 Columbia Heights as well as a home across the street. His personal estate was worth $200,000. Walter DeGraw, whose small family and one servant occupied 65 Columbia Heights in 1870 and 1880, had real estate valued at $15,000 and a personal estate of $500. His house was valued at $11,000 in 1869. Financial listings for several Middagh Street owners help put real estate valuations in perspective. Thomas Harbottle's property was valued at $7,500, his personal estate at $1,500; in 1869, the assessed valuation of his house had been $3,900. Henry Hudson's personal estate was worth $2,000 and his home was valued at $3,400, in 1869.[17]

Residential Patterns

Valuations and architectural styles defined each street. Assessors appraised buildings, noting construction methods and materials, and counting rooms and amenities. Their judgments were not affected by income of occupants, nor relationships—whether single-family homes or boarding houses. Residential patterns, however, varied from house to house and year to year. The same structure that housed one family in one census year might house a dozen boarders ten years later.

Space was not the determinant of household density. An example is 19 Cranberry, which had nineteen inhabitants in 1880 before the third floor was expanded. In 1900, the owner, Henry Dresner, lived there with his wife, two children, and two maids. The 1910 owner, Harry Dowd, shared the premises with his wife, one maid, and one lodger. Thus, the census count went down from nineteen to six to four.

The Middagh Street houses must have been cramped. Even if the two Hudson families at Number 4 in 1880 also occupied Number 2 (not counted by the census taker), there were eleven people there —a widow, a couple, six children, and two maids. Thomas Harbottle and his wife lived at 10 Middagh with their two sons from 1870-1892, and by themselves in 1900. In 1910, Anthony Musrofitz, an electrician, rented an apartment there with two sisters, as did Dietrich Voltmer, his wife and eight children. The census counted four residents in 1870, 1880, and 1892, two in 1900, and thirteen in 1910.In 1880, James Clayton rented 20 Willow with his wife and two children. In 1900, the widow Lena Jacobs supported herself and two children by keeping seven

boarders. In 1910, when the Spanish cigar manufacturer Victor Alea, his wife, and his brother shared the premises with eight boarders, all Spanish or Cuban cigarmakers, the count rose from four to ten to eleven.

In all the years of the study only a small proportion of homes was owner-occupied. The modest houses on Middagh Street had the most stable population: the Hudsons at Number 4 from 1870-1892, the Servisses at Number 8 from 1892-1900, and the Harbottles at Number 10 from 1870 to 1900. All were owners. Edward B. Willets and Walter Benedict were the only owners to live on Columbia Heights.[18] From 1870 to 1910, Willets lived with his wife, children, and servants in what may have been the block's grandest establishment. Each year it had the highest valuation: $20,000 in 1869, down to $12,000 in 1899, and up to $15,700 in 1910. Benedict, the real estate and insurance agent, lived next door with his wife Zorka, the only residents at that address in 1900. In 1910, he occupied the house with his wife and a nine-year-old son, a nurse, a housemaid, and a cook. A household's population may be the best gauge of its economic status.

The most prominent owner, the block's developer, Mott Bedell, built 11 Cranberry in 1841, where his daughter Alice still was listed in the *Elite Directory* in 1908. Although he was probably the wealthiest resident, in 1869 his house had a lower valuation than seven others. Not all his wealth was invested in his home, of course, and the relation between valuation and either market price or ability to produce income is not known. During the years of this study, the Bedells' was an exclusively female household, headed first by widow Phebe, and then by Alice, with granddaughters, nieces, and maids. Various Pecks owned and lived at 15 Cranberry, where they took in boarders from 1870 to 1906. But no owners lived on Willow Street, where all properties were in Bedell's name through 1910, although he had died in 1878.

Bedell's will furnishes valuable information on economic and social connections within the neighborhood.[19] He left the Cranberry Street house and Middagh Street stable to Phebe, to go to Alice after her mother's death, and then to his grandchildren. This portion must have included the Willow Street houses which abutted his property. The juxtaposition of disparate economic and social groups was nowhere more evident than in this owner-renter relationship. Miss Alice, from her garden, could see the backs of the Willow Street houses she owned, where in 1900 and 1910 one boarding house was filled with Spanish and Cuban cigar makers.

To his three other daughters Bedell left three other houses, one in Clinton Hill, one in New Brunswick, New Jersey, and one in Rutland, Vermont. Income from the remainder of his estate, after Phebe's death, was to be divided in five portions for his five daughters. Ann, the daughter to whom he had not left a house, was married to Abiel Abbott Low, "one of Brooklyn's wealthiest merchants."[20] Of New England stock, he had founded A. A. Low and Brothers, which at one time had a dozen clipper ships trading in tea from China and silk from Japan. First married to A. A.'s brother, William Henry, Ann Bedell married A. A. after the deaths of her husband and A. A.'s wife.[21] At the time, A.

A.'s son Seth was one year old. Thus, Bedell's daughter was both aunt and stepmother to Seth Low, mayor of Brooklyn (1881-1885), president of Columbia University (1890-1901), and mayor of New York City, (1901-1905).

Not only did the block have relatively few owner-occupants, but the number of boarding and lodging houses increased, more than doubling from 1880 to 1900 and 1910. In 1880, there were sixteen one-family houses, one two-family house, and five boarding or rooming houses. In 1900 there were nine one-family houses, one two-family house, and twelve rooming and boarding houses. This surge of boarders and lodgers changed the block's residential pattern. Where in 1880 there were only four residents at 65 Columbia Heights, and four next door, in 1900 James Gray and his wife counted nineteen boarders in the two houses. Next door, Josephine Lounsbury had fourteen boarders, while further along the block, Anna M. Stevens took in eight. There were fifty-one boarders or lodgers in the six houses on Willow Street. In 1910 there were eight one-family houses, one two-family house, and thirteen boarding houses. Four houses had boarders or lodgers in every year studied: 15 Cranberry, 26 and 28 Willow, and 69 Columbia Heights. There were fewer boarding arrangements on Middagh Street, where more homes were owner-occupied.

Boarding and rooming arrangements appeared a preferred mode of occupancy for single strangers in the city. Accommodations with a family, or in a small boarding house, would have been friendlier than a commercial hotel, and certainly more attractive for single women, although, as boarding expanded on the block, the small number of women boarders declined.

Living arrangements fluctuated randomly, with family changes, property sales, and the conversion of one-family homes into boarding houses all contributing to the population shifts. The increase in boarders and lodgers was significant. Despite the evidence of increased assessments, the more transient residential patterns suggest decline.

Parameters of Study

In summarizing changes within household groups, I omitted a number of variables because there was so little variation in the population studied. The most notable omission was race: almost all individuals were labeled "white." In 1880, in a population of 150, three black maids worked in Sophia Brown's boarding house at 69 Columbia Heights, and two for a lawyer and his wife in a two-family arrangement at 13 Cranberry—a total of five. In 1900, seven black people worked on the block, 3 percent of its 211 people, including two black maids and one black man servant at 77 Columbia Heights. In 1910, there was one black man servant at 13 Cranberry. Note that all black residents were servants. The only Asian listed was a thirty-year-old Chinese merchant who boarded at 28 Willow in 1900.

The ethnic composition, also homogeneous, was almost entirely North European. The few exceptions were the two houses filled with Spanish and Cuban cigar makers, 22 Willow in 1900, and 20 Willow in 1910; three

elderly Italians at 10 Middagh in 1910; and, the same year, an Armenian with his Iowa-born wife at 30 Willow, and another Armenian at 24 Willow. The Jewish and Italian immigrants who crowded the Lower East Side of Manhattan did not find their way to this part of Brooklyn. Literacy was another question with a single answer. Although non-English speaking, the Spanish cigar makers were literate in their native tongue. Occasionally a child or an immigrant grandmother was listed as unable to read or write.

General and Group Population Frequencies

There was an exceptional 41 percent increase on the block between 1880 and 1900, and then a drop in 1910 to only 5 percent more than in 1880. The unusual 1900 jump was caused by a 164 percent rise in the numbers of boarders and lodgers. Family members were more than half of the population in 1880, their proportion falling in 1900 because of the influx of boarders and lodgers, but in 1910 they again made up half the population. The decreased number of servants might be a subtle indication of economic and social decline.

Table 3.

Group Population Frequencies

	1880	1900	1910
Family	84 (56%)	77 (36%)	78 (50%)
Boarders/Lodgers	42 (28%)	111 (53%)	69 (44%)
Servants	24 (16%)	23 (11%)	10 (6%)
Total	150	211	157

Source: *Census Population Schedules,* 1880, 1890, 1910.

A steady decline in the number of females accompanied a steep rise, and smaller fall, in the number of males. This dramatic reversal related to the increase in male boarders and lodgers, this study's most dramatic statistical change. The rising number of males and male boarders paralleled general population changes, with the number of family males increasing only slightly, and no more than one male servant in any census surveyed. The number of females fell more among boarders than among family members; almost all servants were female.

Table 4.

Population by Sex

	1880	1900	1910
Male	55 (37%)	135 (64%)	96 (65%)
Female	95 (63%)	76 (36%)	61 (35%)

Source: *Census Population Schedules*, 1880, 1900, 1910.

Age and Marital Status

Average age increased over the years studied. Boarders and lodgers, the youngest cohort in 1880 (29), were the oldest in 1910 (39). The reason may be the chance presence in 1910 of ten boarders over sixty, including Charles Hatfield, a widower boarding at 4 Middagh, who was eighty-five years old and listed as a tobacconist. Among family members in 1910, Edward Willets and wife, age 72 and 71, and James Gray, 81, a boarding house keeper, were balanced by the eight Voltmer children at 10 Middagh, between two and fourteen years old.

Single persons consistently outnumbered married persons on the block.

Table 5.

Marital Status

	1880	1900	1910
Single	93 (62%)	140 (67%)	94 (61%)
Married	41 (27%)	56 (27%)	47 (30%)
Widowed	16 (11%)	13(6%)	13 (8%)
Divorced	N.A.	N.A.	1
Total	150	209	155

Source: *Census Population Schedules,* 1880, 1900, 1910.

In each census year, at least 60 percent of the population was single, and the percentage of single boarders and lodgers was greater than that of single persons in the general population. An even greater percentage of servants was single, but that is not surprising considering their conditions of employment.

When gender is added to this equation, again it was in the 1900 boarder population that the pattern changed. The number of male boarders quintupled since 1880, with the number of single male boarders almost seven times as great. The numbers went down in 1910, but the boarder contingent still was triple the 1880 number, and single male boarders were three-and-a-half times as numerous as thirty years before. There had been more women than men among 1880 boarders (23 to 19), adding to the female majority of that year. Thereafter, the number of female boarders dropped dramatically to thirteen in 1900, and eleven in 1910. It would appear that the boarding house was no longer a suitable home for single women, and that few couples chose it as residence. Among family members the pattern was consistent in all years studied: the number of family men in the single or married category was close to the number of women in the same categories.

In 1880 and 1900 there was a disproportionate ratio of widows to widowers: fourteen of sixteen counted as widows in 1880, nine of thirteen in 1900. Most widows lived with their families. If there were no child or sibling to provide a home, there were few job opportunities. Running a boarding house was one means of support: two widows in 1880, three in 1900, and

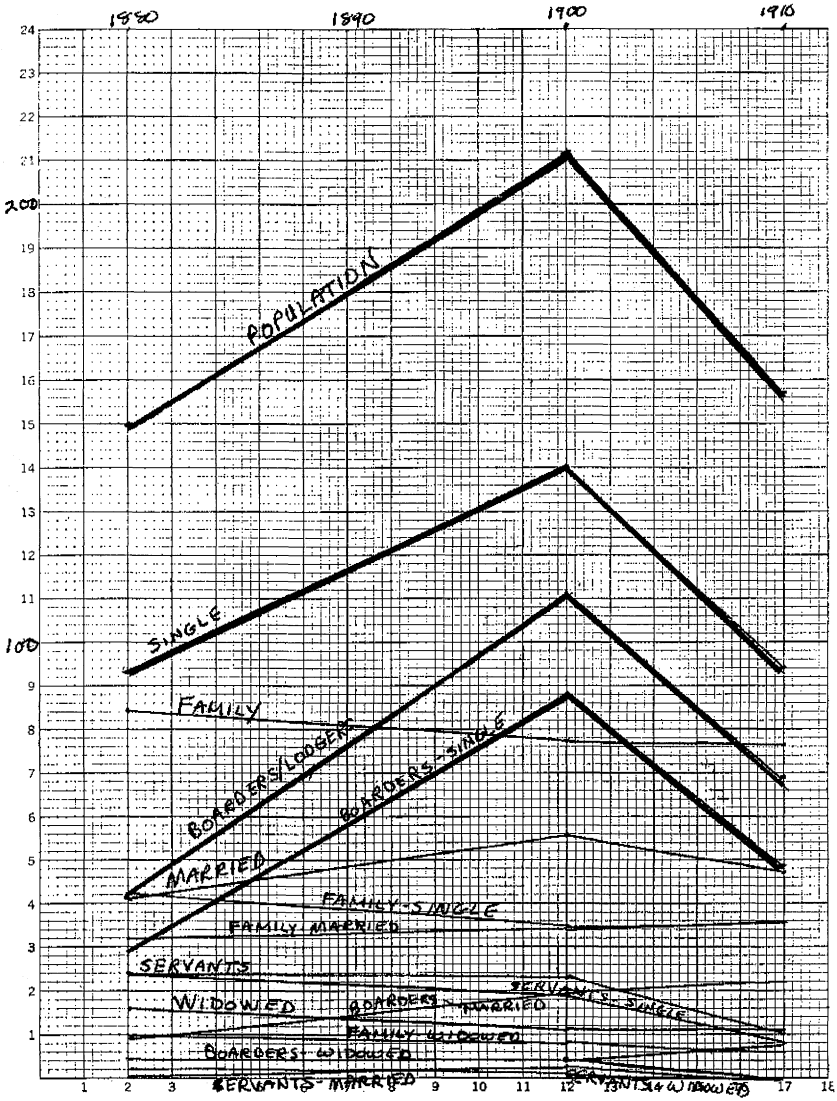

Figure 2 General Population – Family Status/Marital Status

four in 1910 rented all or part of a house to boarders or lodgers. Seven of these nine women used this means to provide a home for their children.

In the three census years, only eleven couples were listed as boarders or lodgers, several of which were newlyweds. Only one had a child. In 1880 Samuel and May Lowell, aged 33 and 30, boarded at 19 Cranberry with their six-year old daughter May Jr. He was a lawyer and she was "at home." The

only "boarding" wife credited with a career was Iowa-born Marguerite Iskiyan, aged 39, a milliner. Her twenty-eight-year-old husband, Luther, born in Turkish Armenia, was a hatter. They boarded at 30 Willow.

Cramped quarters and minimum privacy would have been the lot of boarding couples, especially difficult for wives "at home" with little room for household activity. The construction of the first apartment houses in the neighborhood offered better quarters in which to establish a home. Willow Flats was built in 1883 at the corner of Willow and Cranberry Streets, across from the block studied. It still stands. In 1889, Shawnee Flats was built on the same block, and Water View Flats on the harbor side of Columbia Heights.

Native-born or Immigrant Status

While the block population remained predominantly native-born, the proportion of immigrants—mainly British, Irish, Mexican, and Cuban—increased 73 percent. The relationship between immigrant status and household group declined over thirty years, along with the proportion of native-born family members and boarders, and of immigrants among servants. Again, the most notable change occurred in the boarder group, whose native-born majority dropped from 81 to 49 percent.

Table 6.

Native-born or Immigrant Status

	1880	1900	1910
Native-born	106 (74%)	145 (73%)	86 (59%)
Immigrant	35 (26%)	54 (27%)	59 (41%)
Total	141	199	145

Source: *Census Population Schedules*, 1880, 1900, 1910.

Occupation

Quantifying occupational information derived from the census presented certain difficulties. First, job titles were so numerous that, in 1880 for example, sixty family members were listed twenty ways (fourteen housekeepers, ten students, twelve "at home," four "nothing," two lawyers, two bankers, two artists, and one each in the thirteen other categories). Most attempts to cross-tabulate were not productive, although a cross-tabulation of occupation by sex for boarders and lodgers over sixteen in 1880 showed occupations to be exclusively male or female.

Another difficulty resulted from idiosyncratic definitions, which could reflect usage of the period, faulty responses, or mistakes on the part of the census-taker. The failure to list any occupation for women in a household, or to label it "nothing," is one example of judgmental bias. Consider Maude Voltmer, "at home" at 10 Middagh in 1910 with eight young children. Her

husband's occupation was listed "grocery store," but his responsibility was not defined. Nor was that of Thomas Harbottle, an earlier resident at that address, whose business was "oils" according to the 1870 Brooklyn Directory, "machinery" in the 1880 census, and "engineer" in the census of 1900.

Many listings were ambiguous. Edward Stearns, who rented 24 Willow from 1870 until at least 1892, was a lighterman, as was his son Joseph (a lighter is a flat-bottomed barge used to load and unload ships). According to Brooklyn business directories, both men commuted to an office on Wall Street. Perhaps they owned a harbor fleet. At least, there was income to support a large household which, in 1880, included two unmarried children, two daughters with their husbands, and three grandchildren.

Job titles were divided into nine categories: home; manufacturing; professions; business; office or store; artist, teacher, editor; laborer; transport; and retail or service. Housekeepers, clerks, and lawyers presented no ambiguity, but Edward Stearns, the lighterman assigned to "transport," could also have been categorized as in "business." The assignment of servants to the domestic (home) category skewed the picture of women at work. Despite these problems, it is possible to make some generalizations about jobs by household group, age, sex, and native-born or immigrant status.

In 1880, almost two-thirds of the cases fit the "home" category. These housewives, servants, children, students, cooks, and boarding-house managers included fifty-one family members, thirteen boarders and lodgers, and all of the servants. The block's orientation was domestic, in part because of its two-thirds female majority. The boarding group included thirteen who worked in offices or stores, two professionals, two teachers, seven laborers, and three engaged in service or retail jobs.

In 1900, a much smaller percentage of people was at home, less than one-quarter of those with job designations. Of these, there were fourteen family members, two boarders, and twenty-two servants. Because servants had jobs, only sixteen persons were listed as housekeepers, students, or just "at home." Office or store was the largest employment category (almost half), with nine family members and thirty-seven boarders/ lodgers. Perhaps they were clerks or bookkeepers in the expanding business district on Montague and Fulton Streets, or commuters by ferry or "el" to Wall Street (by 1898, the elevated train ran over the bridge to Park Row).[22] Of twenty-eight laborers, three were family members, twenty-four were boarders, and one was a servant. Just over one-quarter of family members were in manufacturing, business, or the professions, and almost the same percentage of the unusually large boarder/lodger contingent had similar, responsible positions. Another quarter of this latter group were laborers. Listed in every job category, boarders and lodgers worked at both ends of the economic spectrum.

In 1910, the percentage at home had regained some numbers. There were thirty laborers, one-fifth of the total, possibly employed at the docks or nearby sugar or oil refineries. Twenty-six worked in offices or stores. For the first time, family members as well as boarders/lodgers appeared in every

category. The year's most unexpected job title belonged to Fred Hadley, a lodger at 67 Columbia Heights, who was an automobile salesman.

Adding gender to these tabulations reveals an expected disparity in men and women's occupations. Men worked in all nine designated job categories, but not women, for whom opportunity was limited. In 1880, 96 percent of women were at home, all of the family members if the two artists working at home are included, and thirteen boarders. Of the twenty women boarders, only seven had jobs. Mary and Alice Gillette were teachers, and a thirty-year-old at 13 Cranberry was listed as a paperhanger (perhaps a census-taker's error, as there is no given name to confirm sex). Four women boarded at 26 Willow, two clerks, a dressmaker, and Fanny Barber, employed in printing.

In 1900, seven female family members and twenty-two servants were at home, representing 78 percent of the women. One family member and four boarders worked in offices or stores. Three women employed as bookbinders lived in John Doherty's household at 24 Willow—Agnes Martha, his sister-in-law; Sarah O'Keefe, a boarder; and Rose Marriao, a servant. They might have worked at D. Appleton and Co., a leading Manhattan publisher which had moved its printing, binding and shipping operations to a Williamsburgh factory in 1868.[23] In 1910, among the 83 percent of women at home were thirty-six family members, three boarders, and nine servants. Two family women worked. Katherine Goggin, a niece of John C. Tracey at 6 Middagh, was a clerk, and Annie Musrofitz, who lived with her brother and sister at 10 Middagh, gave Italian lessons. Four female boarders worked in offices or stores, and four in service jobs.

While gender had the most influence on occupational opportunity, native-born or immigrant status affected work assignments more than family member or boarder distinctions. This was especially true for women; immigrant women had even fewer options than did their native-born counterparts. The percentage of women at home (including working servants) was 88 percent of seventy-six women in 1880, 75 percent of thirty-two women in 1900, and 83 percent of fifty-four women in 1910. When women did get out of the house, the most common placement was in office, store, or service jobs. Immigrant women, who were even more domestic than the average, tended to stay at home or work as servants. Only two had other jobs, either in 1880 or 1910.

Native-born/immigrant status influenced men's occupations less markedly. Native-born men were reported in all job categories every year, except for laborers in 1880. Their most common category was office or store (45, 36, and 26 percent). There were almost no immigrant males at home (few babies or students); none in the artist/teacher/editor category; and immigrant businessmen only in 1900. Immigrants had more limited opportunities than did the native-born population. While reported each year in manufacturing and the professions, their predominant employment was as laborers (20, 42, and 59 percent).

Conclusions

The surprising patterns of population change on one square block over thirty years include the startling increase from 1880 to 1900, and the concurrent rise in the number of boarders and lodgers. These appear to be related but anomalous events, specific to the block. There is no way of knowing if the increase was gradual or sudden, and whether the numbers ballooned after completion of the bridge in 1883, or after amalgamation with New York City in 1898. Had fire destroyed the 1900 census returns as well as those of 1890, a historian of the block would have assumed a gradual growth from 1880 to 1910. Without additional statistics (the lost numbers for 1890, or data on adjacent blocks), or study of neighborhood commerce, politics, and business of the 1890s, the reasons for the overflow boarding population of 1900 cannot be determined. Statistical analysis suggests some relationships of interest, but has doubtful significance. Perhaps the block was not typical of the neighborhood, or maybe real estate sales and rentals, individual economic necessity, and chance combined to produce unusual results.

The general population profile, an off-center peak showing twenty years of growth and ten of decline, is matched by the profiles of the boarder, male, and single populations. While the number of family members declined some, and the number of servants fell more sharply, the boarder group, by its size, determined the block's pattern of growth.

Other changes were less idiosyncratic: the reversal of the gender ratio, from two-thirds female in 1880 to two-thirds male in 1910, is a function of the large increase in male boarders. Among family members and servants, the female majority continued. In the same way, marital status was influenced by the huge increase in single male boarders. While at least 60 percent of the population was single in each year studied, the percentage of single boarders was always greater than the percentage of singles in the total population.

The increase in age was also dominated by boarders and lodgers, the youngest group in 1880 and the oldest in 1910. Their mean age rose from twenty-nine to thirty-nine, family members' increased from thirty-two to thirty-five, while that of servants declined from thirty-two to twenty-seven. Possible reasons for these changes defy speculation. The aging of the transient boarder group may simply have been fortuitous.

Change in the native-born/immigrant ratio was also influenced by the boarder influx, as the rise and fall of native-born numbers paralleled the rise and fall of native-born boarders. The percentage of immigrants to the total population grew steadily, from 26 to 27 to 41. Among boarders, the native-born majorities of 81 and then 68 percent, slipped to less than half (49 percent) in 1910, when 57 percent of male boarders were immigrants. Only among family members were native-born still in the majority in 1910, although from 1900 to 1910 this group's increase in immigrants rose most sharply. Standing apart from this pattern was the essentially female servant population, in which immigrants had been a consistent majority, although their ratio to the native-born declined during the period studied.

Occupation was the only variable not determined by boarder/lodger fluctuations. Gender was more important, especially for immigrant women, few of whom entered the job market (other than as household servants). Native-born or immigrant status was a greater determinant of occupation than household group. The absence of women from so many job categories tells more than the statistics.

The increase in boarders and immigrants suggests more transients and newcomers on the block. The decline of females and persons at home (85, 24 ,38 percent) indicates a greater proportion of working people, a change from the block's earlier domesticity. It is hard to tabulate occupational patterns, but there was an increase in the proportions of office and service workers, and laborers. There were fewer live-in servants and more boarding houses. Indeed, by 1900, all six Willow Street houses had boarders, as did four large houses on Columbia Heights, and two on Cranberry—representing half of the block's housing stock. The Bedell estate still owned eight houses in 1910, one-quarter of the block. Not exactly absentee landlords, Miss Alice and her nephew, William G. Low, by holding these properties, prevented the owner-occupancy that contributes to population stability as well as careful maintenance and renovation. Perhaps this block, perched on the border of the Heights, was more vulnerable to housing decline than were the neighborhood's central blocks. Or, the mix of elegance and shabbiness may have typified the Heights in the later years studied.

In 1880, Brooklyn Heights was an upper-middle-class neighborhood, filled with prosperous, often prominent, citizens living in mansions or elegant brownstones overlooking the harbor from Columbia Heights, Pierrepont Place, and Montague Terrace. At the opening of the bridge, 24 May 1883, Seth Low, the mayor of Brooklyn, and Emily Roebling, the widow of John A. Roebling, the chief engineer, waited at the Brooklyn tower to greet New York City Mayor Franklin Edson, Governor Grover Cleveland, and President Chester Arthur. The group proceeded to a reception at the Columbia Heights home of Washington Roebling, John A. Roebling's son and colleague, and then to dinner at the Low home on Pierrepont Place.[24]

By 1910, changes had occurred in the Heights. Its edges were run down, with neglected houses converted into small apartments attracting lower-income residents. Isolation of the neighborhood ended in 1908, when the first IRT station opened on Clark Street, providing an easy commute to Wall Street. Worried about physical decline and the arrival of strangers from across the river, a few of the long-time residents called for owners and renters to join in a Brooklyn Heights Association to protect the neighborhood's character. A gingerly welcome was extended to newcomers, who co-existed with the old families during the decades between the two World Wars. Preservation and renovation waited until after World War II, when the Heights and its old homes were rediscovered by upper-middle-class professionals lured by the neighborhood's quiet and historic charm.

Statistical consideration cannot recreate past residents, nor can one

generalize about the present characteristics of dwellers on the block. Architectural evidence, however, provides a means of assessing changing conditions. The block must have been most splendid in 1841, after Mott Bedell built his own house and stable, and the four Greek Revival houses on Willow Street. These, the three Federal homes on Cranberry Street, and the eight houses comprising Colonnade Row, made up the block at that time. There were no vacant lots, but ample gardens behind each house. The burning of Colonnade Row in 1853 devastated the western half of the block. While the post-fire Willets house and the neighboring 75 Columbia Heights were in the grand style, some houses were built on sub-standard parcels—each of four houses at the northwest corner covering its entire lot. The differences in housing stock are indicated by the differences in real estate valuation, which help explain the block's economic and social variety. It is probable that the block suffered physical neglect during the years studied, and that some social upturn began in 1920, after the Bedell estate was sold and the four Willow Street houses were renovated by individual owners, of which three families still were in residence in 1980. The return to one-family ownership and occupation in this north Heights block preceded the general neighborhood refurbishing in the years after World War II.

Today those houses remaining may look as they did in 1880, but the physical setting is intact only on Cranberry and Willow Streets. A playground replaces eleven houses on Columbia Heights and on Middagh, where the Brooklyn-Queens Expressway cuts under the block. Population is surely down, with one small apartment building and only fourteen private houses, although almost all of these are home to at least two families. Today's residents are mostly upper-middle-class, white professionals and business people; there are few children, a small number of retirees, and a sizeable number of working women. Although a deceptive nineteenth-century facade remains, the domesticity of 1880 is a thing of the past.

To the writer's knowledge, there are few, if any, studies of individual blocks derived from census schedules. This example could become part of a larger picture, or stimulate a similar data collection for another place or another time.

NOTES

1. *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census*, June 1, 1880 (Washington, D.C., 1883); *Abstract of the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910* (Washington, D.C., 1910), 43; for the growth of Brooklyn and the creation of Greater New York, see Harold Coffin Syrett, *The City of Brooklyn, 1865-1898: A Political History* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1944), and David C. Hammack, *Power and Society: Greater New York at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1982).

2. *Census Population Schedules*, New York. 1880, City of Brooklyn, Ward 1, Micro copy T-9; 1900, Borough of Brooklyn, E.D. 1-26, Micro copy T623; 1910, Kings County, E.D. 1-40, Micro copy T624. National Archives Microfilm Publications.

3. David Ment, *The Shaping of a City, A Brief History of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1979) 57-58.

4. "Census Papers Lost in Washington Fire. Priceless Documents Back to 1790 Ruined by Water

Poured into Commerce Building," *New York Times*, 11 January 1921, 1.

5. *Record of Assessment Brooklyn*, First Ward, 1880/1884-1900; *Annual Record of Assessed Valuation in the Borough of Brooklyn, City of New York*, Section 3, Vol. V., Block 199-240, Map 3, 1910. Municipal Archives, New York City.

6. Ment, *Shaping of a City*, 56; Margaret Latimer, *Two Cities, New York and Brooklyn the Year the Great Bridge Opened* (Brooklyn, 1983), 23,26.

7. Ment, *Shaping of a City*, 53-54; Geoffrey S. Cahn, "Rebirth, Struggle, and Survival: The Brooklyn Academy of Music, 1908-Present," *LIHJ* 2 (Spring 1990):251-64.

8. *U..S. Census Statistics*, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910. Microfilmed by Research Publications, Inc., New Haven, CT. Manuscript census, 1880, 1900, 1910.

9. Ibid.

10. Henry R. Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, N.Y., Vol. II) 1869, 120: 1816 map of Village of Brooklyn, based on Jeremiah Lott map filed 1 January 1806.

11. Clay Lancaster, *Old Brooklyn Heights* (Rutland, Vermont, 1961) 17, 120.

12. Charles Lockwood, *Bricks and Brownstones, the New York Row House, 1783-1929, an Architectural and Social History* (New York, 1972), 93.

13. *Annual Record of Assessed Valuation, Brooklyn, First Ward*, 1862-1899. Undated map.

14. Hugo Ullitz, *Atlas of Brooklyn, Borough of the City of New York*, Vol. I. (New York, 1898); *Annual Record of Assessed Valuation*, 1862-1899.

15. *Annual Record of Assessed Valuation, Brooklyn, First Ward, 1862-1899; Annual Record of Assessed Valuation in the Borough of Brooklyn, City of New York*, Section 3, Vol. V, Block 199-240, Map 3, 1910.

16. "In the early nineteenth century...very few houses were built for a particular family and its specifications. The professional builder usually erected rows of at least three or four houses on speculation and, as time went on, was responsible for a greater and greater portion of the city's row houses" (Lockwood, Bricks and Brownstones, 26.).

17. *1870 Manuscript Census*, Kings County, Brooklyn, Wards 1-3. *Annual Record of Assessed Valuation, Brooklyn, First Ward*, 1862-1899.

18. Benedict is labeled "owner" on 1900 and 1910 manuscript census rolls, but George Slocovich is listed on the assessment rolls.

19. Last will and testament of Mott Bedell, Probate of Wills, Surrogate's Court, Kings County, N.Y., *Liber* 72, 217-25.

20. Ment, *Shaping of a City*, 64.

21. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. Low, A.A.

22. Ment, *Shaping of a City*, 60-61.

23. Ment, ibid, 57.

24. Latimer, *Two Cities*, 105; for the Roeblings and Brooklyn Bridge, see Bernice Braid, "The Brooklyn Bridge in Literary and Popular Imagination," *LIHJ* 2 (Fall 1989):90-103.

Reviews

Nina Federoff and David Botstein, eds. *The Dynamic Genome: Barbara NcClintock's Ideas on the Century of Genetics.* Cold Spring Harbor: Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory Press, 1992. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 415. $65.

This volume is a festschrift in honor of the ninetieth birthday of Barbara McClintock (1902-1992), who died just three months after its presentation to her. Dr. McClintock spent over forty years of her working life at Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory, so it seems more than appropriate that they underwrite such a volume. Indeed, they supported her research through the decades when, conventional wisdom has it, she worked on the periphery of her profession and counter to the direction of most of the research at Cold Spring Harbor.

McClintock won the Nobel Prize in physiology or medicine in 1983. The prize was late recognition for the culmination of long-term research that began in the 1920s. McClintock's initial reputation was for her understanding that the chromosome was the basis for heredity; thenceforth she correlated the microscopic structure of chromosomes with their macroscopic expression. This simultaneous approach was singular and extremely productive, even as most of her colleagues became exclusively fascinated by the microscopic structure of chromosomes rather than genes.

X-ray analysis of the microscopic chromosome structure resulted in the discovery of the structure of DNA, in 1951. What struck most of McClintock's colleagues about the chemical nature of genes was their stability, from which they assumed a physical stability. Unexpected change from one generation to the next was assumed to be random, usually from external causes. Meanwhile, McClintock continued to work on the by-now unfashionable species *zea mays* (corn), and uncovered a correlation between the movement of bits of DNA along a gene and the macroscopic properties of corn kernels. Pieces of DNA could systematically remove themselves from one site along a gene and insert themselves in another section, suppressing its action. These transposable elements, now believed to be universal and the way that cells control genes, expressed themselves in corn as a change in the color of certain kernels. McClintock's work required painstaking cultivation, year after year, of carefully bred and harvested corn as well as subsequent studies of the kernels and their placement along the cob, with microscopic analysis of their genetic structure. All this required both uncanny manual and

intellectual dexterity and an ability to understand the complexity of the organism she had chosen to study.

For the historian, this volume is rather a strange mixture. In some disciplines, eminent colleagues are honored with festschrifts that are apt to be collections gathered in praise of scholarly labor. Reminiscences are muted, short, and do not disturb the procession of footnoted and properly referenced papers in the body of the volume. Scientists, however, honor not only work but also their current heroes and, in this case, heroines. The epic voice is appropriate for the celebration of deeds of intellectual valor. If one reads a few of these volumes, a pattern begins to emerge. The intellectual victory for which the volume is a celebration is often "ahead of its time"; the hero(ine) struggled in isolation—and even subject to the contempt of colleagues—until the relevance of the work dawned on those same colleagues and triumph, honors, and fame followed. Such has been the pattern of depictions of Barbara McClintock's life, repeated on the dust jacket of this volume (for example, the biography by Evelyn Fox Keller, *A Feeling for the Organism*).

However, many essays in *The Dynamic Genome* seem to paint a very different picture of McClintock and her place in the community of molecular biologists over the past sixty years (that is, unless the Nobel Prize has led to a reconstruction of the collective memory of her peers). These essays include reminiscences coupled with technical accounts of the work of authors influenced by McClintock. They are grouped into sections, each introduced by the seminal paper of hers to which it pertains. The volume, then, is a mixture of memory coupled to technically demanding papers on aspects of molecular biology, with a quick shift in some from a focus on Barbara McClintock and her work to the writer and his or her own labors.

What can the historian whose field is not twentieth-century biology make of such a volume? There is a great deal here that speaks to the ways in which scientists perceive themselves, how they work, and, indeed, to the social and cultural history of science and its place in the life of twentieth-century America. Perhaps the most depressing aspect is the knowledge that much of the material is indecipherable to most people, and the realization of the isolation of science from the cultural and social lives of most Americans. Within the sciences we can learn of the dismal prospects for women in science, even those with the single-minded determination of McClintock in the 1920s—not that it has improved much since then. At least a women now, in the 1990s, can expect to be able to teach at a college or university, while in the 1920s such a prospect seemed unthinkable to McClintock's mentor and older colleagues. A woman's place might be in the laboratory, at a lower salary, but not in training undergraduates or graduates. Yet one of the characteristics of these recorded memories is the encouragement younger men and women constantly received from McClintock, and her ability to help them understand in detail what they and others were doing and the broader significance of their own work. Mentorship is important in any intellectual discipline, and McClintock appears as mentor to many, giving time, ideas,

materials for breeding experiments on corn, and, above all else, herself. Clearly, she enjoyed good food, wine, and the company of like-minded individuals also fascinated by and willing to discuss in great depth the puzzles of molecular biology.

If these collected memories are accurate, Barbara McClintock travelled to conferences across the globe over many years, and was by no means at the periphery where so many others found themselves because of the restriction of "by invitation only." An intense feeling of a community devoted to a common quest comes through, together with a sense of urgency stemming from wanting to know the outcome of the story unfolding through their research, coupled with a need to be in at the finish spurred by personal ambition. Research is done in groups, now large but previously smaller, which interact intensely and competitively for very high stakes. McClintock was isolated only in that after the 1930s she preferred to work alone in her laboratory. She was in the thick of her profession and important to it all along, although the significance of that importance has changed in light of her Nobel Prize. Instead of perceiving her advice as local to a particular problem, the authors of this book depict Barbara McClintock as viewing their work from a perspective uniquely her own that they did not perceive at the time. Her own research was viewed as important but puzzling, as it did not inform their own work immediately in the terms they then were using.

Barbara McClintock was, by any account, an extraordinary woman whose life was science. In these pages one feels the intensity of her single-minded attachment to a discipline and the work it demanded. In her case it included being drenched in an unusually violent July storm to save her corn plants and a year's worth of research. She stayed with her plants all night after soaked and less hardy souls had given up.

This is a volume many historians can use for various reasons, even though its principal audience lies in the sciences. And in the background, mostly unmentioned, is the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory in which such an extraordinary talent was sustained. The importance of this Long Island institution clearly calls for further historical study.

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Theodore Roosevelt: Many-Sided American. Edited by Natalie A. Naylor, Douglas Brinkley, and John Allen Gable. Prepared under the auspices of Hofstra University. Interlaken, NY: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1992. Illustrations, notes, bibliography. Pp. 676. $55 (add $2.50 UPS charge first copy, $1 every other).

The forty-three chapters of this volume arose from a conference held at Hofstra University in 1990 to reevaluate "the life and times of Long Island's only U.S. president" (10). They succeed in half of this mission.

By any reckoning, Theodore Roosevelt must be counted among America's

most colorful presidents. Many of these stories make clear that he would have been a well-remembered figure even if he had never served in the White House. His military record, his safaris, his literary accomplishments, his politics before Washington, and, most of all, his tremendous energy ensured him a place in history for what he did before 1901 and after 1909. Perhaps for these reasons, those essays on his nonpresidential years seem to capture best Roosevelt as a human being of interest to more than the *grognard* of politics and diplomacy. Edward and Frederick Schapsmeier remind readers that Roosevelt fled to the life of a cowboy after the painful loss of his mother and first wife. That haven, however, did far more than cure him of his grief. He returned to New York a dedicated conservationist and, perhaps even more importantly, a dedicated politician who could talk with—not just to—an impressively broad range of his countrymen. He was no longer the Harvard snob recounted in Lawrence Budner's story.

Roosevelt as adolescent big-game hunter is not the picture left by Tweed Roosevelt's account of the African safari. The adventure had its larger-than-life moments with big game, but few now easily recall that it collected thousands of specimens for the Smithsonian and renewed interest in natural history for Americans from all walks of life. The better-known tale of Roosevelt's creation and dissolution of the Progressive party, with dramatic effects on American politics that linger today, is well handled by Fred Greenbaum's survey of 1912 and Richard Donagher's close study of Pennsylvania, which gave Roosevelt nearly half of the electoral votes he won that year. John Milton Cooper, Jr. goes further, claiming for Roosevelt the distinction of the country's greatest ex-president, responsible for providing nothing less than the moderation of insurgent radicalism in his time and the conduit for many intellectuals to rediscover progressivism in the Democratic party of "cousin" Franklin in the 1930s.

Roosevelt's family was worthy of attention, too. This book rightly allows examination of the principal characters. Sylvia Jukes Morris's description of Edith Kermit Roosevelt does well in describing a First Lady who was able to avoid disruption in her private life or, in more modern parlance, who retained her autonomy in home and conscience. Daughter Alice likewise emerges from Stacy Rozek Cordery's piece on her Far Eastern junket as a woman capable of living her own life despite what must have been an overbearing father, at least at times. It appears much less certain that the four sons escaped Theodore's imprint. All rushed to service in the First World War, which saw the youngest, Quentin, killed in action. Ted would return to the colors to receive the Congresional Medal of Honor on D-Day, and would be forced from service only after his superiors (rightly) judged him too physically drained to continue. Archibald would survive until 1979, but long before then he had lapsed into a sullen McCarthyism, convinced that the America he had known, or at least remembered, was being betrayed by softies from within.

It is regrettable that these sorts of broader conclusions and their analysis

are left to the reviewer, however. Nearly every chapter here is remarkable for its single-minded devotion to telling a story, usually a pocket biography of a Roosevelt. There is nothing inherently wrong with narrative, needless to say. But there is nothing inherently complete in it, either. Efforts attempting to deduce the impact of Roosevelt on his times are scarce, despite the many opportunities opened by these studies themselves. For example, Richard P. Harmond provides an intriguing story of Roosevelt's cousin, the banker William Emlen Roosevelt. William, it transpires, rarely approved of Theodore's politics yet provided for his campaigns generously. Perhaps counsinly concern sufficiently explains the anomaly, yet it would be interesting to know how many of William's colleagues shared his reservations and how strongly they pressed their objections, through him or anyone else. Moreover, if the banking community at large disliked Roosevelt, what are the implications for historians' assessments of the classic studies of the era by Gabriel Kolko and Robert H. Wiebe?

Unfortunately, for nearly the entire length of this prodigious volume, readers would be completely unaware that historians have made assessments of this era and Roosevelt's impact upon it. The closest approach is made in the varied assessments of his diplomacy. Richard Collin provides a lucid, persuasive analysis of Roosevelt's minimalist diplomacy in Latin America against European meddling. That the meddling was real is made clear in Stefan Rinke's reading of German attempts to manipulate the United States toward the end of Roosevelt's second term. James Reckner offers a fine account of the global cruise of the Great White Fleet as a training expedition, although Roosevelt's emerging understanding of the political situation in Japan might have received a few more words. Frederick Marks asks penetrating questions about how anyone ought to assess success in foreign policy, but disappointingly devotes most of his story to lambasting "cousin" Franklin by way of providing answers.

Otherwise, readers of this volume would not even be introduced to what "Progressivism" was in Roosevelt's time, much less how Theodore shaped it while in office. Arthur Schaefer's account of the 1902 coal strike is a model of clarity, but ventures little by way of assessing any impact in the wider field of labor relations. Char Miller examines Roosevelt, Pinchot, and the Hetch-Hetchy dispute with John Muir expertly, but is reluctant to judge the implications for emerging government-lobby group interactions for the rest of the century. Despite a consensus that Roosevelt scored a major success in his pure food and drug legislation, no author examines it here, nor is there any discussion of Roosevelt and the trust problem. Jay Berman's essay on Roosevelt as New York City police commissioner is an exception. He shows what Progressivism meant on the ground: a professionalization of police services, a radical centralization of executive control, and the use of new technology to accomplish both. Whether Roosevelt attempted anything like it while president goes unmentioned in these pages, leaving readers blissfully unaware of major developments in this field of study by such historians as

Stephen Skowronek.

Perhaps part of the reason is that Roosevelt himself, so often so much larger than life, obscures study of his times. A long section of the book considers the image and memory of Theodore Roosevelt, and John Allen Gable writes a thoughtful survey of the historiography of the President. Both section and survey make clear that Roosevelt was created and judged more in image than reality. At least in terms of his presidency, as distinguished from his person, this volume continues that creation and judgement with only occasional attention to Roosevelt's political and institutional legacies. It is a fine demonstration of the limits of biography in the writing of history. Gable is surely correct, therefore, to conclude that much work remains to be done.

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An Architectural Guide to Nassau and Suffolk Counties, Long Island. Robert B. MacKay, Stanley Lindvall, and Carol Traynor, eds. New York: Dover Publications, 1992 (cosponsored by the American Institute of Architects, Long Island Chapter, and the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities). Illustrations, index. Pp. 205. $14.95 (paper).

The editors of the new *AIA Architectural Guide to Nassau and Suffolk Counties, Long Island* were astute to promise readers a second edition of their work, as the growing number of readers interested in the built environment will no doubt clamor for more. Long Island is extraordinarily rich in architectural treasures, from settlement period vernacular structures to stylish homes for the rich and famous as they discovered undeveloped land, quaint villages, and a coveted seaside not far from the metropolis. Since World War II, however, the spread of the suburbs, the immense growth of the seasonal home industry, the breakup of family fortunes, and a multitude of lesser factors have taken their toll on the character of the villages, the estates or the settings of the estates, and the open agricultural spaces that delighted the eye of the prewar generation.

The last twenty years have found the current generation struggling to balance the need to preserve architectural treasures against the need for growth and change. The key to maintaining this balance is education. The *AIA Guide* is an important and long-overdue step in the direction of bringing to the public an understanding of the richness and variety of an architectural expression that too often is taken for granted and only discovered when the bulldozer is at the door. We cannot save the notable accomplishments of the past if the larger community has not learned to appreciate and share the treasure. A guide such as this is often the necessary first step in developing a broadly-based consensus that a resource ought to be preserved. Catalogues and inventories come in all varieties, but I think the editors have picked the right one for the job of drawing more of the public into the debate. Historians, architectural historians, and architectural critics know about these

buildings, and their knowledge and enthusiasm for them is now shared with a broad audience.

Selecting the entries and deciding what to say about each in less than two hundred words was, no doubt, a daunting task. The quality of the photos for a book of this type is exceptional, and the commentary keeps the reader's interest by balancing necessary facts with doses of anecdotal history. The book could have benefitted from closer editing of facts, although with eighteen contributors each had to assume the burden. The Modern Times schoolhouse, for instance, is not listed on the National Register, as the entry notes, and St. Andrew's Episcopal Church is identified as a New York State landmark, a designation that is nonexistent.

What sets this work apart from many of its type that have appeared in recent years is its easy blend of historic buildings with contemporary prize winners. While many of the historic buildings selected here could have been prize winners in their day, many are examples that have become valued as intact and thus rare survivors from the common vernacular tradition.

The reader must remember that there are two selection standards at work here, and that the Modern and Post-modern examples are critics' choices. Understandably, they have not included any distinctly period but commonplace selections from our recent past. One wonders how long it will be before survivors of this class are considered worthy of notice, if not preservation.

The *AIA Guide* should be in the bookcase of both vocational and avocational historians, architects and planners, preservationists, and anyone who is curious. This is a book that takes you behind the hedges and up the long driveways where you are not supposed to be. For this reason alone another volume is called for, as we know there are many more treasures that ought to be shared. The editors were wise to note in the entry for each private property that it is not open to the public, because the temptation to put this book on the front seat and start driving and poking around is a formidable one.

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Robert Durfee's Journal and Recollections of Newport, Rhode Island, Freetown, Massachusetts, New York City and Long Island, Jamaica and Cuba, West Indies & Saint Simons Island, Georgia, ca. 1785-1810. Edited by Virginia Steele Wood. Marion, MA: Belden Books for the Saint Simons Island Public Library, 1990. 8½" x 11." Pp. xxi, 131. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, notes, index. $29.95.

Robert Durfee was a faceless nobody and a congenital loser, and that is precisely why Virginia Steele Wood's reproduction of his journal is so valuable. This little-known document, given the enhancement of Ms. Wood's scrupulous editing, provides a window into the life of a non-elitist citizen of the early American republic, a person laid low by the exigencies of

contemporary life.

Durfee is important to Long Islanders, not only because he lived here for a year, but also because a substantial portion of the life he details in his journal surrounded us. Moreover, Ms. Wood's voluminous notes provide an object lesson in identifying obscure people, everyday places and events, and (because Durfee made several voyages) the ships, their masters, and destinations of the Federal Period.

The devastation wreaked by the American Revolutionary War on Newport, Rhode Island, Durfee's beloved 1770s' birthplace, prompted his family's move to New York City in 1791. Elisha, Durfee's father, deserted his wife and children shortly after they arrived in that "volatile, contentious, politicized" place where "the laboring poor surrounded a small, self-enclosed enclave of the wealthy and urbane"; a city of "tattered beggars, silk-stockinged rich men, pompadoured ladies and their liveried footmen, leather-aproned mechanics and shabby apprentice-boys, sleek coach horses [and] pigs" (xv).

After his father's decampment, Durfee's own "peregrinations may appear aimless, but on reflection they seem motivated simply by the instinct to survive," Ms. Wood suggests in her introduction:

> Throughout the period of his journal he lived with family, friends, and acquaintances or boarded with his employers. At various times he earned a hand-to-mouth existence as artist, tutor, schoolmaster, and shop clerk. He enjoyed associating with the more comfortable middle class, but ill health, poverty, and a lack of business acumen and independent spirit left him on its periphery (xv).

In desperation, Durfee turned to the sea and traveled to Cuba, as a supercargo on a merchant ship, to guard his brother's interests. An unscrupulous captain and a bout with illness defeated him. After five bedridden months, he boarded another ship for Newport, but a severe gale drove her back into Matanzas, where her crew robbed Durfee of his few worldly possessions. He finally reached Newport in the summer of 1800, returned to New York in October, and made his first visit to Long Island in December. During three stays here, spread over the following twelve months, he lived with the Cloughs and made the acquaintance of Queens County militiaman Brigadier General Jacob S. Jackson and his family, who lived at Jerusalem. Durfee gained another upper-class relationship with the prominent Thomas Jones family, of West Neck. During the latter part of this period, he lived with the Treadwell family on the periphery of Cow Bay (now Manhasset Bay), in North Hempstead. But Durfee's connections with Long Island do not end there. His uncle, Cory Durfee, married Deborah Conklin, the daughter of Benjamin and Sarah Conklin of Southold. Throughout the remainder of his life, Durfee's dream was to have "a humble cottage on Long Island" (32), a yearning which, typically, he never attained.

Virginia Steele Wood is a reference librarian and the specialist in naval

and maritime history at the Library of Congress. Robert Durfee's Journal, which this reviewer highly recommends to libraries as well as individuals, may be obtained from Belden Books, P.O. Box 552, Marion, MA 02738, for $29.95 plus $2.25 shipping.

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Patricia Hansell Sisler and Robert Sisler. *The Seven Hills of Port.* Port Jefferson: the authors, 1992. Photographs, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. 146. $18.00 (paper) postpaid, from Robert Sisler, 105 Laurel Lane, Port Jefferson, NY 11777.

The Seven Hills of Port is a book that one can continue to enjoy and experience long after an initial reading, for it provides the reader with a history and guide to the historic homes of "Port." Authors Robert Sisler, a retired Port Jefferson High School language teacher and former village trustee, who currently serves as historian of both the village of Port Jefferson and the Port Jefferson Historical Society, and his wife Patricia Hansell Sisler, a lifelong village resident, have devoted years of painstaking research to tracing the colonial history of Port Jefferson. By delving through Brookhaven town records, wills, mortgages, and family genealogies, coupled with street-by-street footwork, they have tracked down the location and ownership of the earliest houses in Drowned Meadow (as Port Jefferson was first called).

Formatting the work in a geographical pattern, the authors devote a chapter to each of the seven glacially-formed hill areas of the village. According to the Sislers, Mt. Misery Neck, Mt. Prospect, the Echo area, Brick and Vinegar Hills, Queen of Heights (a former lovers' lane), and Arlington Heights all were different land grants, and each developed a separate community history. Echo, for example, the V-shaped area formed by Stony Hill and Reeves Roads, running south to the railroad tracks at the village border, was called Comsewogue (meeting place of many paths) by the local Native Americans. In the nineteenth century, the area was named Echo after a famous horse who raced at a track on North Country Road. Although home to the village's oldest eighteenth-century house still on its original foundation, Echo did not really begin to develop until the railroad came to Port Jefferson in 1873.

In presenting an historical portrait of the village up to the mid-nineteenth century, the Sislers treat the reader to vignettes recalling such incidents as patriot whaleboat raids on the British-occupied North Shore during the Revolution, the significance of Anna Smith Strong's clothesline to George Washington's Setauket spy ring, the relationship between the village and the circus entrepreneur, Phineas T. Barnum, and the saga of the shipyard era, when four hundred boats were built on the shores of Port Jefferson and Poquott. An epilogue chronicles the development of twentieth-century Port, from the (very limited) production of two makes of early automobiles, the

Only and the F.R.P., to the rise of the health-care community and the beginnings of tourism.

The Sislers profess the dual purpose of bringing to light long-forgotten times in Port Jefferson and offering aid and encouragement to current owners seeking to learn the background of historic homes. To this add a third aim—that of providing newcomers to the neighborhood with an awareness and appreciation of the history and architecture of the village of Port Jefferson.

Luise Weiss
Middle Country Public Library

BOOK NOTES

Mallory Leoniak and Jane S. Gombieski. *To Get the Vote: Woman Suffrage Leaders in Suffolk County.* Town of Brookhaven, 1992. Illustrations, notes. Pp. 57 (paper). Free.

This 8 1/2" by 11" paperback recounts the history of the woman suffrage movement in Suffolk County, featuring concise and instructive biographies of Harriot Stanton Blatch (Elizabeth Cady Stanton's daughter), Rosalie Gardner Jones, Edith Loring Fullerton, and many other suffragist leaders. To obtain a copy, free of charge, write to Frank Overton, Brookhaven Town Historian, Port Jefferson, NY 11777.

Sherrill Foster. *The Sherrill Sentinel.* East Hampton: Sherrill Foster, 1992-1993.

The six issues of the *Sherrill Sentinel* (five published and one to follow), Ms. Foster's interesting and informative bulletin on East Hampton history are available for $10 (add $1.50 for postage and handling) from Sherrill Foster, 4 Fireplace Road, East Hampton, NY 11937. For Ms. Foster's *Directory of Descendants of the Settlers of East Hampton, L.I,* send $8 (plus $1.50 postage and handling). Her article, "Reverend Samuel Buell of East Hampton: Tastemaker in the Connecticut Valley Tradition," is in the *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 54 (Summer-Fall 1992):189-212; to obtain a copy, send $12 to the Connecticut Historical Society, One Elizabeth St., Hartford, CT 06105.

Carolyn Oldenbush. *Long Island African-American Heritage.* Illustrated poster. Setauket: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities (SPLIA), 1993.

This handsomely illustrated poster was distributed free of charge by SPLIA to Nassau and Suffolk schools and libraries, in celebration of African American History Month, 1993. It vividly summarizes the African American

role on Long Island, from colonial times to the present. The poster, along with a video that dramatizes the lives of six slaves at the Joseph Lloyd Manor House in Huntington, is part of a two-hour program for middle and high school students offered at the Manor House. The poster is available to schools, organizations, and individuals for a small charge. For information and a brochure, contact Carol Traynor at SPLIA, 93 North Country Road, Setauket, NY 11733 (516-941-9444).

Natalie A. Naylor, Patricia Snyder, and Melissa Patton. *Long Island's History and Cultural Heritage: An Integrative Curriculum Resource for Educators.* Southampton: Parish Art Museum, 1993. Illustrations, bibliographies, notes. Pp. 70. $6.95 (8½" x 11", spiral bound). Available at, or by mail from, the Parish Museum, Southampton, NY 11968, or the Weathervane Shop, Suffolk Historical Society, Riverhead, NY 11901. We will review this imaginative and useful manual for teachers in Fall 1993.

Communications

To the Editor:

Professor Karl Grossman's "The Rise and Fall of LILCO's Nuclear Power Program," in the Fall 1992 *LIHJ*, lacks many historical facts which are contrary to his thesis. One can find in copies of the "Shoreham Safety Report" and "Shoreham vs. Chernobyl," at the Shoreham-Wading River Public Library, the results of studying the former 820 megawatt power station from the perspective of nuclear safety and energy analysis. The two reports were written by scientists who live on Long Island.

Richard P. Strand, Shoreham:
Member, Citizens for an Orderly Energy Policy.

Dear Editor:

Prof. Richard P. Harmond closed his interesting article on William Cobbett's *A Year's Residence in the United States of America* with the hope that a publisher would "provide an inexspensive paperback edition of this minor classic." He may not be aware that a facsimile edition was published in 1969 by Augustus M. Kelley, New York publishers. I don't know whether the edition is still in print: I purchased a brand new copy a year or two ago for only a few bucks. Some remainder houses may still have copies on hand.

Prof. Harmond does not make clear that Cobbett was responsible for introducing the rutabaga to American (Long Island) farmers. That many of them on the Island did well with this Swedish turnip is perhaps due to the painstaking notes he kept on preserving and planting the seed, manuring, and cultivating the soil, and harvesting the crop. He also demonstrated to his North Hempstead farm neighbors that the rutabaga was an economical and healthful animal food as well as a culinary delight.

Charles Reichman,
Great Neck

Professor Harmond's reply:

Charles Reichman is fortunate to have purchased a copy of William Cobbett's *A Year's Residence* for "only a few bucks." According to *Books in Print, 1992-93,* the only available edition of *A Year's Residence* sells for $49.50. We could use a paperback edition in, say, the $8 to $10 range. If I seem to slight the rutabaga, I must plead personal prejudice. The Swedish turnip has never particularly seemed to me a "culinary delight." On the other

hand, I do like broccoli.

Richard P. Harmond,
St. John's University

Dear Editor,

I would like to sincerely thank you for including APPLE in the Fall 1992 edition of the *Long Island Historical Journal.* It is truly an honor for us to appear in this fine publication. I am sure that many people who were unfamiliar with APPLE will learn about our services through this issue. There is also great satisfaction in knowing that our agency's history has been preserved forever within those pages. Thank you, again.

Logan Lewis,
President, APPLE Institute

To the Editor:

Just a note to congratulate you on the Fall 1992 issue. As always, it is an outstanding publication, and one with which I am proud to be associated. There are a few factual corrections I would like to bring to your attention. The well-researched, highly informative piece by R. L. Swanson, Anne S. West-Valle, and Cynthia J. Decker, "Recreation vs. Waste Disposal: The Use and Management of Jamaica Bay," notes on a map (23) and in the text (36) that the railroad trestle is maintained by the Long Island Rail Road. The LIRR ceased operation of the Rockaway trestle following a fire in the early 1950s. Subsequently, the right-of-way was sold to the city and reconstructed by the New York City Transit Authority. The wooden trestle was covered over with sand to create a permanent berm, new steel bridges with concrete abutments were built, and the entire line was upgraded to rapid transit standards. Operation of the line as part of the "A" route of the IND subway began on 28 June 1956.

Wendy Futterman's "Which Came First: the Transit Line or the Neighborhood...," deservedly the winning essay in the journal's Secondary School Contest, exemplifies the high quality of scholarship in Long Island high schools today. However, allow one student of the subject to point out several inaccuracies in the work of another. Wendy states (83) that as early as 1900 "the population...objected to... unsightly elevated railways..." to explain why no additional "els" were built. However, she confuses the early *elevated lines* that brought tracks above the streets to the heart of the city (and via a connection over the Brooklyn Bridge to lower Manhattan) with *elevated structures.* Indeed, as part of the Dual Contracts of 1912 that provided for New York's greatest subway-building program in the World War I period, many lines that were subways "downtown" had elevated sections in outlying areas. On the same page, she cites trolley cars as being hazardous due to a lack of "adequate braking mechanisms" that had people running for safety and gave rise to the local baseball team's being called the Trolley Dodgers.

This is incorrect. Trolley cars had pneumatic brakes identical to those of elevated trains and railroads. The plight of pedestrians stemmed from the number of trolley cars on the streets of Brooklyn, not from any inherent technological deficiencies.

Ms. Futterman mistakenly remarks that subways had an advantage of speed over elevated trains (95). Actually, until the terrible Malbone Street wreck of 1918 resulted in the prohibition of wooden el cars from operating in the subways, elevated cars regularly operated in subway tunnels, and steel subway cars were operated on the els. The same propulsion systems powered both. Indeed, partly because of their lighter, wooden bodies, many el cars could out-pace the heavier steel subway cars. On the same page, she confuses the IND Fulton Street subway of the 1930s, built to replace the elevated line above it, with the original el. It was not the el that was extended as a subway to Grant Avenue, but the opposite—the subway was extended and connected to the remaining portion of the el line. It continues in use as part of the route for trains bound for the Rockaways.

Her contention that Flatbush was without rapid transit service until well into the twentieth century is unfounded. One of the early el routes connected the Fulton Street line through a connection parallel to Franklin Avenue to what is now commonly known as the Brighton Line. Built first as a steam railroad, it provided consistent service, was upgraded to a four-track line in the World War I era, and certainly provided residents of Flatbush with a convenient transit linkage to downtown and Manhattan.

She asserts (97) that the "combination of the Fourth Avenue line and the connection to the Ferry stimulated growth of a commuting population." The Fourth Avenue line, which extended along that street to Bay Ridge, had a direct connection to the Broadway subway in Manhattan via the Manhattan Bridge and the Montague Street tunnel. This subway also carried trains of the Sea Beach, West End, and Culver lines (all of which had originally been steam lines, and the last two of which were rebuilt as elevated routes when the Fourth Avenue subway was constructed).

Her comment (99) to the effect that residents of Flatlands did not have direct access to the subway—"hardly an ideal commute"—is the fate of most commuters. Intermodal transfers are the norm. It is the fortunate few who need take but one bus, subway, train, or ferry to reach their destinations. That's a fact of urban living.

Finally, her observation that without "transit lines, Brooklyn today would be the same as it was in 1860" is subject to dispute. On the one hand, the same could be said for any city that developed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. On the other, the urbanization of former suburbs, a process that is occurring as a result of the automobile in the absence of a well-defined transit system belies her specific conclusion. Indeed, urbanization is a product of the availability of transportation, not transit. Those who sit in endless traffic jams are fully aware of this subtle, yet vital distinction.

As lengthy as this letter may be, it is not meant to discredit the efforts of

the authors of both pieces. Indeed, these are technical points that add to the information presented in the hope of providing, for the record, as accurate a portrayal of the situations under discussion as is possible.

Donald E. Simon,
Dean of Institutional Services, Monroe College

(Editors' note: The wrong spelling of Frederick Law Olmsted's surname (96) was our mistake, not the author's.)

Professor Swanson's reply:

Donald E. Simon is correct in noting that the New York City Transit Authority (NYCTA) now is responsible for maintaining the tracks across Jamaica Bay. While the Long Island Rail Road and the NYCTA are part of the Metropolitan Transit Authority, the NYCTA has its own appropriation for track maintenance. The points of the article however, are the same:

1. The tracks hinder flushing of the bay.
2. Whether the tracks are managed and maintained by the Long Island Rail Road or the NYCTA, there is just one more agency with a competing view of how the Bay should be used, preserved, or conserved.

R. L. Swanson,
Director, Waste Management Institute, USB

Dear LIHJ,

Keep up your very fine work. You are indeed making a big contribution to Long Island studies.

S. Joan Ryan,
St. Joseph's College

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