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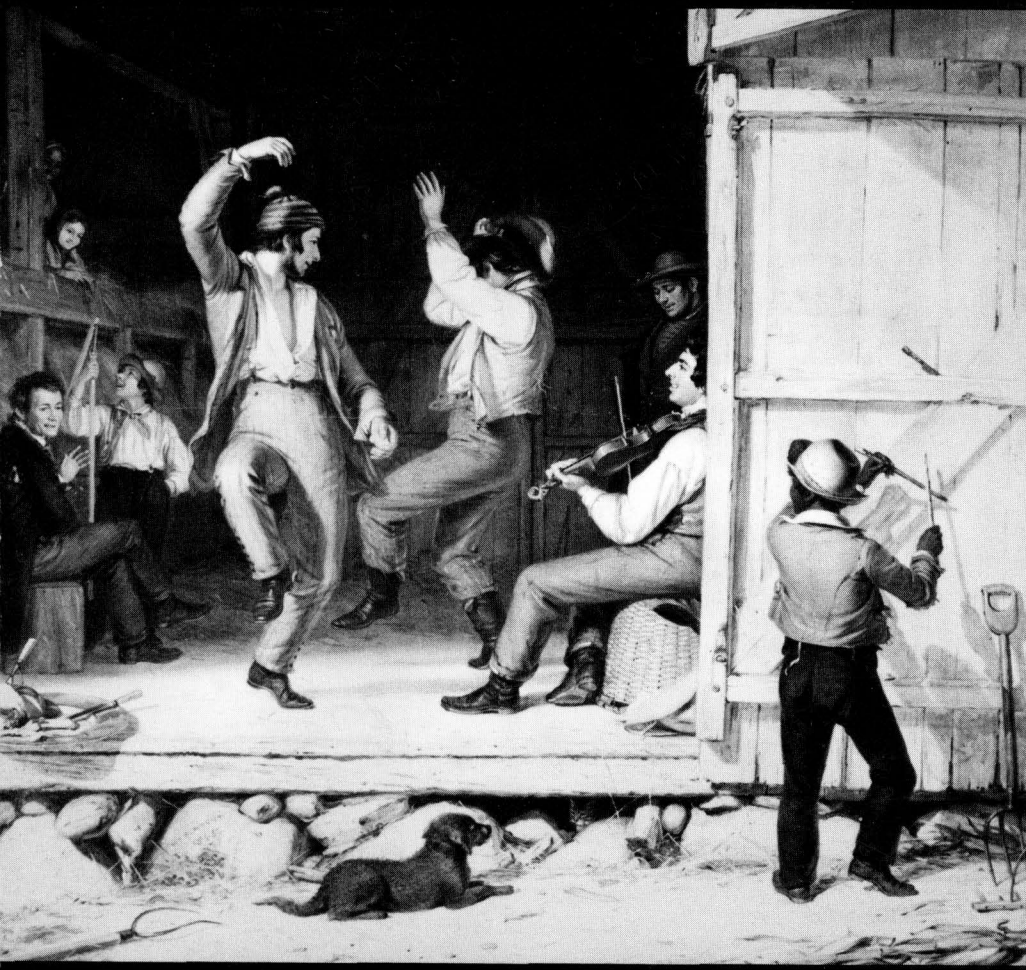

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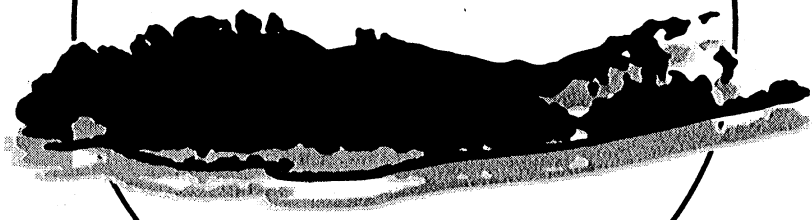

LONG ISLAND AS AMERICA

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

Spring 1996
Volume 8 • Number 2

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THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL JOURNAL

Cover: William Sidney Mount, *Dance of the Haymakers*, 1845. Oil on canvas, 24¼" x 29⅞". The Museums at Stony Brook; Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ward Melville, 1950.

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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

We withdrew from the brink of raising the price and will hold it at $15 a year. That is what it has been since we started, and, God willing and the creek don't rise, that is where it will stay. Beset by shrinking budgets and soaring paper cost, we have serious financial problems. But, rather than increase the rate we aim to increase circulation, for which we urgently need your help. You can do your bit in the following two easy stages:

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Those concerned with Long Island's past, present, and future can join no better cause than support of the research and analysis presented by our semiannual publication. Our money problems will vanish if we succeed in doubling our readership. We count on you loyal friends and readers to do the right thing.

The Spring 1996 issue offers another intriguing assortment. Charles F Howlett's series on the 1960s' civil rights movement begins with a comprehensive account of the struggle for school integration. Lee E. Koppelman traces the origin of the Suffolk County Legislature, while Lorraine Hewins recalls Will Rogers, Fred Stone, Annie Oakley, and other famous entertainers who frequented Freeport and Amityville during the 1920s. The musicologist Ernest Salem discusses the influence of music and the violin on Long Island's greatest genre painter, William Sidney Mount; sand and gravel mining in Port Jefferson Harbor is discussed by the environmentalist, Jeffrey Kassner; and Ellen N. Barcel provides an index of every review we have published since we began in 1988. In addition to critiques of pertinent books, we feature one literary essay by Amanda Frisken on Victoria Woodhull and Lois Beachy Underhill's biography of the colorful feminist, and another by Thomas D. Beal on David S. Reynolds's interpretation of Walt Whitman.

We are planning an outstanding Fall issue, too, which will include the three winning essays in our 1996 contest for students of secondary schools.

In conclusion, let us repeat the message: we call on all subscribers to come to the aid of the *LIHJ*. Renew, sign up a friend, and so empower further study of Long Island as America. Our future is in your hands.

THE LONG ISLAND CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT in the 1960s, PART ONE: THE STRUGGLE to INTEGRATE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

By Charles F. Howlett

Editor's note: the second part of this ongoing series will be published in Fall 1996.

One of the central themes in American history is race. The paradox of proclaiming liberty as a self-evident truth within a society practicing slavery required eighty-nine years to unravel. Although the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery as a legally protected system, the aftershocks of the "peculiar institution" still are felt. First segregation and then discrimination have dirtied the democratic landscape. As C. Vann Woodward noted: "Exploitation of the Negro by the white man goes back to the beginning of relations between the races, and so do race conflict, brutality, and injustice. Along with these practices, and in justification and defense of them, there developed the old assumptions of Anglo-Saxon superiority and African inferiority, white supremacy and Negro subordination."[1]

What accounts for racism in American society? In the opinion of Gunnar Myrdal, it is a matter of prejudice based on color. In his monumental work, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy,* he maintained that racism promoted a doctrine of superiority which, in turn, fostered discrimination and segregation: "If white Americans can believe that Negro Americans belong to a lower biological species than they themselves, this provides a motivation for their doctrine that the white race should be kept pure and that amalgamation should by all means, be prevented." A few years later, E. Franklin Frazier expanded Myrdal's thesis when he observed: "The categoric picture which a prejudiced person carries in his head affects even his perception of an individual identified with a race that is the objective of his prejudice." In Frazier's view, such "prejudice appears only when members of different races who are in competition appear not as individuals, but as representatives of races in competition. One of the truly remarkable phrases of race relations in the United States is the fact that whites and Negroes do not know each other as human beings."[2]

Long Island Historical Journal, Vol. 8, No. 2 pp. 145-165

During Reconstruction (1865-1877), former slaves laid claim to the citizenship assured by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. But, as Woodward argues, "freedmen were often denied their civil rights and subjected to discrimination, exclusion, and mistreatment by railroads, hotels, inns, and places of entertainment generally." After the Compromise of 1877, which marked the "liberal retreat on the race issue," both North and South danced to Jim Crow's tune: "It was quite common in the 'eighties and 'nineties to find...Northern liberals and former abolitionists mouthing the shibboleths of white supremacy regarding the Negro's innate inferiority, shiftlessness, and hopeless unfitness for full participation in the white man's civilization."[3]

Race relations in the United States were marred by both de jure and de facto segregation. Not until after the Second World War did African Americans call for complete and uncompromising equality. According to Robert L. Harris Jr, "One of the most significant casualties of World War II was the idea of white supremacy." The drive for civil rights, intensified "as recent black emigrants to the cities of the North and South became more of a political force," led to what Woodward calls the Second Reconstruction. This, along with "the de-colonization of nonwhite peoples throughout the world," became the "wedge" that inspired the black freedom movement and "broadened the concept of American democracy."[4]

In the 1950s, the civil rights drive was characterized by a number of important events. John Hope Franklin believes that "the road to revolution had been paved by Supreme Court decisions on voting and school desegregation, by the Montgomery bus boycott and the emergence of Martin Luther King Jr., the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, and the rise of national states in Africa." *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) and the 1957 Civil Rights Act, empowering the federal government "through the Justice Department to bring lawsuits against denial of voting rights," and establishing a Civil Rights Commission "to monitor violations and propose remedies," engendered a sense of boldness and determination in the civil rights movement. In Woodward's opinion, "it is obvious that in the present movement they [African Americans] are vastly better equipped to defend themselves and advance their cause than were their newly emancipated, propertyless, and largely illiterate grandfathers and great grandfathers."[5]

The Awakening

Initially, on Long Island, the post-World War II civil rights drive followed the traditional patterns established by the NAACP. Seeking legal remedies and calling attention to alleged acts of discrimination typified the movement during the first half of the 1950s. Fear of McCarthyism and heightened Cold War attitudes made the movement cautious. After the *Brown* decision and the Montgomery bus boycott, however, activists became more vociferous.

1957 presents an excellent starting point in assessing the "awakening" on Long Island. One of the earliest protests, albeit mild by comparison to later

years, was the NAACP's criticism of hiring practices by school districts. Considering that the hundreds of housing developments springing up were leading to a vast expansion of the public school system, an NAACP representative, Jawn A. Sandifer, wondered why so few districts hired black teachers. Speaking to one hundred fifty members of the Hempstead NAACP chapter, at the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Sandifer charged that college placement bureaus and public school officials were guilty of racial bias in "cheating qualified Negro teachers out of jobs in Nassau and Suffolk." Noting that more than 150 African American students in education attended New York City colleges, he took to task the placement bureaus at City College, Queens, Brooklyn, Hunter, Columbia, and New York University. The pat response that "we never receive any applications," Sandifer proclaimed, "amounts almost to a conspiracy between Nassau and Suffolk school authorities and the placement division of these schools." It is now time, he urged his audience, to combat the "systematic exclusion of Negroes." It was imperative "to attend meetings of boards of education and to question members about hiring policies and school sites. Integration of Negro teachers is not moving at the same pace as integration of pupils. It's going to be tough to speed it up, but it has to be done."[6]

School officials remained unmoved. Although Sandifer's plea involved no boycott or marches, district leaders appeared more perturbed than anything else. The Westbury school superintendent, Cecil Rice, stated: "We hire according to ability, not by creed, color or race." Superintendent Robert Savitt, of Farmingdale, noted: "We brought in our first Negro last year. We want the best available regardless of race, color or creed. All get the same treatment." The president of the Hicksville School Board, Emil Szendy, commented that "The fact that I don't know if we have any Negro teachers now should be important to show we don't think that way." Was this ignorance a convenient cover for racism? Why Szendy did not bother to find out if there were any African-Americans on staff is anyone's guess. The Lynbrook superintendent, Herbert Clish, was more frank, but defensive: "We have no Negroes now. But there isn't one iota of truth in this charge."[7]

Accusations of job discrimination on the Island were common at this time. Still, the burgeoning civil rights movement appeared committed to an objectionist more than an activist strategy. Ralph Mims, a black resident of a mixed Greenport neighborhood, appeared resigned after his car "was smeared with brown paint and the windows were dabbed white. The letters KKK were painted on the windshield." Adding insult to injury, the car was set on fire. The police investigated it "as a case of 'intimidation.'" Very little indignation was aroused in his neighborhood.[8]

However, three Long Beach youths found their racist actions unacceptable. The boys, who belonged to a "Ku Klux Klan" club, scribbled racial slurs on more than twenty lids of paper coffee cups and scattered them through the predominantly African American neighborhood. When caught by the police and charged with a criminal offense, they received a tongue-lashing from

Nassau County Children's Court Judge James N. Gehrig. After reading from the Declaration of Independence, the judge "demanded that the boys apologize to 'all the Negroes in Long Beach' for their 'misguided' actions.'" In lieu of fines and a criminal record, the court accepted the boys' apology, after which William Burke, president of the Long Beach chapter of the NAACP, allowed the matter to be be dropped.[9]

A case of perceived reverse discrimination did not arouse protest by civil rights groups. This involved a white parent, June Caro, who wanted her eight-year-old daughter transferred on grounds that African American students outnumbered whites in her school by a ratio of seven to one. Caro based her request on her belief that her daughter was being "'crippled socially' because she had no playmates of her own race, and was being held back educationally because 'she has no mental challenge.'" If the board did not comply, Caro said she would send her child to the Lutheran Church of the Epiphany School. She lost the case when the school board ruled "it would be a violation of state education department rules to transfer the child on racial grounds." The NAACP praised the decision and let the matter drop.[10]

In 1958, the nation focused on school integration in Southern schools, the main domestic story that year. The situation in Little Rock, Arkansas, and the threat by the Virginia Legislature to make private schools out of public ones marked the "beginning of the next chapter of the integration story." A number of editorials appeared in *Newsday* as the crisis continued. Perhaps the letter by J. A .P., of Rockville Centre, in *Newsday*'s "County Irritant" section, summed up majority opinion on Long Island. Gradualism was the buzzword:

> It seems in order to suggest consideration...of integration...beginning at Kindergarten level, stepping up one class each year for a period of 12 years. Since young children are far less subject to prejudices... such procedure would offer the best chance of peaceful solution of the problem. Allowing 12 years to develop complete school integration would save face for those on both sides...I believe that most of our citizens...would have just as high regard for the Supreme Court if some more gradual procedure toward integration were adopted.[11]

Not all shared J.A.P.'s prescription for patience. A Democratic congressional candidate, Walter A. Lynch, called on President Dwight D. Eisenhower to break the back of Southern resistance to school integration by placing the Little Rock schools under federal control:

> [The] time has come for President Eisenhower to cease his wait-and-see attitude toward illegal resistance. If the government will show in just this one city that it will, if necessary, take control of the schools out of the hands of officials who can be intimidated by a trouble-making minority, the whole integration problem will be well on the way to a solution.

As Eisenhower prepared to move on Little Rock, a number of Long Islanders endorsed Lynch's plea by partaking in a 25 October "Youth March for Integrated Schools" in the nation's capital. Two busloads of civil rights marchers, approximately eighty-strong, joined forty-one buses from New York City to "demonstrate our unity with the embattled children of the South who strive heroically to defend democracy in education." The marchers' feelings were summed up by Mrs. Richard L. Rhodes, of Huntington: "Shortly after the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., was attacked in Alabama, we decided it was high time that we showed the South that there are a lot of Northern sympathizers with the plight of the Southern Negro child to get a decent education." Yet, this sympathy implied no militancy. The Island's civil rights activists held to traditional patterns of protest, not defiance.[12]

Between 1959 and 1963, the Island's civil rights movement clung to its image of respectability. It continued its polite protests in the areas of job discrimination and racial prejudice through the use of agitation, legislation, and litigation. The Island's African American population remained concentrated in a few localities, far outnumbered when compared to the number of white people. However, change was in the wind. In 1959, a 117-page report, "The Newcomers," by the historian, Oscar Handlin, prepared under the auspices of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, sounded the warning bell. The report, which took three years to complete, estimated "a 60-to-75-percent increase in the Negro and Puerto Rican population by the year 1980." In examining twenty-two counties in the metropolitan area, Handlin warned that within two decades Negroes and Puerto Ricans "will form between 18 and 20 percent of the region's population." Concern for "social disorder," coupled with "white flight" from urban areas and an upwardly mobile African-American population, would be felt all over the region. "The reduction of prejudice and the expansion of opportunities," Handlin noted, "are 'essential to such development.'" It was apparent from this report that, as the African American population grew on the Island, the civil rights movement would have to respond to new demands and greater pressures. There was no discounting the fact that "The 250-percent increase in the number of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the region during the last quarter century represents a wave of migration comparable in scope to that of the Irish and Germans between 1840 and 1860 and of the Jews and Italians between 1890 and 1915."[13]

By 1963, with the African American population increasing, the civil rights movement adopted a new approach, responding to the national movement which had "gained fresh momentum in 1960 and 1961 with the growth of sit-ins and freedom rides." On 1 February 1960, in Greensboro, North Carolina, four African American students from North Carolina A&T took seats at at a whites-only lunch counter, and refused to give them up. Their sit-in "brought to the surface interracial tensions that had long been suppressed in the South, and they stimulated a process of self-realization among blacks that would continue through the decade." According to the historian, August

Meier, and the sociologist Elliot Rudwick:

> The civil rights movement would never be the same again. The Southern college student sit-ins set in motion waves of events that shook the power structure of the black community. They made direct action temporarily preeminent as a civil rights technique, ended NAACP hegemony in the civil rights movement, speeded up incalculably the whole process of social change in race relations, all but destroyed the barriers standing against the recognition of the Negro's constitutional rights, and ultimately turned the black protest organizations toward a deep concern with the economic and social problems of the masses. Involved was a steady radicalization of tactics and goals: from legalism to direct action and ultimately to Black Power, from participation by the middle and upper classes to mass action by all classes, from guaranteeing the protection of the Negro's constitutional rights to securing economic policies that would insure the welfare of the culturally deprived.[14]

At first, the sit-ins did not represent a "rejection of the mainstream of American life [but] were viewed as an outgrowth of racial assimilation and an expression of the desire for further assimilation." Although what "followed would ultimately stimulate revolutionary ferment, initially most student protestors aspired to middle-class status and did not basically object to American society or its dominant political institutions." Yet, unemployment and poverty gradually led to the growing radicalization of the movement, nationwide: "Due to automation and other forms of technological change, black unemployment rose steadily after 1958. By 1962 it was two and a half times that for whites, and in some industrial cities the differential was even greater." What was once a "liberal, white and Negro upper-class movement" shifted gears and began emphasizing "direct-action techniques...and mobilizing the potential power of the masses in the ghettos along political and economic lines."[15]

In 1963, this trend toward overt action inspired a large number of demonstrations, climaxed by King's "I Have A Dream" speech at the historic March on Washington. "Demonstrations," observes Harris,

> flared in more than 186 cities across the South in 1963. Birmingham [the focal point of numerous protests and where King, in the spirit of Thoreau, penned his own remarks in favor of civil disobedience] proved how mass disruption could be applied to achieve civil rights objectives. SCLC [Southern Christian Leadership Conference] staged marches, pickets, boycotts, and sit-ins to disrupt the city's normal activities. Thousands of demonstrators, including young children, were arrested and jailed.

Franklin notes that "There were about as many demonstrations in the North

and West as in the South."[16]

The "awakening" on Long Island coincided with the nation's celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. On 2 January 1963, at the Garden City Hotel, a predominantly black audience of nine hundred gathered to honor the Proclamation's birthday. One of the speakers was Lincoln Lynch, an airline executive recently selected as chairman of the Long Island branch of the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE). Founded in 1943 by a group of religious pacifists in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, CORE, in Harris's words, was "the most interracial of the 1960s civil rights organizations and dedicated to...Gandhian principles of nonviolent direct action. Initially, it fought discrimination in northern schools, hospitals, housing, and public accommodations."[17]

Lynch began with traditional civil rights rhetoric.

> Here in Nassau County and indeed in the very Village of Garden City in which we now meet, racial discrimination and segregation cry out loud for correction. All over Nassau from Inwood to Oyster Bay, from Glen Cove and Manhasset and Port Washington on our supposedly fabulous North Shore to Freeport and Farmingdale and Roosevelt, and across the border to Amityville there exists shameless evidence of the undisguised discrimination in the field of public housing...a moral and psychological wilderness exists on Long Island, as barren as one would find anywhere south of the Mason-Dixon line.

In his judgment, the Negro has engaged in a "mad scramble to attain middle-class status and to acquire the trappings and false values dictated by the same society which holds him in contempt." There was only one message: "[The] Negro has forgotten that he cannot attain freedom until all Negroes have freedom." Lynch urged the Island's African Americans "to prepare and finance lawsuits, to badger elective officials for legislation, to picket or sit-in or boycott, if necessary to win equal rights."[18]

This call for greater militancy was greeted with a *Newsday* editorial urging moderation and caution, a position sharply rebuked by Lloyd T. Delaney, of West Hempstead, in the "County Irritant" section:

> [Like many white liberals etc., the main thrust of your editorial is the tired, hackneyed and limpid plea for time. You ought to know better. Time is neutral; it is no assurance of anything. Time permitted Hitler to murder 6,000,000 Jews. Time permitted the South between 1865 and 1919 to lynch more than one hundred Negroes each year. Time has permitted real estate brokers in Nassau to perpetuate white ghettos and Negro slums.

African-Americans were tired of waiting, and "Time without action is meaningless." Reflecting the emerging nationwide sentiments of

African-Americans, Delaney concluded that, "After 300 years of enslavement and humiliation, Negroes in America have every cause to be angry and determined to wait no longer, regardless of the lame excuses and further procrastination urged by people of your ilk. There is no time left." The state NAACP jumped to Lynch's defense. It decried *Newsday*'s plea that the way to remedy racial discrimination in the North "is not, so to speak, by crying 'Fire!' in a crowded theater." Using Justice Oliver W. Holmes' free-speech analogy in *Schenck v. United States* (1919), *Newsday* insisted that "the solution in the future as in the immediate past is the continually accelerating but patient movement toward interracial understanding that has already gained a foothold in some communities and should be extended to all." The NAACP directors issued their own forceful rejoinder: "We...abhor and denounce the gradualism suggested by *Newsday*. We stand shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Lynch, with CORE and with other organizations seeking the active participation of Negroes in the historic struggle of the Negro for the attainment of full citizenship." The rights of Negroes in the North "can be assured by their active participation in lawsuits, in lobbying for legislation and in various forms of mass demonstration until the struggle has been won."[19]

Shortly after his speech, Lynch and CORE made good on their promise. In a two-pronged attack, CORE charged that both Sealtest Diary and Franklin National Bank were under-represented by minority groups, and began distributing leaflets throughout New York City and Nassau County urging a boycott of Sealtest "until Negroes and Puerto Ricans are hired in all job categories." Lynch charged that Sealtest employed only nineteen African Americans out of a total workforce of 950 in the New York area. A growing practice in the South was now becoming apparent in the North, and on the Island, in particular. The "boycott signaled the beginning of an economic war in the metropolitan area against firms which CORE accuses of discriminatory practices." Sealtest was the litmus test. Lynch aimed not only to get more African-Americans hired, but also "to get Negroes into truck-driver and sales jobs, not just hired into more menial positions."[20]

When a Sealtest executive accused CORE of undermining negotiations underway with the NAACP, and stated that Sealtest Foods could not afford to hire a minimum of fifty Negroes or Puerto Ricans in non-menial jobs, CORE's eastern regional field secretary, Don Wendell, was unmoved. "It's up to the employer to begin a vigorous minority-recruitment program," he admonished. "If it's going to cost them a little bit, fine, because it's cost us a heck of a lot over the years."[21]

Newsday received a substantial response to its invitation to readers to comment on the boycott. Milton Hellerbach, of Hicksville, was sympathetic to CORE: "Unlike the Catholic or Jew the Negro cannot camouflage the color of his skin. When he applies for education, a job, an apartment, a place on a train, etc. the boycott is on. He cannot even take the first step to raise himself out of the status in which he is born." Unsympathetic was E. K., of Floral Park: "As far as the Negro goes much of his shortcomings are of his own making. CORE and other organizations would do well to lead their people to win

respect and admiration of the white man by their way of living and their deeds rather than a show of force." H. A. Sutton, of Northport, was critical: "I think it is pitiful when a group of self-appointed trouble makers such as CORE can dictate the policies of an institution as large as the Franklin National Bank." T. O'Reilly, of Levittown, commended Lynch for his work on behalf of minority groups, but warned that his "demands are so out of proportion, it may serve to antagonize some people including those who have supported him in the past. I'm sure CORE could serve its people much better by demanding that all future jobs with banks and other fields of industry be put on a competitive basis regardless of race, creed, or color."[22]

CORE's actions did pay dividends. Sealtest Foods negotiated in good faith and hired more minority workers in non-menial jobs, as did Franklin National Bank, which agreed to employ "at least 50 nonwhite permanent workers and at least 12 nonwhite temporary employees." CORE then set its sights on Meadow Brook National Bank, Hempstead Bank, and other "financial institutions, defense firms and employment agencies which discriminate in their hiring practices."[23]

The message had been delivered in the year of the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. The emerging militancy demanded "that public and private organizations 'initiate compensatory preferential treatment' for Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minorities in training and employment opportunities." As he took aim at government officials and businessmen in Nassau and Suffolk, Lynch warned that "We are determined that the rate of change, as it affects the position of the Negro on the Long Island scene, will be rapidly accelerated, and we are prepared to pay the price." The emphasis would be placed on "an end to *de facto* segregation in housing and education."[24]

Two Case Studies of School Integration: 1) Malverne

The explosive issue of school integration proved one of the most challenging crises of the Island's civil rights movement in the sixties. Two districts, Malverne, in Nassau, and Amityville, in Suffolk, reflected the heated passions and disagreements of the time. In May 1963, an advisory committee to New York State Commissioner of Education James E. Allen Jr. "recommended a plan to eliminate racial imbalance at the Woodfield Road School" in the Malverne School District. The committee proposed that "pupils from kindergarten through grade 3 would attend either the Davison Avenue or the Lindner Place Elementary Schools [and] pupils in grades 4 and 5 would attend the Woodfield Road School, an elementary school with a student body that is 81 percent Negro." This plan had also been prompted by NAACP complaints "that their children [blacks] were getting an inferior education [at Lakeview Elementary] because the ratio of Negro to white pupils was 3 to 1." Ironically, this argument was similar to the one June Caro made a few years

earlier. The advisory committee, mindful of the *Brown* decision, "found that when the effect of a neighborhood school is to create or continue a ghetto-type situation it does not serve the purpose of democratic education." Three petitions immediately circulated throughout the district demanded: an end to racial imbalance; continuation of the neighborhood school policy; and removal of white children from the schools should an integration policy be adopted.[25]

Robert L. Carter, legal counsel for the NAACP on educational matters, in a petition to Commissioner Allen had argued that "about 75 percent of the students in the Woodfield Road School are Negro. The two other elementary schools have about 14 per cent Negro enrollment." Malverne's Board of Education attorney, Frank X. Altimari, of Mineola, responded by maintaining that "the wisdom of discarding the 'proved and established educational, psychological and sociological advantages of the neighborhood school' in favor of the 'hypothetical benefits of artificial and enforced racial balance'" needs re-examination.[26]

In June, Allen issued his edict directing "that attendance areas be reorganized so that all pupils in Kindergarten through Grade 3 attend either the Davison Avenue or the Lindner Place elementary school and that all pupils in grades 4 and 5 attend the Woodfield Road School." His blue-ribbon Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions consisted of Teachers College president John H. Fisher, professor Kenneth B. Clark, of City College, and Rabbi Judah Cahan of New York City's Metropolitan Synagogue. In its recommendation to Allen the committee stated:

> A cardinal principle...in the effective desegregation of a public school system is that all of the schools which comprise that system should have equitable distribution of the various ethnic and cultural groups in the municipality or the school district. Where serious imbalance exists the school with the highest proportion of minority group and lower status children tends to receive more such children as parents who are able to do so move to neighborhoods and schools of higher status.

The Malverne situation led directly to Allen's statewide directive:

> The position of the department, based on the policy of the Regents, and the principles of the Commissioner's Advisory Committee is that the racial imbalance existing in a school in which the enrollment is wholly or predominantly Negro interferes with the achievement of equality of educational opportunity and must therefore be eliminated from the schools of New York State. It is recognized that in some communities residential patterns and other factors may present serious obstacles to the attainment of racially balanced schools. This does not, however, relieve the school authorities of their responsibility for doing everything within their power, consistent with the principles of sound education, to achieve an equitable balance.[27]

Most of Malverne's white residents were not about to surrender unconditionally. More than fifteen hundred people gathered for a meeting in Lynbrook to protest the commissioner's directive. A new group, the Taxpayers and Parents Association, proclaimed that "if the board does not see fit to do as we request we will then undertake legal action."[28]

Other Nassau school districts began to implement contingency plans in compliance with Allen's order. Not so, Malverne, composed of the largely African American section of Lakeview and the predominantly white area of Malverne. The board refused to act on Allen's suggested plan and began preparing legal action to halt in-district integration. This immediately led to a demonstration by integrationists at an August school board meeting. Four demonstrators remained all night in the first-floor corridor outside the offices of Superintendent Howard T. Herber: "The sit-in followed a board meeting...attended by more than 700 residents, about a third of them Negroes. The meeting had been preceded by picketing by about 175 members of the United Committee for Action Now, a group made up of members of CORE, the NAACP, and religious and civic organizations." Floyd Hazel, chairman of the Lakeview Chapter of the NAACP, implored Herber "to request the School Board to halt further legal action to delay the correction of racial imbalance in the schools and to agree to implementing the State Education Department's order to integrate the schools." The Taxpayers and Parents Association replied by warning "of hostile demonstrations if the district was forced to integrate the schools." This led only to further sit-ins by civil rights activists.[29]

In mid-August, Allen denied the board's plea to reopen the district's enrollment case: "It ought to be added, so that there is no misunderstanding, that the decision is in complete conformity with the policies of the State Board of Regents calling for an end to de facto segregation through reasonable solutions." The Taxpayers and Parents Association called this decision "high-handed, illegal and unconstitutional." The group's president, Charles W. Reardon, claiming a membership of more than two thousand, stated that "the facts indicate that he [Allen] never gave the school board appeal any consideration" and asked that the case be decided by a "properly qualified unbiased tribunal."[30]

In what became a common practice until the matter was finally settled, the taxpayers organization went to court and obtained restraining orders. In one case, the father of a fifth-grader slated to be transferred to the "previously heavily Negro Woodfield Road School" enjoined the district from carrying out the integration plan. The restraining order also prevented the Malverne Village Board "from spending $20,000 to improve street crossing safety in connection with the elementary school reorganization." The emerging strategy among the anti-integrationists was to oppose busing and the cost of transportation involved while defending the concept of neighborhood schools in the name of safety.[31]

The start of the 1963-1964 school year was greeted with more civil rights protests. "A school boycott, two sit-in demonstrations, picketing and the arrest

of five Negro parents" heightened tensions in this western Nassau community. The arrestees, including Lincoln Lynch, "were charged with loitering when they refused to leave the auditorium of the Davison Avenue School at the request of the principal [Ray Blank]." African American parents boycotted the Woodfield Road School, in which "200 pickets, including pupils, marched in front of the Woodfield Road School." Sit-ins occurred at the predominantly white Davison Avenue and Lindner Place schools. Some forty Lynbrook village police were on hand when "Mr. Lynch and his party, including five children, three of whom would normally attend the Davison Avenue School and two who were assigned to the Woodfield Road School, entered the building past private guards and went to the auditorium to enroll the children." The arrests followed. At the Lindner Place School "six parents and seven children tried to prevent the police from closing doors in a vestibule of the main entrance to the school." A "brief struggle ensued in which Eugene Reed...was thrown to the floor. He was treated by a private physician and was reportedly taken to a hospital for examination. No arrests were made." Those arrested, along with Lynch, were Annie Bowden, William Hickey, Madeline Thompson, and Harold Trent.[32]

The statement by Dan Peterson, of the taxpayers, did little to assuage the integrationists: "We welcome the children. We are not prejudicial and have had Negro children in our school for years. All the white parents object to is having to send their children up to two miles to school in all kinds of weather in order to accommodate the aspirations of the Negro leaders." Peterson's olive branch was rejected. More arrests followed as seven African American parents attempted unsuccessfully to enroll their children at the Lindner Place Elementary School. Led by Lynch and the psychologist, Lloyd Delaney, thirty-seven black and white adults "escorted 15 Negro children to the school...All entrances were locked and two private guards, hired by the school board at the start of the term, were standing with folded arms behind the front entrance doors." A shoving match followed between the principal, Ralph E. Gardner, the guards, and the protestors: "The principal and the two guards were pushed aside easily and the parents and children streamed into the school." Gardner refused to register the students and then had the police called. Those arrested were Delaney, Joyce McCray, Dorothy Solomon, Evelyn Suner, Evia Muise, Dorothy Bryant, and Ann Early.[33]

Angry at the board for failing to comply with Allen's order, the integrationists adopted more drastic measures. One was the creation of a Freedom School, a popular educational service adopted by civil rights activists in the South. The effort was to force implementation of Allen's plan. Students traveled in private cars to the Unitarian-Universalist Church at the former Mitchel Air Force Base. By the second week of school, some two hundred and fifty African American students attended classes staffed by forty-three volunteers: "Supplies, including textbooks, continued to pour into the church...The children sat on metal folding chairs in rows or around tables. Three of the classrooms, normally used for Sunday School, were formed in a wing of the building by folding doors. The church itself also serves as a

classroom and assembly hall." The popularity of this strategy increased to a point where "Pupils in the first and second grade previously attending the Unitarian-Universalist Church...were transferred to five classrooms at the Malverne Jewish Center"; fifty third-graders attended classes at the Guild Hall of St. Thomas Episcopal Church; kindergarten pupils were taught in a private Lakeview home; and third-, fourth-, and fifth-graders continued "their studies in the four makeshift classrooms at the Mitchel Field Church." To the seventy-nine students at the Jewish Center, "it was almost like being in their regular school." They sang, read from donated books, and drew pictures with crayons supplied by the volunteer teachers.[34]

While the Freedom School strategy proceeded, integrationists kept up the pressure on the board of education. At one contentious meeting, attended by four hundred persons, integrationists called the board president, Bayard DeNoie, "a liar" after he stated some parents were fearful about sending their children to the Woodfield Road School. When one protestor shouted "'We Shall Overcome,' Negroes in the audience and some whites started to sing the integration song and about half the audience left the auditorium." At that point school board members walked off the stage.[35]

Between 1964 and 1967, the battle raged on. In early January 1964, integrationists received a setback in court. Justice Isadore Bookstein granted the Malverne taxpayer group's petition, invalidating Allen's directive: "Bookstein ruled that the state education chief's order, even though it was designed to end imbalance, would discriminate against white students by forcing them out of predominantly-white schools to make room for negroes. The judge said this violated section 3201 of the state education law—a long-standing statute barring discrimination." Reaction was swift and predictable. Robert Carter, the NAACP's legal counsel, argued that "This decision underscores the vital necessity of a final authoritative determination as to the constitutional obligations, both state and federal, of school authorities to remedy de facto school segregation." An appeal was forthcoming. Howard Williams, of the taxpayers, commented obligingly that "this is a victory for both white and Negro parents who did not want to be forced to send their children out of their neighborhood school." DeNoie observed: "I don't wish it to appear that in any way this is because the board wishes to discriminate against Negroes...[The ruling] upholds the position the board had taken...that it might be unconstitutional."[36]

Predictably, the integrationists fought back. "We will sit in, crawl in, lie in, stand in, chain in, pray in, and the jails hold no terror for us," DeLaney shouted at one board meeting in which more than one hundred "braved the snow-covered streets" to attend. Reardon, of the taxpayers, compared DeLaney's threats to southern racists mocking court decisions:

> We do not for a minute believe that the decent law-abiding Negro and white citizens of this community will follow the examples of direct action used by Faubus and Wallace, and even Oswald and Ruby, who

> believed as Dr. DeLaney believes that they were above the law and that the methods of direct action are to be used wherever the courts do not promptly give them the power they demand.

Led by DeLaney, the United Committee for Action Now began preparing for sit-ins, picketing, court action, and another student boycott of the schools. DeLaney accused the communities of Malverne and Lynbrook of being "bigoted symbols of northern segregation," and warned that the demonstrations would attempt to "'remind many of the residents that they cannot hide behind the school board' and neglect their responsibility." In response, Edward Chasin, a member of the board of directors of the Long Island Taxpayers and Parents Organization, called DeLaney's group "racist-minded," and further stated that "This is not civil disobedience but disobedience of court orders. Racial autism is not confined to one color."[37]

Recognizing the gravity of the situation and the possibility of racial flare-up in districts like Hempstead, Freeport, Westbury, Roosevelt, Manhasset, Glen Cove, Amityville, and Patchogue-Bellport, Allen ordered his chief counsel to appeal Bookstein's decision. The attorney, Charles Brind, decided to take a different approach: "Is it a question of education, or is it a question of race?" On Allen's behalf, Brind indicated that "he would argue that Allen's order was for admission to schools based on better educational opportunities, not based on racial discrimination." A tremendous amount was riding on this new legal challenge. In a special series in *Newsday*, "The Neighborhood School," Harvey Aronson captured the essence of the Malverne integration fight:

> The district is fighting along the neighborhood lines of mileage and busing and the emotional lines of principle and perspective. Integrationists attack the educational disadvantage of imbalanced schools and contend that the district is so small as to constitute one large neighborhood. (The Princeton plan was found efficient in its home borough of Princeton, N.J., because of the smallness of the two-mile-square district.) They point to the fact that all sixth-grade and-up students already walk to the same junior high and high school, which are centrally situated. Their opponents charge that the transfer plans violate their basic rights and involve inordinate travel.[38]

Meanwhile, state legislators were pulled into the fray. State Senator Norman F. Lent Jr. (R.-East Rockaway) drafted two amendments to state education law outlawing assignment of pupils to schools on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin. In Lent's words, "It has become crystal clear that an overwhelmingly large majority of the public including a substantial portion of those who are sympathetic to the aims of desegregation, are opposed to dismantling the neighborhood school system in favor of mass transportation of Negro children to white area schools and vice versa, where the standard of education is found to be equal in all schools." Despite Lent's proposed

amendments in spring 1965, the State Court of Appeals, in a five-to-two decision, upheld the June 1964 Appellate Division's ruling reinstating Allen's original June 1963 order "assigning pupils to schools by grade rather than geographical area in an effort to end alleged de facto segregation in the district's schools."[39]

The anti-integrationists refused to concede. In January 1966, a suit filed by a white parent, Arthur Olsen, in Brooklyn Federal Court, claimed that "his son was being deprived of his rights under the Civil Rights Act of 1964...the law made it illegal to assign a pupil to a particular school on the basis of his race." The delay due to court pleadings led to angry protests, as "Civil rights groups picketed schools and students boycotted classes to protest a delay in a state-ordered plan to end racial discrimination in the school district." According to Superintendent Herber, "absenteeism ranged from 31 percent in the two predominantly white schools to 40 percent in the predominantly Negro Woodfield Road School."[40]

Allen had enough. "I have absolutely no intentions whatsoever of letting up or forsaking the children in this case," he maintained, and immediately ordered the district to implement his directive. When the board decided to comply, a group of angry women conducted their own counter-demonstration: "Nine housewives were arrested...as they attempted to block preparations for the integration of the Malverne elementary schools. The women were part of a group of demonstrators who climbed on a furniture van in an effort to halt the movement of school desks and other equipment from the Davison Avenue School." A second demonstration occurred at the Lindner Place School, where protestors "repeatedly expressed friendship toward the Negro community. One sign read: 'Welcome Woodfield Road Children. Stop Busing. We'll stop Fussing.' One of the arrested housewives, Irene Cypreas, stated that 'the demonstrators had decided to follow the lead of civil rights groups and use civil disobedience as a last resort'." By a four-to-one margin, district voters rejected a proposed $730,000 bond issue for increased school bus facilities, renovation of existing school facilities, and purchase of two portable classrooms. The rejection was a mandate opposing the integration plan.[41]

Allen's order making Malverne the first district in the state to end de facto segregation in elementary schooling split the community into "two militant camps assailing each other...with lawsuits, picket lines, sit-down demonstrations, school boycotts and a general flurry of angry charges and countercharges." Recriminations were bitter, as losing the court case increased the perception of reverse discrimination among defenders of neighborhood schools. Howard Williams, of the taxpayers, stated sarcastically: "We are fighting fascism...By the time it gets done, we'll have nice little children in some kind of plasm, but they'll just be things...I assume next year he (Allen) indoctrinate [*sic*] some kind of coloring device so everybody'll be the same color."[42]

Borrowing a page from civil rights activists, anti-integrationists conducted their own boycott. Parents of some one hundred forty white children "refused

to permit their children to go to their assigned schools...parents took their children to the Davison Avenue and Lindner Place schools and then took them home again after compiling an attendance' record." They also signed a petition on behalf of fourth- and fifth-graders that was sent to state legislators and Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, protesting that these children "had been 'forcibly vacated' from our neighborhood school by order of Commissioner of Education Allen for a social experiment." Furthermore, a group of white parents, Mothers to Protest Neighborhood Schools, began to operate secret private schools. Some one hundred thirty-two fourth- and fifth-graders registered: "parents of the children and the owners of the 12 homes where classes are being held...agreed not to make public the locations of the temporary schools to protect the 'physical and psychological aspects of the children." In essence, a white freedom school had been established. Richard B. Cummings, spokesman for the new group, observed that "Tempers of the mothers are running very high. they're very determined to get neighborhood schools back."[43]

In the view of some integrationists, the education of children was as a casualty of the struggle. William H. Moody, the only African American school trustee, observed: "To say, I'm for neighborhood schools, but I'm not against integration—possibly an adult can separate these thoughts, but a child can't." His remark went unheeded. In mid-March 1966, some eight hundred pupils boycotted school: "White parents affiliated with Neighbors United to Save Our Schools kept their children out of the high school, junior high school, and the three elementary schools. About 100 pickets marched in front of the district's headquarters for two hours [in the] morning and again [at night]." Herber's reaction was curt: "The principals join me in deploring the use of children to rectify adult grievances."[44]

The Malverne crisis became an issue in the legislature. A Nassau Republican Assemblyman, John E. Kingston, proposed an amendment "to knock out a $242,000 item in the State Education Department that he believed was to be used for expanding the busing of pupils to relieve racial imbalance in the schools." The leader of the assembly's black caucus, Percy E. Sutton, piloted defeat of the measure, by voice vote. "All we're asking," said Sutton, "is that you give another man what you enjoy daily. You behave as though you're giving him something special and he should be grateful to you." To avoid further embarrassment, legislative leaders kept bills opposing busing "stifled in committee."[45]

In a final attempt to preserve the neighborhood school concept, anti-integrationists tried to gain control of the school board. A slate of candidates under the rubric of "Free Choice" ran on a platform "of only one plank... if elected we will abolish the Allen plan." Supported by a variety of neighborhood school groups, the Free Choice candidates, Charles W. Reardon, John W. Lewis, and Venerando J. Indelicato, were overwhelmingly elected, thus capturing control of the board. Conversely, the proposed 1966 school budget of $3.8 million, which included funds for implementing the state integration program in kindergarten classes, was defeated.[46]

Dismayed, the NAACP immediately called upon the state education department "to order the Malverne School Board to budget funds to complete the state-ordered integration plan." The request was made by Evelyn Corbin, president of the Lakeview chapter. A new budget was scheduled for a June vote. However, $25,000 was cut from the defeated budget, deleted from funds slated for integration of kindergarten classes. Board members who favored free choice chose this path to insure the budget's approval by voters opposed to integration. The Free Choice board had carried out only parts of Allen's order. In mid-June 1966, Allen noted that five-sixths of his order had been implemented in grades one to five, but not kindergarten, which he gave the board until mid-July to integrate. Meanwhile, the revised budget was approved minus the extra money.[47]

Although the school board saw that the handwriting was on the wall, some defiance remained. The board complained that the state-ordered plan brought an increase in minority enrollment, with a corresponding loss of white pupils to private and parochial schools. According to school board statistics, "Negro enrollment in the three elementary schools has increased from 44 percent in June 1963 to 53 percent in June 1966. Negro enrollment in September would be 59.4 percent." Charles W. Reardon, now president of the board, maintained that, "if the district could attract the white children back to the public schools 'there would be no racial imbalance.'" Nevertheless, faced with a state order threatening loss of financial aid and removal from their trusteeships, the board voted on 11 August 1966 to "provide for the busing of kindergarten pupils from the predominantly Negro Woodfield Road School to the predominantly white Lindner Place and Davison Avenue Schools."[48]

The cat and mouse game with the state education department continued, but only briefly. Disagreeing on how to carry out the commissioner's order, the board turned down an offer of $51,200 from the education department to implement the plan. Allen at once wrote to Reardon: "There is no excuse now, why, after all these many months your board should not be ready to comply. If you do not wish to take advantage of this money made available, that is, of course, your decision." The board then agreed to comply with Allen's "distasteful and ineffective order" but asked for $700,000 to implement the plan. Allen promptly turned down the request, sticking to his original offer.[49]

At its 19 October 1966 meeting, the board took a final shot at Allen by announcing a "'freedom-of-choice' plan under which parents could request transfers of kindergarten-through- fifth-grade-pupils to any of the three schools in the district." Reardon called the new plan "a supplement to the program ordered by Allen." The NAACP dissented. An executive board member of the Lakeview chapter, Burbank Mitchell, lashed out: "If there is any change it will result in direct action by the Lakeview community and it will be of a more militant nature than previous actions."[50]

Racial tension magnified after a "7-foot-high cross was burned on the lawn of Malverne Senior High School." Allen exploded. He ordered all board members to appear before him and directed them "to halt temporarily its

'freedom-of-choice' plan for pupil transfers." In November 1966, nearly one hundred black and white parents attended the Albany hearing. Carter argued: "We think it is hopeless that these men will do in good faith what you've ordered them to do. The only thing that can be done is this board has to be removed." The board's counsel, Joseph E. McMahon, rejoined: "What we're trying to do is induce the people to come back to the public schools. It's deplorable that this community has been torn apart the way it has and people on that side of the table must take their responsibility." In early 1967, Allen stuck to his original directive. The matter finally came to an end.[51]

A new superintendent, James S. Carnrite, replaced Herber. Ironically, the NAACP now expressed reservations. Carter complained that the plan, approved by Carnrite, was "essentially a racially motivated act" in which the proposal "to close the Woodfield Road School in Lakeview by January [1968] and to bus Negro pupils elsewhere placed the 'entire burden of integration on Negro pupils.'" Why was the "out-of-date Davison Avenue School" not closed, instead? "Our concern," Carter insisted, "is that, in effect, they don't want white children to go to school in a Negro neighborhood." It upset the NAACP that the "commissioner approved the plan without consulting the Negro complainants." Carnrite did not consider the complaint justified, and, in carrying out the plan, ordered fifteen portable classrooms for students in their new locations. Carnrite's centralized plan went into effect during the second half of the 1967-1968 school year. A "4-4-4 system, in which all fifth-through-eight-graders would go to the junior high school and all kindergarten through-fourth-graders would attend two elementary schools," finally ended a four-year battle marking the fiercest school integration struggle in Long Island's history.[52]

NOTES

1. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955, 1957; reprint, rev. ed., New York: Oxford Univ. Press [Galaxy imprint], 1966), xii; according to Thomas F. Gossett, "Racist ideology in America not only occupies a central position among the economic insecure and ignorant, but also among the well-educated and financially secure populace" (*Race: The History of an Idea in America* [reprint, New York: Schocken Books, 1965], 459).

2. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, rev. ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1962)1: 102; E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1957), 666-77.

3 Woodward, xvii, 52-53.

4. Robert L. Harris Jr., *Teaching Afro-American History* (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1985), 2, 45-46; for the "Second Reconstruction," see Woodward, 8, 9-10, 122-47.

5. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*, 3d. ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), 624; Harris, 49; Woodward, 175.

6. "Long Island Schools Biased in Teacher Hiring NAACP Aide Says," *Newsday*, 11 Feb. 1957; Sherita Bailey, "Civil Rights Movement, 1957," Honors paper, Amityville High

.School, 1995.

7. "School Aides Hit Charge of Long Island Hiring Bias," *Newsday*, 12 Feb. 1957.

8. "Paint, 'KKK' Smeared on Car of LI Negro; Probe Started," *Newsday*, 10 Feb. 1957.

9. "'KKK Club' Boys Get Court Lesson in Tolerance," *Newsday*, 7 July 1957; for the Klan in the 1920s, see Jane Gombieski, "Klokards, Kleagels, Kludds, and Kluxers: The Ku Klux Klan in Suffolk County, 1915-1928," *LIHJ* 6 (Fall 1993):41-62. Despite the decline of the Klan after the 1920s, sporadic acts of racial prejudice accompanied the growth of the African American population during the 1960s and 1970s; as late as 1992, the "Klan was trying to recruit in eastern Suffolk [and] two youths were arrested last year [1993] for placing an 8-foot-high cross reading 'KKK lives' outside a black family's home in Greenport" (Letta Taylor, "Klan Fever," *Newsday* 5 July 1994, B4-5).

10. "Bar White Girl's Shift from 7-1 Negro School," *Newsday*, 16 Aug. 1957.

11. "The Battleground in the South," *Newsday*, 20 Sept. 1958; "In the South: A New Integration Proposal," ibid., 21 Sept. 1958.

12. "Democrat Urges Ike to Federalize Arkansas Schools," *Newsday*, 1 Oct. 1958."80 LIers Will Parade for Integration Unit," ibid., 7 Oct. 1958.

13. Oscar Handlin, *The Newcomers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1959); Clayton Knowles, "Rise in Minorities Seen in City Area," *New York Times*, 9 July 1959.

14. Harris, 49; Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1981), 12; August Meier & Elliot Rudwick, *From Plantation to Ghetto*, rev. ed. (New York: Hill & Wang, 1970), 257-58.

15. Carson, 12, 14; Meier & Rudwick, 252, 265; Harris, 51.

16. Harris, 52; Franklin, 631; see also Carleton Mabee, *Black Education in New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1979).

17. Harris, 50.

18 "Long Island Negroes Let Race Down: CORE Aide," *Newsday*, 2 Jan. 1963.

19 Lloyd T. Delaney, "The Negro and 'White Ghettos' on Long Island," *Newsday*, 4 Jan. 1963; "State NAACP Raps Newsday Editorial," *Newsday*, 5 Jan. 1963; for informal, historical overviews of the NAACP, see William Penn, "NAACP—Its Culture," a 1993 Field Services report, and M. B. Roxborough memorandum, "History of the NAACP," 5 May 1994, which the author will make available to interested readers.

20. "CORE Calls Boycott of Dairy in Job Bid," *Newsday*, 16 Jan. 1963.

21. "Can't Meet CORE Demand, Dairy Says," ibid., 19 Jan. 1963.

22. "The CORE Boycott: A Fair or Unfair Weapon," ibid., 20 Jan. 1963.

23. "CORE Wins Job Agreement at LI Bank," ibid., 17 Jan. 1963.

24. Ronald Mairoana, "CORE to Intensify Militancy on L.I.," ibid., 2 July 1963. At the end of August 1963, approximately twelve hundred people boarded a special sixteen-car train, arranged by the Long Island Railroad, to participate in the March on Washington; the only incident to mar this occasion was a threatened strike by railroad employees dismayed by civil rights protests (Harvey Aronson, "Excited LIers Head for the Capital," *Newsday*, 28 Aug. 1963); Franklin, 631.

25. "Malverne Plan Proposed," *New York Times*, 18 May 1963; Roy R. Silver, "Malverne Awaits State Decision on Racial Imbalance in Schools," ibid., 2 June 1963.

26. "Integration Plan for L.I. is Urged," ibid., 13 June 1963.

27. Doug Dales, "State Calling on Schools to End Racial Imbalance," ibid., 13 June 1963.

28. "1500 at Lynbrook Meeting," ibid., 2 July 1963.

29. "Glen Cove Offers a Plan to End Racial Imbalance"; "L.I. Board to Shift Pupils From School"; "Westbury Considers Plan to End School Imbalance," ibid., 3 July, 7 and 8 August 1963; "Malverne Sit-In Continues Over School Imbalance," 9 August 1963; "Malverne Sit-in Continues," 10 August 1963.

30. "Malverne Loses School-Delay Bid," and "Fight on Ruling Urged," ibid., 14 August 1963.

31. "Malverne Plan Put Off," *New York Times*, 24 August 1963; "Westbury Cancels Racial Plan After Allen Refuses to Enter Suit," ibid., 31 August 1963.

32. Roy Silver, "Sit-Ins and Arrests Mark Suburbs' School Openings," ibid., 5 Sept. 1963; "5 More Negroes Arrested on L.I.: Women Seized After Bid on Malverne Enrollment," ibid., 6 Sept. 1963.

33.Ron Maiorana, "Malverne Police Arrest 7 Negroes: Parents Held After Effort to Enroll 15 Children," ibid., 7 Sept. 1963.

34. "212 Malverne Pupils in Boycott Attend 'Freedom School' on L.I."; "Growing Support for Freedom School"; "Freedom School on L.I. Enlarged"; *New York Times*, 10-12 Sept. 1963.

35. "3 Negroes Stage Malverne Sit-In," ibid., 11 Sept. 1963.

36. Harvey Aronson, "Plan Appeal of LI School-Order Upset," *Newsday*, 11 Jan. 1964.

37. Alice Murray, "Negroes Pledge Blitz in Malverne," ibid., 12 Jan. 1964; "Integration or Disorder: LI Rights Unit," ibid., 13 Jan. 1963.

38 "Allen to Fight Reversal of School Order," ibid., 17 Jan. 1963; Harvey Aronson, "Malverne Fight: Geography and Race," ibid., 17 Feb. 1964.

39. "Fights Shifts Based on Race," *Newsday*, 20 Feb. 1964; "Plan to Appeal Integration Rule," ibid., 19 May 1965.

40. Roy R. Silver, "Integration Plan Is Delayed on L.I.," *New York Times*, 25 Jan. 1966"; Malverne Schools Boycotted For Day," ibid., 1 Feb. 1966.

41. "Malverne Delay Brings New Suit," *New York Times*, 2 Feb. 1966; "In School Protest," *New York Times*, 22 Feb. 1966; Bob Micklin, "School Official at Malverne Moving Away," *Newsday*, 21 Feb. 1966; Ron Maiorana, "Seek Support of Speno," *Newsday*, 23 Feb. 1966.

42. Paul Leventhal, "Malverne: The Long Fight," *Newsday*, 23 Feb. 1966.

43. "L.I. Pupils Continue Boycott of Schools," *New York Times*, 25 Feb. 1966; Roy Silver, "Protest School Racial Plans," *New York Times*, 1 Mar. 1964; "Factions Still Divided on Malverne Schools," *Newsday*, 12 Mar. 1966.

44. "800 Pupils Boycott Malverne Schools," *New York Times*, 18 Mar. 1966.

45. Sydney H. Schanberg, "Assembly Is Tense In Busing Dispute," ibid., 18 Mar. 1966.

46. Jan Morgan, "Malverne Candidates Give Allen Plan Views," *Newsday*, 27 Apr. 1966; "Malverne Elects School Plan Foes," *New York Times*, 5 May 1966.

47. "NAACP Urges Action by State In Malverne," *Newsday*, 10 June 1966; "Malverne is Given New Deadline," ibid. 22 June 1966.

48. "Malverne School Board Asserts State Formula Aids Segregation," *New York Times*, 24 July 1966; Ron Maiorana, "Malverne School Board Votes to End Last Segregated

Class," ibid., 12 August 1966.

49. "Malverne Schools Reject State Fund," ibid., 2 Sept. 1966; see also 3 and 6 Sept. 1966.

50. "Malverne School Board Alters State-Ordered Racial Program," ibid., 20 Oct. 1966; Roy R. Silver, "Negroes Deplore Malverne Plan," ibid., 22 Oct. 1966.

51. "Cross Burned at Malverne," ibid., 28 Oct. 1966; Richard L. Madden, "Malverne Board Called to Albany," ibid., 29 Oct. 1966; Richard L. Madden, "Malverne School Enemies Clash in Albany on 'Free Choice' Plan," ibid., 3 Nov. 1966.

52. "3 Balance Plans Begin as School on LI Opens," *Newsday*, 6 Sept. 1967; Bob Bridgeo, "NAACP Urges Allen to Halt Malverne Plan," ibid., 16 Dec. 1967; "Classrooms to Delay Malverne Plan a Month," ibid., 13 Jan. 1968.

WILLIAM SIDNEY MOUNT: THE INFLUENCE of MUSIC and the VIOLIN in his WORKS

By Ernest Salem

William Sidney Mount's importance as a nineteenth-century artist rests on his work as an American genre painter. Although painting was his primary interest, Mount was intensely involved in music and especially the violin. He was active as a country fiddler on his native Long Island, performing at dances and for other occasions. Although he had some exposure to traditional, disciplined study of the violin, Mount was primarily a fiddler. He compiled more than four hundred fiddle pieces, now in the possession of the Museums at Stony Brook. Many of these were transcribed on manuscript, while others were copied from published popular nineteenth- century dance music. Though Mount attempted composition, nearly all the pieces in his collection are from other sources. Mount was also an avid inventor, who experimented with the design of the violin and patented his innovations to the instrument's structure. He called his novel violin the Cradle of Harmony. Mount's interest in music and special passion for the violin served as a major influence in many of his paintings.[1]

The Historical Music Background

The development of nineteenth-century music in the United States can be traced to two major traditions—the cultivated and the vernacular. Social, economic, and geographic factors also counted, defining which segments of the population were exposed to what traditions. As the century proceeded, clear lines of distinction formed even though the two traditions often existed side-by-side in a single community. Development of these traditions was both interdependent and independent, and served to shape the nation 's musical countenance.[2]

Cultivated music was elitist, approached with a disciplined understanding that stressed aesthetic values. It was art music concerned with high musical, moral, and cultural standards. The tradition was upheld by a small segment of the populace and regarded as esoteric by the rest. Its material, drawn from European concepts and models, included the genres of church music, songs, piano music, orchestral music, and opera.[3]

Unconcerned with high artistic standards or arcane idealism, vernacular music was approached within a popular context and appreciated for its utilitarian and entertainment value; it required little formal training to understand or appreciate.

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Its musical materials combined established traditions and original American concepts. Spirituals, revival and gospel songs, blackface minstrelsy, band music, and, later, ragtime were among the genres of this broadly based, popular tradition.[4]

Westward expansion widened the schism between the cultivated and vernacular traditions. As the frontier pushed west the vernacular tradition seemed to push with it, while the eastern urban centers favored the cultivated tradition because of closer ties to European centers of art music. Also, the availability of leisure time made the luxury of music possible. The new towns being established between the eastern centers and the frontier were still involved with the development of resources, directing much of their energy to everyday activity. Although some contact was maintained with eastern cultural centers, most musical activity was in the vernacular tradition. The frontier settlements, almost isolated from eastern centers, were concerned mainly with survival, with no time for leisurely activities such as music. Development of musical activities in these settlements was in its infancy.[5]

A third type of music, a folk tradition, was also developing, primarily in rural areas and with some elements of its development influenced by the vernacular tradition. Perpetuation of this tradition was based on oral or aural transmission. The origins of folk music are usually unknown, but at times may be traced to printed sources whose derivations, in turn, are difficult to find. Variation is an important element of the tradition and can actually produce a different piece. American folk music can be traced to three continental traditions—Amerindian, Euro-American, and Afro-American— of which the European is dominant, the African secondary, and the Amerindian usually isolated and fragmented. The many different genres of folk music cover a wide range, from ballads, folksongs , and spirituals to jigs and hornpipes.[6]

Although Mount was well-educated and exposed to the cultural resources of New York City through his residency there, his musical and artistic associations were from the folk tradition. His depictions of violinists were in rustic settings with references to folk elements. The violin or fiddle, an integral part of the folk tradition, at one time was the sole instrument for the jig, clog, reel, or square dance. In this context, the instrument was held against the chest or under the chin. Little bow was used, scordatura was common, and double-stops were employed, with not much played outside first position. This is the context in which Mount depicts the instrument. His association with music and the violin, based on this folk tradition, included some forms of vernacular music, a common mix in the musical milieu of Long Island.[7]

Long Island's musical environment at the beginning of the nineteenth century, like that of the entire country's, combined different traditions that varied from place to place. Music education played an important role on Long Island by informing residents of the technicalities involved, thus stimulating both individual and organized musical interests. Singing schools were established to enhance the quality of worship services, raise the level of musicianship, and furnish an outlet for social interaction. These schools, as well as the general need for music educators, provided ample opportunities for teachers. As the century proceeded,

the art of music also became associated with science, with specific principles and theories applied to its instruction. This association legitimized music because of the nineteenth-century's interest in science. Instrumental and vocal music were taught toward the middle of the century, with instruction in violin and piano also available. All these instructional opportunities contributed to the cultivation of musical understanding.[8]

Mount's large musical collection provides insight into the types of music enjoyed by certain segments of the Long Island populace. The Museums at Stony Brook contain a portion of these materials, and a large manuscript book of music transcribed by Mount is in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Weiman, of Ansonia, Connecticut. Much of the music is dance tunes such as waltzes, polkas, jigs, marches, and schottisches transcribed for the violin. There are also folk tunes, melodies from operas, and minstrel show tunes, together with several printed collections. Nelson Mathewson and Micah Hawkins composed some of the music, while variants were provided by Robert Nelson Mount, William Sidney Mount, and Mathewson. Variation, a common technique to enhance a tune, was also characteristic of New England fiddlers, with scordatura another important practice although in this collection only a few tunes provide the specific tuning.[9]

"In the Cars, on the Long Island Rail Road," the only known piece composed by Mount, is dated 4 and 5 December 1850. It belongs to a special country genre, the train piece for solo fiddle. Stylistically, it resembles the variations Mount provided for other people's tunes.[10]

Alan Buechner, professor of music at Queens College of the City of New York, has begun a preliminary index of tunes in Mount's collection. The index reveals the variety of the collection, but difficulties arise in categorizing the material and there are not always clear lines of demarcation (Buechner also holds a set of reproduced tunes transcribed by Mount). Another musician, Isaac Homan, also collected music played on Long Island. Although known as a shipbuilder, Homan played the violin for various events. His collection, though eclectic, is not as extensive as Mount's. Musicians such as Mount and Homan, called upon to perform for a variety of events, had to be familiar with current trends and able to select the type of music appropriate for a particular function. Selections might be determined by the mood of the evening, popular demand, or predetermined social class structures.[11]

The mid-nineteenth century witnessed the development of musical societies on Long Island, organized by upper-class individuals seeking erudite musical organizations. Activities included lectures, discussions, rehearsals, concert preparations, and general business procedures. For example, the Harmonic Society of Suffolk, which supported a musical style that emphasized sentimentalism, occasionally performed classical works. This and other societies were created to cultivate upper-class musical interests and offer performance opportunities for artists and amateurs.[12]

Dancing and dance schools also were important to the Island's musical culture. Despite opposition of the clergy, dancing became a widespread popular form of entertainment. While the churches focused on its "immoral" effects instead of its

cultural and social benefits, the dance masters gained social acceptance by emphasizing their power to shape the morals and manners of students. Character, rather than dancing, became the primary goal of instruction; by 1870, the Bridgehampton Social Club's Invitational Hop included quadrilles, waltzes, polkas, schottisches, lancers, mazurkas, and galops (all of Euro-American traditions).[13]

A final influence on the musical development of Long Island was that of African American musicians. The ability to contribute musically to society was considered a gift. Musicians were judged for their virtuosity, without regard to race, an unusual phenomenon in light of the contemporary perception of blacks as socially inferior. Mount's pictorial output celebrates the significant African American contribution to Long Island's musical environment.[14]

Musical Influences on Mount

William Sidney Mount was born in 1807 in the hamlet of Setauket, the fourth of five children. His father, Thomas Shepard Mount, ran a tavern in Setauket and was extremely interested in music. His death, in 1814, led to William's involvement with Micah Hawkins, his mother's brother, a New York storekeeper and painter, who performed on several instruments and composed the first successful American comic opera, *The Saw Mill: Or the Yankee Trick.* Hawkins was respected in amateur musical circles, served as president of the Euterpean Society, and was considered to be a good violinist and comic singer. He encouraged Mount and his brothers Henry, Shepard, and Robert in music and art alike.[15]

Along with his brothers, Mount learned to play the violin at an early age, perhaps guided by a slave of the Mount and Hawkins families, Anthony Hannibal Clapp. As Mount reminisced, "I have sat by Anthony when I was a child—to hear him play his Jigs and Hornpipes. He was a master in that way and acted well his part." "Black Tony" played for many dances in Setauket and was regarded as the best fiddler in the area. He died when Mount was nine years old so that the greater part of Mount's early training was probably from Micah Hawkins, whose death in 1825 left Mount with strong musical influences. Mount, who had lived with his uncle in New York City, returned to Long Island after Hawkins's death. He spent the remainder of his life between the city and the country, moving from one to the other depending on his work, health or whim.[16]

In early adulthood Mount concentrated on establishing himself as an artist, postponing serious study of the violin until his thirties, when John Godone, a professional violinist in New York, gave him a thorough understanding of advanced playing techniques. Another important musical influence was Nelson Mathewson, a dancing master and fiddler active on Long Island, who provided Mount with a number of cotillion tunes of his own composition.[17]

Mount's expressive ability as a violinist was respected by such friends as the author and painter, Charles Lanman, who observed, "Three cheers for the laughter-loving and incomparable genius of Stony Brook, whom I know to be a first-rate fisherman and a most pathetic player on the violin." Mount clearly

enjoyed the violin, and felt some of his best painting was done when he had a violin in his studio on which to practice. One of his diary entries stated that "I often ask someone to play while I am sketching for it livens the subject's face." Later in his life, Mount roamed the countryside in a portable studio of his own invention and could be heard playing the violin as he walked.[18]

The Cradle of Harmony

Mount's interest in the violin extended beyond playing. He innovated several changes in the physiognomy of the instrument that supposedly enhanced its sound. These innovations included making the back and sides of the instrument concave, eliminating the corners, narrowing the waist, and changing the design of the F-holes. Mount began working on this project in 1837 and patented it in 1852. He constantly worked on the design of the instrument, exhibited it at fairs, and sought endorsements from prominent musicians, as he noted in his diary:

> [O]n Tuesday evening April 17, 1866, Mr. Henri Appi played on my hollow back violin at the sujestion [*sic*] of Mr. Harvey Dodsworth, the leader, and the latter invited me to take seat in the orchestra at Niblo's Theatre. Mr. Appi observed to me that the violin was powerful & a good orchestra instrument. It is the first made of this style of F holes and narrow at the waist, thus: made in 1857.

Mount called his invention the Cradle of Harmony.[19]

Cradle of Harmony, 1857. Thomas Seabury, maker; Willam Sidney Mount, designer. Spruce and maple, 24½" x 8." Inscription: (back, top) No. 1/ invented by/ Wm. S. Mount. Museums at Stony Brook Collection.

Experimentation, innovation, and invention were trademarks of nineteenth-century America. In light of this attitude, Mount's interest in improving the design of the violin can be understood. As a country fiddler, he sought to produce an instrument that would project above the noise of a country dance. He also was interested in simplification of the instrument through a reduction in its number of parts. Two of these simplifications were the replacement of standard F-holes with rectangular slits which were less time consuming and easier to carve, and the "spring-beam bass" bar, which, unlike the conventional bar, contacted the top of the instrument only at the two ends and middle of the bar. He also perceived the importance of fine varnish, for which he collected recipes, many of which are scattered throughout his diaries.[20]

Mount's Cradle of Harmony went through a gradual metamorphosis, with several different instruments produced by untrained enthusiasts, four of which are extant. The first Cradle of Harmony, made in 1851 by James Ward, an amateur violin maker and carpenter, was almond-shaped, with ornamental sound-holes, added later (the original sound-holes were rectangular slits). The instrument is in the Melville Collection of the Museums at Stony Brook. Mount commissioned Ward to make a second instrument in accordance with the designs in the patent papers. This violin, completed in 1852 and slightly different from the first, is in the Musical Instrument Collection of the Smithsonian Institution. Other instruments based on Mount's design were produced by Hugh Brady, a piano-factory worker, and Thomas Shepard Seabury, a carriage-factory worker and a nephew of Mount's. Brady's and all except one of Seabury's instruments have disappeared.[21]

James A. Whitehorne, a painter and member of the National Academy of Design, made three violins, the first without and the second with Mount's assistance. The third instrument, produced in 1854, is particularly interesting because of its departure from the original design. Its body is guitar-shaped and its F-holes are similar to conventional ones. This novel shape was not introduced by Whitehorne. A year earlier, in a letter to his friend, Charles Lanman, Mount mentioned making a hollow-backed violin with concave sides Actually, an extant guitar-shaped violin dated 1681/1718 has been attributed to Antonio Stradivari.[22]

The Cradle of Harmony reached final form in 1857, when Thomas Seabury made a violin which became and remained William's instrument until his death. This instrument, which is in the Melville Collection, also departs from the patent model. Like Whitehorne's, it is guitar-shaped with a narrow waist and concave back, but the sound-holes are reversed F-holes, which Mount believed were more aesthetically pleasing. The Seabury violin, restored to playing condition in 1975, has both positive and negative elements. In general, the lower register is nasal and sweet while the higher is bright and clear. The strings are not evenly balanced, with the G string a little hollow and the E string weak. Legato passages with frequent string crossings are difficult to execute with regard to tonal continuity. Also, strong bow pressure causes unsatisfactory tonal results. Using more bow with less pressure produces a pleasant sound, but dynamic range is restricted to mezzo forte.[23]

Pieces from Mount's musical collection are on a Folkway record entitled

"'Cradle of Harmony: William Sidney Mount's Violin and Fiddle Music, played by Gilbert Ross, violinist, on Mount's own violin, with notes by Alfred Frankenstein." Based on this recording, I feel the quality of sound produced by the instrument is closer to that of a viola, seeming to favor the viola's deeper timbres, but in the range of the violin. In my opinion, Mount produced an effect that was opposite to the one he intended. Although the sound is pleasant, the instrument seems to have a chamber character rather than a robust sound.

Because Mount's exposure to violins was of limited scope, he was probably unaware of the superior tonal qualities of violins by the Old Masters. Most of his contact with instruments was with those played by fiddlers on Long Island, many of which were likely to be of substandard quality. This perspective explains why he felt his innovations were improvements on the instrument's design.[24]

Mount's Paintings

Along with fiddling, dancing played an important part in the lives of Mount and his brothers, one of whom, Robert, was a dancing teacher who also played the violin. The two corresponded extensively and were constantly exchanging fiddle tunes.[25] The subjects of dance, music, and the violin interested Mount, as evidenced by the number of works in which he depicted them. Among these paintings are: *Rustic Dance After a Sleigh Ride*, 1830; *Dancing on the Barn Floor*, 1831; *After Dinner*, 1834; *Dance of the Haymakers*, 1845; *The Power of Music*, 1847; *Just in Tune*, 1849; *Right and Left*, 1850; and *Catching the Tune*, 1866. Each of these deals with the subjects of dance, music, and the violin, in different ways. *Rustic Dance After a Sleigh Ride, Dancing on the Barn Floor* and *Dance of the Haymakers* present a country fiddler playing while several figures dance. *After Dinner* and *The Power of Music* also depict a fiddler playing, but the other figures in the composition only listen. *Just in Tune* and *Right and Left* are portraits of fiddlers, and *Catching the Tune* shows a fiddler seated, with his violin resting on his leg and several figures positioned around him.

Perhaps Mount had Anthony Clapp in mind when he painted *Rustic Dance After a Sleigh Ride*, depicting a country dance with an African American fiddler in a prominent space on the left. Although not the central emphasis, the fiddler commands a prominent role: Mount does not treat him as a prop, as earlier works may have done, but as an individual present to perform a specific function. The depiction of this man as a fiddler, rather than the conventional portrayal as servant or slave was an idea first presented by Mount, whose depictions of African American men portrayed a dignity and individualism not used in paintings before his. The fiddler's prominent role in the painting is repeated in Mount's other two works depicting dance, *Dancing on the Barn Floor* and *Dance of the Haymakers*, in which the fiddler controls the action through his music. Although each title incorporates the word *dance*, two of the works—*Rustic Dance After a Sleigh Ride* and *Dancing on the Barn Floor*—present the fiddler as the figure closest to the viewer, aa if to emphasize the importance of music and the violin.[26]

As shown by the way the fiddlers hold their instruments, all three works take an informal approach to the violin and suggest a folk context. For example, each

fiddler rests the violin on his chest and lets it slope toward the floor, his left elbow rests against his body and helps to support the instrument, and he grips the bow in a lax manner. Moreover, Mount's depictions of the fiddlers determine the mood of each composition. *The Rustic Dance After a Sleigh Ride* represents the most formal approach to dance. Although depicted as happy, Mount's fiddler reinforces a formal approach through his fancy dress and controlled mannerisms. *Dancing on the Barn Floor* portrays a demure fiddler who reflects the character of the two figures for whom he plays. Although still rather controlled, the dance is not as formal as in *Rustic Dance After a Sleigh Ride*, in which the fiddler turns away from the dancing figures for whom he plays, as if to complement their depicted coyness, his coquettish grin reinforcing the playfulness of the scene. The fiddler in *Dance of the Haymakers* possesses an exuberance and energy reflected in the dancing figures. His jovial expression, especially his smile, enhances the liveliness of the dance for which he is playing. This work shows greater abandon and energy in comparison to the other two works, largely because of the excitement generated by the fiddler. In all these works, Mount's fiddlers serve as indicators of mood.

In *After Dinner* and *The Power of Music* the role of music differs from that of the three compositions depicting dance. Mount reflects on the subtle and sublime elements of music in these works, which probably were allegories of the importance and beauty of music. *After Dinner* presents two figures reflecting on the music played by a central figure, a fiddler. The man on the left, dressed in formal attire, peers intently at the fiddler as if to determine the essence of his music. In contrast, the less-formally dressed figure on the right stares dreamily into the distance, as if music can be an impetus for excursions into another state of mind. The central figure, the fiddler, is closer to the picture plane than either of his companions. His formal attire and concentrated expression underscore the serious nature of the music he is performing,

The Power of Music (sometimes called *Music Hath Charms*), an allegory of the importance of music, is Mount's best-known composition because of its wide circulation through reproductions. The fiddler, although not as prominent as in *After Dinner*, controls the action (he is believed to be John Henry Mount, a nephew of William's). Each of the three figures listening seems to contemplate the music, perhaps to illustrate Mount's belief in music as a universal language, capable of evoking similar emotions in all. An African American figure outside the barn door is not part of the circle around the fiddler, perhaps symbolizing the inferior social position of African Americans at this time. However, his enjoyment and understanding of the music matches that of his white companions, just as his prominent position and humanistic qualities epitomize the tone of the work. However, the controlling element is the fiddler. His music is the raison d'être of the work, and he is the device through which the music is manifest. A unifying element in each of the works discussed thus far is the fiddler's prominence as a control for the action within the composition.[27]

Mount's portraits of exuberant fiddlers, *Just in Tune* and *Right and Left*, are among four of his studies of single figures with instruments, reproduced in Paris and published by Goupil, Vibert and Company at the suggestion of William

Schaus, an agent for the print-publishing house. The other two works are portraits of African American men entitled *The Banjo Player* and *The Bones Player. Just in Tune* depicts a handsome man tuning his violin and intently listening for the proper pitch. It has been suggested that the subject was Mount's brother Robert: the energetic force of this work suggests an affinity between artist and sitter, and may also reflect the excitement Mount felt for the violin, his first love after painting. *Right and Left* shows a comely African American fiddler calling a dance. The figures in all these paintings exude a warmth and liveliness not apparent in other works by Mount, whose characters are sometimes neutral in their depictions, forming a psychological distance between themselves and their creator.[28]

Besides portraying a handsome character radiating life, *Right and Left* is interesting for its unusual subject matter. The title relates to the fiddler's holding the bow in his left hand while fingering the instrument with his right, the opposite of the conventional way. When the portrait was lithographed in Paris, the image was reversed so that the fiddler appears to be right-handed. Mount realized the error and wrote: "Right and Left--Painted for the house of Goupil & Co. It has been engraved in Paris. (The Picture represents a left-handed fiddler and should have been so represented in the engraving.)"[29]

A further faux pas of the lithographer is the fiddler's bow with the tip upside down: this would have been a strange bow because the top was made of wood and the bottom of horse hair. This portrait of an enthusiastic musician who enjoyed his art involved the European perception of African Americans as exotic. Consequently, Mount may have overly beautified this portrait to enhance its popularity in Europe.[30]

The idea for *Catching the Tune* was initiated in a letter from Mount's brother Robert: "I saw recently a scene which I think will make a good picture. It was two musical characters. One was whistling a tune and the other was sitting in a listening attitude with violin in hand, ready to commence playing when his 'croney' [*sic*] had finished. The subject no doubt is a hacknied [*sic*] one, but I do not believe anyone has handled it as you can." Although the letter was written in 1840, Mount did not execute the work until 1866. The most important aspect of this painting, which emphasizes a fiddler spatially closest to the viewer, is that the violin. represented is one of Mount's own invention, the Cradle of Harmony. Mount depicts the violin with its front to the viewer, clearly showing its inverted F-holes and rounded corners. Although the figures in the picture seem to focus on the fiddler, their expressions are blank and devoid of life. The emphasis is on the prominent fiddler and his innovative instrument that dominates the work.[30]

A final proof of the influence of music and the violin on Mount is his journals. Scattered throughout are lists of possible subjects, including: "A negro blowing into the head of his violin to stay the pegs...A black fiddling with great expression...A group of three figures, one holding a light, the 2nd a music book, the 3rd playing upon the violin from the book before him."[31]

In conclusion, many of the genre paintings of William Sidney Mount employ the themes of music and the violin, his passion for the instrument demonstrated time and again in his numerous portraits of fiddlers His intense interest in these

subjects profoundly influenced his painting, often through the depiction of dance and the choice of music as the controlling element of a composition. Mount's qualities as a musician and fiddler were integral to his artistic output.

NOTES

1. Alfred Frankenstein, William Sidney Mount (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1975), 79; Alan Buechner, telephone conversation with author, 7 April 1990. The terms violin and fiddle refer to the same instrument: violin, used for music of the cultivated or vernacular traditions, refers to a precise manner of holding and playing the instrument; fiddle, sometimes a colloquial or slang term, refers to the less formal folk tradition engaged in by Mount.

2. Hugh Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction*, 2d ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 52.

3. Ibid., 52, 61.

4. Ibid., 61, 52.

5. Ibid., 96.

6. Ibid., 53, 51-52; Charles Seeger, "United States of America, II, 3: Folk Music, British-American," in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980) 19:437, 438-44

7. Seeger, 444; Buechner, telephone conversation with author, 7 April, 1990; scordatura is the tuning of the violin in other than the usual way to facilitate the playing of certain compositions.

8. M. Hunt Hessler, "Rusticity and Refinement," in *Catching the Tune*, ed. Janice Gray Armstrong (Stony Brook: The Museums at Stony Brook, 1984), 40-42.

9. Frankenstein, 80; Buechner, telephone conversation, 7 April, 1990.

10. Frankenstein, 80.

11. Hessler, 43.

12. Ibid., 43-44.

13. Ibid., 45, 46.

14. Ibid., 48.

15. Alan C. Buechner, "William Sidney Mount's 'Cradle of Harmony,' a Unique 19th-Century American Violin," *Journal of the Violin Society of America* 3 (Spring 1977): 35: *The Mount Brothers: An Exhibition* (Stony Brook: Museums at Stony Brook,: 1947), 12; Buechner, "Cradle of Harmony," 35; the Euterpen Society was an oganization devoted to music and poetry, named after Euterpe, the Muse of music and lyric poetry.

16. Karen M. Adams, "The Black Image in the Paintings of William Sidney Mount," *American Art Journal* 8 (November 1975): 44; Buechner, "Cradle of Harmony," 38; Martha V. Pike, "Catching the Tune," in *Catching the Tune*,11.

17. Buechner, "Cradle of Harmony," 38.

18. Charles Lanham, *Letters from a Landscape Painter*, quoted in *The Mount Brothers: An Exhibition*, 40; Catherine Hoover, "The Influence of David \Wilkie's Prints on the Genre Paintings of William Sidney Mount," *American Art Journal* 13 (Summer 1981): 29; Alfred Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America: William Sidney Mount* (Washington, DC: H. K. Press, 1968), 8. James W. Lane, "William S. Mount, The Long Islander," *Art Quarterly* 4 (Spring 1941):141.

19. Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America*, 62.

20. Hoover, 29; Buechner, "Cradle of Harmony," 44-49.

21. Buechner, "Cradle of Harmony," 50, 53, 55.

22. Ibid., 55-58.

23. Ibid., 60-63, 66.

24. Ibid, 66.

25. Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America*, 15.

26. Adams, 43; Donald D. Keyes, "The Sources for William Sidney Mount's Earliest Genre Paintings," *Art Quarterly* 32 (Autumn 1969): 267; Alfred Frankenstein, "William Sidney Mount and the Act of Painting,"*American Art Journal* 1 (Spring 1969): 41.

27. Jacqueline Overton, "William Mount: Long Island Genre Artist," *Antiques* 41 (January 1942), 46. Brooklyn Museum, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Drawings and Paintings by William Sidney Mount* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum Press, 1942), 23; Adams, 49.

28. Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America*, 46; Adams, 53-54; "In the Museums," 158; Abraham A. Davidson, "William S. Mount: The Mysterious Stranger," *Art News* 68 (March 1969): 60.

29. Bartlet Cowdrey, "Prints After Lost Paintings by Mount," *Antiques* 41 (April 1942), 245; Bartlet Cowdrey and Hermann Warner Williams Jr., *William Sidney Mount* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1944), 24.

30. Adams, 53.

31. Frankenstein, *Painter of Rural America*, 62; Davidson, 60.

32. Frankenstein," Mount and the Act of Painting," 39.

THE QUEST for a SUFFOLK COUNTY LEGISLATURE

By Lee E. Koppelman

Local government's representation at the town and county level was controlled by the towns for more than three centuries—from the establishment of colonial towns until the 1960s. Reflective of the strong home-rule philosophy of its citizens that the best government is the one closest to the inhabitants, upward-directed powers were strongly resisted. Although "Dillon's Rule" observed that municipalities were "merely creatures of the state," New York State enhanced the maximization of home-rule powers with enabling legislation which, in effect, transferred state control to the localities on many issues including land-use functions, transportation, welfare, education, and police.[1]

The historic commitment of Americans to local government power was commented on by Alexis de Tocqueville, more than a century and one-half ago: "I heard citizens attribute the power and the prosperity of their country to a multitude of reasons, but they all placed the advantages of local institutions in the foremost rank."[2]

For three hundred years the population of Suffolk grew slowly, reaching approximately one hundred thousand persons by the beginning of World War II, mainly concentrated in hamlets separated by vast tracts of farms, pine barrens, and undeveloped land. The bucolic tenor was reflected in the conservative, rurally focused approach to government. The supervisor of each of the ten towns wore two hats, one that of chief executive of his particular town, the other that of a member of the county board of supervisors. In the latter capacity, the supervisors assumed both the executive and legislative functions of county government. Because the major responsibilities of county government included health, highways, sheriff, courts, and the county clerk's office—all of which were almost self-operating—the time requirement imposed on the board was relatively insignificant.

The post World War II era, with the end of the Great Depression, the return of millions of veterans, the formation of child-bearing families, the creation of federal mortgage assistance (Federal Housing Administration and Veteran's Administration), the expansion of highway networks, and the desire to leave the crowded cities were major factors in generating the explosive growth of Suburbia, U.S.A.

This phenomenon was most apparent on Long Island. For fifteen years

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after the war, Nassau was the fastest-growing county in the United States, but, when the population totals from the 1960 Census were published, it was clear that with an increase from 256,000 persons in 1950 to 667,000 in 1960—a 141-percent growth—Suffolk County had inherited the dubious distinction of being the fastest growing county in the nation. Problems and needs of an urbanizing county could no longer be managed by a part-time board, particularly when its members were concerned more with local issues than with inter-town services for transportation, police, environmental protection, planning, and professional public administration.

A new dimension was created by the rapid growth, most of which occurred in the four western towns of Huntington, Babylon, Islip, and Smithtown. The new pattern of suburbanization transformed the generally rural milieu of the county to one of a developing west and a rural east, with all the attendant differences in the needs and desires of such diverse communities.

Political transformations also arose. The predominance of Republican voters now was challenged, or at least so perceived, by an influx of former residents of New York City who were assumed to be Tammany Democrats.

Administrative needs for a modern county's response to its explosive growth led to the creation of a charter form of government in 1958, with an executive branch consisting of a full-time county executive, thereby limiting the board of supervisors to a legislative role. The dynamic leadership of the first county executive, H. Lee Dennison, exposed the frailties and deficiencies inherent in a part-time and town-oriented board. For example, the board operated under an unpublished "gentleman's agreement" which, in effect, gave each supervisor a veto of any proposed county action deemed injurious to that supervisor's town.

In addition, there was an increasing philosophical schism between supervisors of rural towns, concerned with the maintenance of status quo policies, and those from suburban towns, who wanted more county initiatives to deal with the problems of growth. Another new issue concerned the representational inequity inherent in the board of supervisors's structure. Each of the ten towns had an equal vote on the board, so that the supervisor of Shelter Island, which had fewer than two thousand persons, had parity with the supervisors of western towns with populations of more than one hundred thousand persons.

The battle for reform was initiated in 1962, when Councilmen Quentin Sammis, of Huntington, and Icilio Bianchi Jr., of Bellport, filed suit in federal court challenging the legitimacy of such unequal representation. The suit was in response to the historic *Baker v. Carr* (1962) decision, wherein the U.S. Supreme Court established the "one person, one vote" principle. That case involved the state of Tennessee's lack of reapportionment for election to its state senate and house of representatives since 1901, although the geographic population concentration had shifted markedly among their counties. The plaintiffs argued that they were denied the equal protection of the laws as provided in the Fourteenth Amendment "by virtue of the debasement of their votes." Mayor Ben West, of Nashville, aptly described the inequity of

apportionment to a congressional sub-committee in 1961: "In Tennessee the pigs and cows in rural Moore County are better represented in the Legislature than the people of my City of Nashville." The three-member district court that heard the case had claimed lack of jurisdiction, but the Supreme Court reversed that decision.[3]

Jurisdictional conflict over reapportionment did not originate with the Tennessee case—nor was the issue a limited one. Such inequities were extant in many states in spite of the United States Constitution, or the many state constitutions that contained apportionment requirements. However, when the nation was more rural and agricultural, with population more diffused and government less intrusive, the issue of inequitable representation was not heavily pressed. The rapid post-World War II urbanization exacerbated the frustration of urban political forces, which were increasingly at the mercy of rurally dominated legislatures.

This situation was clearly evident in Suffolk County. As long as the population was limited, largely rural and primarily agriculturally based, and county government was neither aggressive nor inclined to support new expenditures, there was little initiative or momentum to change the form of supervisory control. The imbalance in representation was understood but complacently ignored. However, rapid growth and suburbanization of the western towns, coupled with the exponential growth of county-wide programs, budgets, and political rivalries brought the reapportionment question to center stage in the 1960s.

An additional factor was purely political. The almost unbroken reign of Republican officials was threatened by the election of Democratic supervisors in several of the western towns. Thus, the stage was set for a judicial challenge to the status quo.

One impediment remained. *Baker v. Carr*, which dealt with the constitutionality of representation in the state legislature, did not take up or resolve the application of the one man, one vote principle to lesser units of government. Therefore, the 1962 Suffolk suit had to be adjudicated as a separate case not necessarily tied to *Baker v. Carr*.

Reapportionment Proposals

Integrally tied to the fundamental quest for equitable apportionment and representation was the more controversial matter of what form the reapportionment should take. Each supervisor had strong vested interests in the final outcome. The prime concern was power. A more personal and mundane care was that the supplemental salary each supervisor was paid for his county duties would be lost were he no longer to serve at that level.

For most citizens, debate over reapportionment was at best an abstraction throughout the seven-year genesis of the Suffolk County legislature. The major discussants and participants were the elected supervisors and the leaders of the four political parties. Although most political players recognized the

inevitability of reapportionment, the prime concern was not the enhancement of the democratic mythos enunciated in the Fourteenth Amendment, but the maximization of partisan self-interest to be determined by the form and powers of the new body.

A profusion of apportionment schemes flowed, with a variety of permutations on the same theme, albeit with nuances reflecting the bias of each proponent that seemed to prove the adage, "*Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*" The first of twenty-five proposals was advanced on 23 July 1962, by Robert J. Flynn, the Democratic supervisor of Huntington, who recommended a modification of Nassau's weighted vote system. He introduced Local Law No. 3-1962, which called for amendments of Sections 203 and 206 of the Suffolk County Charter for the creation of a weighted vote for each supervisor based on the 1960 Census.[4] His proposal advocated one vote for every five thousand residents, except for the town of Shelter Island which would be given one vote even though it had only some two thousand residents. He also offered Resolution 342-1962, calling for a public hearing on the adoption of Local Law 3-1962, which was slated to take effect on 1 January 1963. His proposals were not even seconded, an unsurprising outcome considering that the eight-member Republican majority was opposed to altering the existing system. The other Democratic supervisor, William J. Leonard, of Riverhead, did not want his vote diminished by a weighted vote system.

The board avoided reapportionment until 1965, when a three-judge federal panel imposed a weighted vote which lasted until 1967. The court's decision forced the board to take notice, and a flurry of alternative proposals were introduced in 1965 and 1966. The first action in response to the imposed weighted vote order occurred on 8 March 1965 in the form of Resolution No. 116-1965, which authorized the county attorney to pursue an appeal to the United States Supreme Court. At the same meeting, by a similar nine-to-zero vote (Supervisor Flynn was absent), the board approved Resolution No. 138-1965, which requested enabling state legislation for Suffolk County to establish a bicameral legislature.[5] This action tacitly acknowledged both that the board of supervisors was unconstitutional in its historic form, and that the weighted system was totally unacceptable to the smaller towns. At least, a bicameral legislature composed of one segment based on equal population districts, and a second segment representing the town supervisors, would be slightly more acceptable.

On 10 May, the board adopted Resolution No. 264-1965, authorizing the creation of a twenty-five member, nonpartisan, reapportionment committee to be appointed by the presiding officer, Evans K. Griffing, of Shelter Island.[6] The vote was nine to one, along straight party lines, with the sole dissent cast by Flynn. Flynn lost a bid to table the resolution, in essence arguing that putting all appointments under control of the supervisor from the smallest town, who also opposed the one person-one vote principle, was antithetical to "non-partisanship." Flynn then tried to amend the resolution to give the Democratic county executive, H. Lee Dennison, the right to appoint twelve

members, allow the presiding officer to appoint twelve, and let the entire board select the twenty-fifth member who then would serve as chair. Flynn again received no second. The prime mission of the committee was to advise the board on the merits of the several proposals that were surfacing.

Flynn then introduced Resolution No. 272-1965 to create a weighted-vote board consisting of twenty members[7] Once again, he did not receive a second. However, he was achieving a political objective by exposing the reticence of the board to recognize the inequalities inherent in its existing constituency The intense rivalry between eastern and western towns was clearly and bitterly enunciated in the debate over the resolution. Supervisor Lester Albertson, of Southold, argued that inmates in the state institutions in Islip, Babylon, and Smithtown would have more representation than the citizens in his town under any weighted vote scheme.

Although weighted voting was in place, the District Court for the Eastern District of New York viewed it as an interim solution and, on 15 June 1966, directed Suffolk County to come up with a one person, one vote apportionment plan .The county responded, on 23 June, with two new resolutions. Resolution No. 456-1966, adopted by the weighted vote of 134 to zero, proposed retention of the board of supervisors with one additional supervisor to be elected from each of the six assembly districts, for a total of sixteen members. By the same vote, the board adopted Resolution No. 459-1966, which offered five other scenarios for submission to the district court, in effect informing the court that the county could not reach consensus and would abide by the plan the court preferred.[8]

Supervisor Hanse, of Babylon, proposed retention of the board with a weighted vote. This plan, similar to the Nassau County system, was the one imposed on Suffolk in 1965. Supervisor Klein, of Smithtown, proposed a comparable scheme, with a second supervisor to be elected by towns whose populations exceeded 100,000, and a third for towns with more than 200,000. The remaining three plans were variations, either in the base vote per population, or in additional supervisors based on every 50,000-increase in population.

Further evidence of the schism among the board members was the adoption of an additional resolution, on the same day, by a split vote of seventy-one to sixty-three. The five eastern supervisors, joined by Brookhaven and Islip against the populous towns of Huntington, Babylon, and Smithtown, directed the county attorney to submit a sixth plan to the court, which would create a bicameral system with an upper house comprised of the ten town supervisors and a lower house composed of members elected on the basis of population [9]

At the 13 November 1967 meeting, two new charter amendments were proposed. The first called for creation of a ten-member board which prohibited more than one member per town, and allowed town supervisors to be candidates. The second provided for the abolishment of the existing board, in favor of the creation of a ten-member county legislature based on districts of equal population rather than town boundaries. One month later, at the 28

December meeting, Supervisor Vojvoda, of Riverhead, successfully introduced his version, Resolution No. 747-1967, which would have created a fifteen-member board elected county-wide, with one member from each town and five at-large members elected without any residency requirement.[10]

County Executive Dennison vetoed Vojvoda's resolution on 11 January 1968, on the grounds that "the County legislative body be full-time for equal numbers of people...Anything less is no more than an evasion of the issue."[11]

This plethora of schemes, none of which was consummated, was inspired by the federal court's directive that the board replace the weighted system then in place. The very fact that there were as many proposals as supervisors explains, in part, why consensus was impossible While it was not overtly stated, an observer reasonably could conclude that while differences of opinion existed, the underlying strategy was deliberately not to reach a solution—thereby maintaining the status quo of a board of the ten town supervisors..In any event, the United States Supreme Court finally adjudicated the several appeals and declared the court-directed weighted system null and void. The Supreme Court further directed the county to come up with a solution, posthaste.

Six more alternatives were advanced in 1968. By this time, the constituency of the board had once again shifted, and there were now three Democratic supervisors. Supervisor Jerome A. Ambro, of Huntington, introduced a local law on 26 February, which was voted on as Resolution No. 148-1968 at the 11 March meeting. Ambro had proposed one more variant of the weighted vote, with one vote per 100,000 population and the promise that no town could amass more than 50 percent of the total vote. The resolution was defeated, six to four, with the four western towns in favor and the six eastern towns opposed. [12]

At the following meeting, on 18 March, Supervisor Harry Kangheiser (D), of Islip, introduced his concept of a twenty-member board of supervisors elected from equally populated districts. This was followed on 22 April by Babylon Supervisor Stabile's proposal, supported by the Conservative Party, for a county legislature of nine members, one each from the six assembly districts and three elected at-large, none of whom could simultaneously hold other offices.[13]

The fray was now joined by the county executive, who supported the eight-member program advocated by the author (then serving as Suffolk County Planning Director), and close to Supervisor Stabile's. Six members would be elected from districts whose boundaries corresponded to those of the six assembly districts, with an additional two members at-large—one of whom would have to be from the eastern five towns.

A major factor underlying the various redistricting proposals was the valiant fight of the eastern towns to retain as much participatory control as possible. At the minimum, they wanted at least one county legislator for each North and South Fork town (Southold, Shelter Island, and Riverhead, and East Hampton and Southampton).

On 6 April, in response to the Conservative Party's initiative, Edwin "

Buzz" Schwenck, the Suffolk County Republican leader, released his recommendation for an eighteen-member legislature, with three representatives elected from each of the six assembly districts. Schwenck's proposal was countered by the Democratic Party's scheme, advanced on 18 May, which suggested a twenty-member legislature. The board's Republican majority endorsed the Schwenck plan on 20 May.

By this time, the issue of reapportionment was so contentious, confused, cantankerous, and counter-productive that the board of supervisors again resorted to a time-honored maneuver—when in doubt, appoint a committee. At the 10 June meeting, by a vote of eight to zero, the board enacted Resolution No. 414-1968 to create a committee to study the sundry schemes and formulate a set of recommendations.[14] A sign of commitment was the inclusion of a $10,000 appropriation to fund the work of the committee.

The creation of the committee did not stop the introduction of additional proposals by members of the board. Supervisor Griffing, still fighting a rear-guard action, introduced a local law at the 29 July meeting that would enable supervisors to hold a town and county office at the same time. At the same meeting, Supervisor Klein introduced his version of an eighteen-member legislature from equal population districts.[15] Both propsals were defeated.

Supervisor Ambro finally won a victory at the 12 August meeting, when his Resolution No. 573-1968, that called for a mandatory referendum on an eighteen-member legislature, passed unanimously. By this time, the members of the board realized that the 1967 Resolution for a fifteen-member body, enacted the previous December, was in direct conflict with the current actions. The Vojvoda initiative was therefore repealed.[16]

Resolution 555-1968, allowing supervisors to run, passed by a vote of 6-2-2 on 20 August, only to be vetoed at once by County Executive Dennison. His message read, in part: "The proposed Charter Law is clearly a purely political manipulation to evade the mandated principle of representation for equal numbers of people on the County Legislative body." In response, the board convened a special meeting, on 6 September, at which it unanimously adopted Resolution No. 586-1968, overriding Dennison's veto and readopting Griffing's Resolution.[17]

One year later, at the 11 August meeting, the board proposed two amendments to the Suffolk County Charter. The first called for an eighteen-member, part-time, county legislature, to replace the board of supervisors on 1 January 1970; the second proposed overturning the boards' earlier actions, and prohibited seated village mayors and town supervisors from serving in this legislature.[18] Thus, the die was cast.

Finally, on 25 August 25th, Resolution No.520-1969, which incorporated the sense of the two proposed charter amendments, was unanimously enacted. The ultimate arbitration of the lengthy quest now was left to voters in the November 1969 election, to select the eighteen legislators who would assume office on 1 January 1970.[19]

This convoluted tale may not only strike the reader as an example of

governmental incompetence and sophistry, but also inspire more graphic and humiliating criticism. Yet two factors have to be taken into consideration. There are few political activities that generate more heat and "battles to the death" than attempts at reapportionment. Platforms, political philosophy, and ethical issues may often seem non-negotiable, but none strikes closer to the core of political interest than party advantage determined by reapportionment.

A second factor that contributed to the seven-year conflict was the role played by the courts. If a unified, single directive had come forth from the United States Supreme Court in response to the 1962 suit, a portion of the board's protracted actions need not to have been taken. However, the issues of venue, standing, and time required for judicial decisions, which in turn are subject to appeals, indeed prove the adage that the "wheels of justice grind slowly." In fact, in the matter of Suffolk County reapportionment, errors on the part of the federal courts added to the confusion—including the reticence of the courts to design the solution. Thus, a capsulated review of the juridical history is useful in rendering a more comprehensive recital of the creation of the Suffolk County legislature.

Litigation History

The original suit, filed in federal district court in 1962, was responded to three years later, on 1 February 1965, by the District Court for the Eastern District of New York.[20] The court voided Section 203 of the Suffolk County Charter, which gave each town supervisor one equal vote when serving on the Suffolk County board of supervisors. In effect, the board was out of business.[21]

Therefore, it was no surprise that the board's response was immediate. A majority vote directed the county attorney to file an appeal directly to the United States Supreme Court.[22] Abandonment of the venerable, if not venerated, one-town-one-vote board was not going to occur by voluntary compliance. Of course, the courts could be just as obstinate—particularly when their rulings were challenged.

A three-member federal judicial panel, appointed to referee the debate, quickly imposed a weighted vote system, assigning to each town supervisor a number of votes proportional to that town's population.[23] This was an interim effort to render the board more in harmony with equitable apportionment. The western towns were happy with the decision, but the dismay of the eastern towns prompted those supervisors to appeal the panel's action to the U. S. Supreme Court. The rule concerning three-member panels is that any appeal from their action automatically goes to the Supreme Court, obviating any need to follow a chain of command.

Two years later, on 22 May 1967, the Supreme Court upheld the appeal on purely technical grounds. It ruled that the panel was improperly constituted, in that the suit should have been brought before the U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals, in Manhattan.[24] This decision was based on the panel's jurisdiction's applying only when a state law was challenged. Since Suffolk

County's apportionment was a local law issue, the proper venue was the circuit court, not the district court.

The immediate result was the return of one vote per supervisor on the county board, after two years of weighted voting. However, it was clear to all the participants that the reprieve would be of short duration. The litigants refiled the case with the proper court.

A further wrinkle developed when Justice Bruchhausen, who served earlier on the three-judge panel which ruled in favor of weighted voting, reversed himself in his capacity with the circuit court, and ruled that *Baker v. Carr* was not applicable at local governmental levels.[25] An attorney, Richard Cahn, immediately filed an appeal from the judge's ruling on behalf of the western towns, arguing that Bruchhausen had no discretion in changing his vote and the issue had to be decided by the United States Court of Appeals.

This was immediately followed by a suit filed with the New York State Supreme Court on Wednesday, 2 September 1967, by Jerome Ambro, the former supervisor of Huntington now running to regain the position; Thomas J. Casey, a candidate for the Huntington town council; and Ambro's opponent, Quentin Sammis, the incumbent supervisor of Huntington and one of the original complainants in 1962. On 22 September 1967, the United States Solicitor General supported Cahn's appeal by calling for direct review by the U.S. Supreme Court, thus bypassing the Court of Appeals. If successful, that action would have shortened the review process by at least one year. Incidentally, the solicitor general was Thurgood Marshall, who shortly became a Supreme Court justice. His recommendation was not followed.

The supervisors of the eastern towns filed a third suit in response to Ambro's. Their major contention was that Judge Maria N. Paten, who was assigned to the case, should be prohibited from rendering a decision on the grounds that he was not an impartial participant because of his earlier support for the one man, one vote issue when he served in the New York State Constitutional Convention. The action taken by the eastern supervisors was probably motivated more by politics than constitutional principle. In the fall election of 1967, three of Suffolk's most populous towns, Babylon, Islip, and Huntington, had elected Democratic supervisors. Under a weighted vote, control of the county could swing from the Republicans to the Democrats.

The state suits became moot when the U.S. Court of Appeals, on 6 April 1968, ordered Suffolk County to create a plan of reapportionment conforming with *Baker v. Carr*.

After the end of the six-year war over reapportionment—the most protracted, heated, and controversial issue in the history of the Suffolk board of supervisors—the change from board to legislature occurred quickly. In the November 1968 election, the voters of Suffolk approved a reapportionment plan that called for the dissolution of the board of supervisors by 31 December 1969, to be replaced by an eighteen-member legislature elected from districts containing substantially equal numbers of voters.

A notable postscript to this presentation is that—despite the precedents

established in the court rulings—Nassau County, Suffolk's partner in the Long Island region, managed to maintain its weighted-vote-form of board of supervisors for twenty-six years beyond the creation of the Suffolk County legislature, until 1995. In response to the election of 6 November 1995, a nineteen-member Nassau County legislature, patterned after Suffolk's, replaced the board of supervisors on 1 January 1996.

NOTES

1. John F. Dillon, *Commentaries on the Law of Municipal Corporations*, 5th ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1911, vol. 1; this rule is based on the decision written by Judge Dillon of the Iowa Supreme Court in *City of Clinton v. Cedar Rapids and Missouri River Railroad Company*, 24 Iowa 455 (1868).

2. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835; reprint, Phillips Bradley, ed., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948) 1:96.

3. *Bianchi v. Griffing*, 217 F. Supp. 166 (E. D. N. Y. 1963); *Baker v. Carr*, 369 U.S. 186 (1962); W. Brooke Grieves. *American Intergovernmental Relations* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964), 145.

4. *Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors of Suffolk County*, 1962, 443-45.

5. *Proceedings*, 1965, 205-6, 231-32.

6 Ibid., 395-96.

7. Ibid., 403-8

8 Proceedings, 1966, 596-97, 599-601.

9. Ibid., 604-5.

10. *Proceedings*, 1967, 869-75, 1073-75.

11. Ibid., 1075-76.

12. *Proceedings*, 1968, 196-97.

13. Ibid., 269-72; 378-80.

14. Ibid., 597-98.

15. Ibid., 743-68.

16. Ibid., 773-87.

17. Ibid., 808-9, 846-47.

18. *Proceedings*, 1969, 693-99, 622-23.

19. Ibid., 651-61.

20. In *Bianchi v. Griffing*, 217 F. Supp 166 (E.D.N.Y. 1963), the plaintiff's demand for relief called for three actions:

1. To declare void and invalid, under the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment, that part of Section 203 of the Suffolk County Charter, enacted by the state legislature in 1958 as Chapter 278 of the laws of that year, that provided that each supervisor have one vote as a member of the Suffolk board of supervisors.

2. To enjoin the defendants from acting as the board of supervisors unless and until a change in their voting strength was made.

3. To convene a three-judge court to hear and determine the case.

The defendants moved to dismiss the complaint on the grounds that no substantial federal question was raised. On 8 April 1963, District Judge Bruchhausen denied without prejudice defendant's motion to dismiss plaintiff's cause of action before a three-judge court holding that the right asserted by plaintiffs is within the scope of judicial protection under the Fourteenth Amendment.

21. *Bianchi v. Griffing*, 238 F. Supp 997 (E.D.N.Y. 1965). A three-judge court was convened and a hearing held. Defendant's motion to dismiss was renewed;on 2 February 1965,defendant's motion to dismiss the complaint was denied, as was the plaintiff's application for an injunction.

.22. *Bianchi v. Griffing*, 382 U.S. 15, 86 S. Ct. 52, 15 L.Ed 2d 11 (1965). On 11 October 1965, on appeal to the United States Supreme Court, a motion to dismiss was granted, and the appeal dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

23. *Bianchi v. Griffing*, 256 F. Supp. 617 (E.D.N.Y. 1966). Since no action was taken by the supervisors to provide a board more equally representative of the voters of the county, plaintiffs renewed their application for relief. On 15 June, a three-judge court held that until a permanent plan for reapportionment of the county board would be formulated, approved, and adopted, a weighted plan would be implemented. A supplemental order dated 4 August 1966 was rendered but not reported.

24. Board of Supervisors of Suffolk County v. Bianchi, 387 U.S. 97, 87 S. Ct 1544, 18 L Ed.2d 681 (1967). The United States Supreme Court held that the subject charter provision was "one of limited application, concerning only a particular county involved in the litigation" and, therefore, the three-judge court was improperly convened (ibid., 104, 87 S. Ct. at 1549, 18 L.Ed.2d). All prior judgments and orders were vacated, and the case was remanded for the purpose of a new decree's being rendered from which an appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit might be made.

25. *Bianchi v. Griffing*, 271 F. Supp. 497 (E.D.N.Y. 1967), certiorari denied, 389 U.S. 901, 88 S. Ct. 220, L.Ed.2d (1967). On 29 June 1967, Judge Bruchhausen, ruling that the composition of local units of government was a state matter, dismissed plaintiff's case for failure to state a cause of action.

THE THEATRICAL COMMUNITY of LONG ISLAND'S SOUTH SHORE in the EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

By Lorraine Maier Hewins

In the early decades of this century, Long Island was home to two clusters of theatrical and literary stars. The Great Neck-Manhasset-Port Washington area attracted such outstanding artists as George M. Cohan, Ed Wynn, Ring Lardner, and F. Scott Fitzgerald, who immortalized the area as the backdrop for the jazz-age in his brilliant novel, *The Great Gatsby*. However, the subject of this article is the not-so-well-researched but equally impressive South Shore circle of entertainers centered in the village of Freeport and at Chin Chin ranch, in Amityvlle, the retreat of the vaudevillian Fred Stone. Far from the teeming life of Broadway, these places were actors' havens until the coming of the silver screen put an end to a glamorous era.[1]

Long Island consisted largely of farming communities, villages of single-family homes and small commercial establishments. Seaside hotels and boarding houses dotted the shore, and for entertainment the larger communities had vaudeville theaters. Freeport could boast of two important theaters, Kerr's Freeport Auditorium and the American Theater. To an actor booked into one of these for the summer, it meant not only employment (most New York City theaters were closed in summer) but a vacation for him and his family.

One of Freeport's earliest show-business residents, Lillian Russell, made her debut at New York City's Tony Pastor's theater in 1880. She was followed by others who made permanent living arrangements in the village. Victor Moore, who played Vice President Alexander Throttlebottom in *Of Thee I Sing* (1931), the first musical to win a Pulitzer Prize, lived in both Freeport and Baldwin. Arthur Deagon, a supporting actor in the musical *Rose Marie* (1924), Frank Bradley, a circus aerialist, and Al B. White. a leading master of ceremonies, were among the many who called Freeport home. Charles Winninger, Sophie Tucker, George "Spider" Murphy, the comedian Frank Tinney, the composer Harry von Tilzer, and the booking agent Charles Freeman all were part of the colony. Leo Carrillo, another resident, had a long career from vaudeville to television, playing Pancho, Cisco's sidekick, in the 1950s' series, *The Cisco Kid*.[2]

A preeminent woman imitator in dance satire, Gertrude Hoffman, famous

for her "Dance of the Seven Veils," was a resident with her husband, the Vienna-born composer and conductor, Max Hoffman. Helen Broderick, of the team of Crawford and Broderick, lived in Freeport for many years. Other popular teams from the village were Weber and Fields, billed as the Dutch comedians Mike and Myer ("Don't poosh me, Myer"), and Helene Hamilton and Jack Barnes, whose semi-pantomime act was called "Just Fun." Eva Tanguay, Eddie Cantor, Al Jolson, Will Rogers, W. C. Fields, and Jane Cowl brought their own scenery and orchestras when they played at Kerr's Freeport Auditorium, the setting for many leading vaudeville shows, and made the rounds of other Long Island theaters. After Freeport's Grove Theater opened on Merrick Road in 1926, such stars as Martha Raye, Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, and Rudy Vallee appeared with much fanfare.[3] But the brightest star, both in New York City and on Long Island, was Will Rogers.

Rogers was a friend of Fred Stone, of Montgomery and Stone, the vaudeville team which made the transition to musical plays in the stage production of *The Wizard of Oz* (1902.) In 1906 Montgomery and Stone starred in a musical, *The Red Mill*, the first Broadway show to have an electric sign. The same year, Stone married one of the leading ladies, Allene Crater, from Hicksville, and bought property on Narrasketuck Creek, in Amityville, where he built a Queen Anne-style home. Immediately west of his property was the McChesny farm, which his improved financial position enabled him to acquire.[4]

Will Rogers was an early visitor to Stone's ranch, as was Annie Oakley, the markswoman who achieved fame during her seventeen years with William F. Cody's *Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show*. Although not as well-remembered as Rogers and Oakley, Stone was the pivotal figure in their friendship, and his Amityville home was their place of sojourn. When Annie died, Rogers wrote that "She and her fine husband, Frank Butler, were great friends of Fred Stone and I first became acquainted with her there years ago." Rogers married his childhood sweetheart, Betty Blake, in 1908, the year in which the Stones had the first of their three daughters, Dorothy, named for the heroine of *The Wizard of Oz*, who became a musical comedy star. Two other daughters, Paula and Fredalene (renamed Carol), also entered show business.[5]

Annie Oakley and Fred Stone had much in common. Both came from the Midwest and had performed in Tony Pastor's upscale vaudeville shows. Annie excelled in a man's occupation. She had business acumen and was a good conversationalist. There was a delicate quality about her, a serenity in the face of this diminutive figure who fashioned her own clothes in a style that was extensively copied. The Butlers stayed at the Stones' or boarded at the Bennett home in the peaceful refinement of Amityville's Ocean Avenue [6]

Oakley was known for philanthropy, especially to orphans, widows, and young women who wanted to further their education. She regularly donated to and gave benefit exhibitions for these causes, assisting some twenty young women through college or nursing school. Not a feminist in the traditional sense, this Quaker lady would march in no parades, carry no banners, or wear

bloomers, which she thought were unladylike. However, she campaigned her own way for the right of women to be employed, earn equal pay, participate in sports, and defend themselves in their homes and on city streets. She also helped open shooting ranges and trapshooting competition to women, and gave free lessons to more than two thousand.[7]

During World War I, Oakley entertained soldiers in army cantonments where she drew cheers for one feat after another with rifle, shotgun, and revolver. Her performing dog Dave (named for Fred Stone's partner Dave Montgomery) sat confidently as she shot apples from his head. Her patriotic speeches boosted the morale of hundreds of soldiers, attested to by letters of thanks from many commanders. On 9 October 1993, Annie Oakley was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in Seneca Falls, New York; one year later she was honored by a postage stamp, one of twenty in the U. S. Postal Service Western Legends series.[8]

The ebullient Fred Stone, whose parents lived in Freeport, had close connections with the Freeport theatrical community where performers supported one another in their professional association. Meeting in backyards and garages, they discussed building a social club where they could relax and enjoy themselves with some degree of privacy. To raise funds they performed in Long Island theaters, and in 1916, at a cost of $65,000, a clubhouse was built on the Freeport shore, on Fairview Place. Stone took an active part in the club's development along with Rogers and Victor Moore, its first president. Plans were for a modest structure, but the money raised provided for a luxurious building with bleached maple ballroom, restaurant, bar, and twenty-four guest rooms off the second-floor balcony. A lighthouse at one corner of the building lent itself to the organization's name, the LIGHTS (Long Island Good Hearted Thespian Society) Club. Members provided their own entertainment and tried out new routines. On weekends, a steady stream of actors, songwriters, agents, producers, directors—people in all facets of the theatrical arts—made their way to the club, where dinner and a show cost $2.50. At the 18 June 1916 dedication, Otto Kruger, John Philip Sousa, Rube Goldberg, Gus Edwards, Jack Dempsey, John Golden, Sam Goldfish (Goldwyn), Eddie Foy, Al Jolson, Victor Herbert, Florenz Ziegfeld, Ed Wynn, and J. J. Shubert were among the six hundred members listed in the book of dedication The members and their children celebrated Christmas in July at the LIGHTS Club, because the real Christmas season was a busy one in the theater. Snow was supplied from the ice house, and for many years Victor Moore played Santa. Another event was the annual circus, complete with tame lions, held alongside the Long Island Rail Road tracks. During the 1922 circus, a grouchy lion tore the hand of its tamer while the shocked audience looked on. The LIGHTS Club enjoyed three and a-half years of legal drinking before Prohibition took effect in January 1920.[9]

Florenz Ziegfeld came in his Minerva Cabriolet to see Rogers, who often took a turn on the club's stage. Although Will had become a star performer in the *Follies*, Ziegfeld was reluctant back in 1915 to hire him for *Midnight Frolic*, a cabaret show on the roof of the New Amsterdam Theater. "I don't

like him," he said to his right-hand man, Gene Buck (a future president of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers), who convinced him that Rogers was the perfect foil for Ziegfeld's showgirls. At the *Frolic*, Rogers developed a monologue of biting political satire, chiding Democrats and Republicans alike. "I'm always agin the party that's up," he said, but in later years admitted he favored the Democrats. ("I'm not a member of any organized party. I am a Democrat!") He described the *Frolic*'s audience as having "lots of money and plenty of insomnia." He wrote his own material, different each night because he played to many repeaters. The following year Ziegfeld asked Rogers to join his *Follies* in the New Amsterdam's main auditorium. For as long as Rogers worked for Ziegfeld, their only contract was a handshake.[10]

No longer classed with vagrants and gypsies, vaudevillians living in Freeport took part in village affairs. Here they could bring up their children among nontheatric families, and still attend to business in the theater. They shopped at Schlossman's Department Store, the United Cigar Store, Woolworth's, and other local shops, and practiced their routines in Schiller's Saloon. Fred Stone's father, Lewis Preston Stone, ran a barbershop on the corner of Merrick Road and South Main Street.[11]

It was important to be seen at the LIGHTS Club, where many engagements were formalized by booking agents who came there. On stage, a mélange of acts was presented in rapid succession, to gales of laughter and hearty applause, by comedy teams, singers, dancers, tumblers, jugglers, and monologists. Irish, Italian, German, Jewish, Chinese, and other immigrant groups were often the subjects of humor, just as African Americans were caricatured when blackface from earlier minstrel shows was incorporated into the vaudeville bill. Such widely known headlines as Moran and Mack, Al Jolson, Frank Tinney, Eddie Leonard, and Montgomery and Stone were, at one time or other, blackface singers and comedians. Insensitive ethnic stereotyping was an accepted form of entertainment, accepted by main-stream society and a reflection of its time.[12]

Rogers, who preferred Amityville to Freeport, was happy to be among the cowboys who worked for Stone when not performing in wild west shows. Will's former colleagues from western shows, Jim Minnick and Tom Mix, were frequent visitors, just as Stone's friends from Freeport often drove their cars along Merrick Road to visit.

In addition to his own house, Stone's property included a small lake, polo field, several barns, and two guest houses, one of which had a stable in its central part. On a rise amid tall oaks, he built two cabins of whole cedar logs, each with an open stone fireplace, brick hearth, floors of smooth, narrow, wooden planking, and geranium-filled windowboxes. The cabins, the larger of which had double-decked bunks and a hitching rail, gave the farm a western appearance. Stone kept horses, chickens, a few buffalo, and goats, on which Rogers practiced roping to everyone's amusement.[13]

Allene's sister Edith (Greta) often stayed at the farm with her husband, Rex Beach, a novelist who wrote on western themes and became a Hollywood

Will Rogers and Fred Stone. Photo, UPI/Bettmann 8/18/30

screenwriter. For several years, beginning in 1915, the Rogerses rented the walled house on Clocks Boulevard, diagonally across the street from Stone's. Will had his hair cut regularly at Julius Mayer's barbershop, and patronized Losi's Store. Will and Betty Rogers had three children, about the same ages as the Stones,' William Vann, Mary Amelia, and James Blake. A fourth child, Fred, died in 1918 before reaching the age of two.[14]

Will and Fred hired two local brothers as chauffeurs. Tracey Ketcham drove Rogers's 1915 Willys-Overland; Albert Ketcham, employed by Stone for a number of years, once drove him to California to film a motion picture. Tracey Ketcham once pulled one of the Rogers's boys out of the lake to save him from drowning. Few roads were paved in Amityville: when Rogers took the train one day, Stone met him at the station with an old-fashioned stagecoach drawn by four horses.[15]

Rogers, Leo Carrillo, and Vernon Castle were regular riders on the polo team that played behind Will's house. The innovative dancing partners, Irene and Vernon Castle, who had a summer home in Manhasset, were frequent guests of the Stones's. In 1912, at the height of their popularity, they were cast in the Victor Herbert musical, *The Lady of the Slipper*, starring Elsie Janis,

Stone, and his partner Dave Montgomery. During a rehearsal, the temperamental Irene walked off the set in a huff from which the amiable Fred's conciliatory efforts could not persuade her to return. However, Irene's temperament paid off two years later when the Castles received the starring roles in Irving Berlin's first musical, *Watch Your Step.*[16]

Fred docked his boat behind his home on Narrasketuck Creek, where everyone went swimming. It was in the Narrasketuck that Rogers injured his head while diving, a serious but temporary setback recalled by Dorothy Stone:

> Daddy had a little creek back of our house...At low tide, you shouldn't dive off the diving board, as there was only a little water there. Well, this one day, Will didn't look, and he dived and hit his head and almost broke his neck. His right arm and side were completely paralyzed...Now, how could he do roping without the use of his right arm? But from that day on, he started learning every trick he knew with his left hand. It did two good things. True, it was a frightening, horrible thing... but it got him to talking more, which made a star out of him, and it made him an even greater roper...because he learned to rope equally well with either hand.[17]

In 1914, as the Castles went on to *Watch Your Step*, the musical *Chin Chin* was waiting for Stone and his partner, each of whose weekly salaries reached $1,000. Based on the story of Aladdin and his lamp, *Chin Chin*, like previous Montgomery and Stone musicals, enabled Stone to demonstrate his outstanding acrobatic skills, earning him an Edward Penfield cover illustration on *Collier*'s magazine, along with a glowing review:

> [A]s one approached the Globe Theater, the very neighborhood seemed fairly to exude success. One saw it in the crowds pushing their way toward the lobby. The colored chasseurs in their winter uniforms grinned luminously as they threw back the carriage stores; the policeman in charge swelled out his chest as if he were proud of his post. The crowds...were already smiling in anticipation of a happy evening and gave up their tickets just as if they had not paid speculators the most exorbitant prices for them...out of proportion to these war-stricken, strenuous times.[18]

Thereafter, Stone's farm was known as Chin Chin ranch. After Montgomery died in the show's third year, his understudy finished the run. In succeeding shows, Fred carried on as the single lead, not believing that anyone else was qualified to take his partner's place.

Will Rogers continued his political commentary, changing his style as the situation required. He covered the 1924 Democratic convention in Madison Square Garden for the *New York Times* (a few weeks after doing the same at the Republican convention in Cleveland, where President Calvin Coolidge's

nomination proceeded smoothly). The Democrats were hopelessly split between William G. McAdoo, who received support from the resurgent Ku Klux Klan, and New York's Catholic governor, Alfred E. Smith Before the convention, the front-runner, Senator Oscar Underwood, of Alabama, condemned the Klan as a national menace, a position reaffirmed by his nominating speaker. The frenzy which followed resulted in a call for a minority plank condemning the Klan. Floor demonstrations erupted into the ugliest brawl of any national convention, proof of the Klan's divisive power. When order was restored the plank was narrowly defeated, Underwood withdrew, and neither McAdoo nor Smith could muster the needed two-thirds majority. (When two Arizonans nominated Rogers, he said he had never heard of the delegates but had heard of Arizona.)[19]

On the 103d ballot the convention chose a compromise candidate, John W. Davis, a corporation lawyer who had been both solicitor general and ambassador to the Court of St. James. If Coolidge was a friend of big business, his Democratic opponent had even closer connections. Davis was chief counsel to J. P. Morgan and Company, the country's most prominent financial institution. The West Virginia-born Davis's association with Morgan brought him to a gold coast estate in Locust Valley, not far from Morgan's Glen Cove mansion. Davis's refusal to sever ties with the Morgan bank during his losing campaign was considered a primary liability.[20]

On 3 September, while Davis was on a speaking tour, the twenty-nine-year-old Edward, prince of Wales, arrived on Long Island to attend the international polo matches. After Davis's wife received the prince at the Davis's Locust Valley home, he was the guest of honor at a stag dinner at the nearby Piping Rock Club, to which he invited Will Rogers, then a headliner in the *Ziegfeld Follies*. Will delivered a twenty-minute discourse chaffing the prince on reported falls from his polo pony, during which Edward responded with his own witticisms. Davis, an ardent Anglophile, had an almost fatherly affection for Edward, after whose coronation in 1936 and subsequent abdication he represented his interests in the United States. The next day, Rogers and the prince played polo and had lunch at the John S. Phipps estate (now Old Westbury Gardens).[21]

Rogers was nominated twice more for the presidency. In 1928, he ran on the Anti-Bunk ticket, the scheme of a humor magazine. As Coolidge bowed out with his famous remark, "I do not choose to run," Rogers's slogan was, "He Chews to Run." Finally, on 1932 Democratic Convention's second ballot, Will was nominated as a favorite son by Oklahoma's colorful governor, William "Alfalfa Bill" Murray, and received the state's twenty-two votes: all favorite son votes were released to Franklin D. Roosevelt, who won on the fourth ballot. Rogers was elated by Roosevelt's victory in the general election; rather than take his own nominations seriously, he assigned himself the role of impartial observer of national and international affairs. Throughout his career, he emphasized his part-Cherokee ancestry, weaving bittersweet memories of the Indians' plight through difficult years into his humor with winsomeness and pride.[22]

The buoyant success vaudevillians enjoyed turned to uncertainty with the advent of silent films and the 1927 sound film, *The Jazz Singer.* As early as 1918, Rogers and Stone met the challenge by making the silent films, *Laughing Bill Hyde* (from the Rex Beach novel) and *The Goat,* respectively. The Vitagraph studios in Bay Shore, producing silents, drew a number of well-known actors including Anita Stewart, Fatty Arbuckle, Marie Dressler, and Norma Talmadge.[23]The Vitagraph building still stands on Fourth Avenue, north of Mechanicsville Road.

Not all of Freeport's performers achieved greatness, but their vaudeville experience prepared them for inevitable change. Some made their way to Hollywood, found their acts unsuitable for motion pictures, and returned to their Long Island homes. Others adapted to the new medium and had successful careers in California. Those who moved into cinema were accountable to directors and producers, and had long hours of rehearsals in far-off California. No longer could they put their acts together with the help of their friends at the LIGHTS Club, having lost their independence in the more lucrative field of film.

With the Great Depression keeping Americans at home, a new entertainment form was born in radio's comedy and variety shows. Establishment of NBC in 1926 and CBS two years later created an instant threat to vaudeville. Victor Moore was one who sustained a brilliant career in theater, film, and radio. He was married to Emma Littlefield, his partner in vaudeville. Between vaudeville engagements, he took roles in a number of musical comedies. As a shuffling, fumbling, squeaky-voiced character, Moore was cast as Shorty McGee in the 1926 musical *Oh Kay!* in which Long Island was the setting and bootlegging was the central theme of the text by Guy Bolton and P. G. Wodehouse, with music and lyrics by George and Ira Gershwin. The mid-Prohibition plot had McGee charged with watching over illicit liquor brought ashore at an estate in Southampton by Kay (Gertrude Lawrence) and her brother, aboard their yacht. Moore's unique gift of blending humor with wistfulness brought down the house. His Hollywood credits include more than thirty films. In radio, he was a semiregular on *The Jimmy Durante Show* (1947-1950), introduced as "the Lothario of the lumbago set." At the end of the series, Moore was seventy-six years of age. His attachment to Freeport was so strong that he moved back in 1941, welcomed by friends at a dinner at the Elks Club. He died at Pine Acres, an actors' home in East Islip, in 1962.[24]

When Rogers's 1919 *Follies* engagement ended, he and his family moved to California where he made pictures for Sam Goldwyn and bought a house in Beverly Hills, the first he ever owned. But Amityville burned in his memory, the privacy of the walled house, the barns, the roping and riding, the log cabins, the splash of the Narrasketuck. Betty Rogers described his recreation of things he fondly remembered: "Will enclosed several acres...with a high brick wall and added a stable, a tanbark riding ring, and swimming pool and two log cabins down in a corner of our garden—the small cabin especially for

Mary. The larger cabin had an open fireplace and five bunks along the wall; it became our family gathering place."[25]

Rogers received the adulation of millions as cowboy philosopher, satirist, actor, screenwriter, and columnist: his humor professed a healthy, positive philosophy. His death in 1935, in a plane crash over Alaska with the pilot Wiley Post, coincided with the demise of vaudeville, which by then had fallen to the technical advances of the new age.

Fred Stone's place in theater and films was assured. He learned how to pilot his own airplane, making his first solo flight from Roosevelt Field. In the mid 1920s, he bought a farm near New London, Connecticut, and put in a landing field. The glory days at the LIGHTS Club in Freeport were over; the time spent with Rogers in Amityville was past, and he sold his Amityville property, including Chin Chin ranch.[26] After retiring to California in his later years, Stone died on 6 March 1959 at the age of eighty-five.

After the celebrities left and the barns emptied, another era of fun and recreation began at Chin Chin ranch. In 1925, the author's family, as the newly organized Oakley Avenue Realty Corporation, bought the section on which the log cabins, small horse barn, and one outbuilding stood, maintaining the buildings for thirty-five years as a vacation home for themselves. In 1926, while Annie Oakley lay dying in Dayton, Ohio, dirt roads were put in, the most notable of which cut through the heart of the ranch—Stone Boulevard and Oakley Avenue—honoring the two luminaries in the world of show business.27 After 1960, the ranch passed through several hands, winding up as the property of the town of Oyster Bay.

The stately homes of Will Rogers and Fred Stone still stand on Clocks Boulevard, near Harbour Road (in present-day Massapequa). In 1990, the Oyster Bay town board designated the Rogers house and property as a town landmark site. In 1987, the large log cabin from Chin Chin ranch was disassembled by the Massapequa Kiwanis Club and reconstructed at John J. Burns Park, Massapequa. The small horse barn was moved and placed on the Rogers property. No other structures of Chin Chin ranch remain except the now completely renovated residence with the stable, on Major Road between Oakley Avenue and Stone Boulevard. The lake remains the same between Oakley Avenue and Clocks Boulevard, with homes now surrounding it.

Few vestiges of the vaudeville era remain in Freeport. The LIGHTS Club, destroyed by fire in February 1939, disbanded some years before. Lillian Avenue and Russell Place were named in memory of Lillian Russell, as was Weberfield Avenue for Weber and Fields. The village continued to memorialize show-business luminaries in Guy Lombardo Avenue, in honor of a later celebrity.

Worthy of mention is the Stone family's contribution to Freeport's business community. On the northeast corner of Merrick Road and South Main Street, where Lewis Preston Stone had his barbershop, the Stones built a two-story commercial and residential structure, replacing the old one of frame. Carved in granite above the main entrance are the words *STONE BUILDING*. Several businesses operate there, appropriately including a barbershop. The South

Shore's vaudevillians are gone, but these silent tributes stand as reminders of the pleasure they gave to countless numbers in vaudeville's golden age.

NOTES

I appreciate the friendly cooperation of the Amityville, Bay Shore, and Freeport Historical Societies, and the Locust Valley Public Library; the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma; and the Greenville Public Library and the Annie Oakley Foundation, both of which are in Greenville, Ohio. Chin Chin ranch and environs, although in Massapequa, town of Oyster Bay, was in the Amityville school and post office districts.

1. See Joann P. Krieg, "Remembering Great Neck," *LIHJ* 7 (Fall 1994): 111, 113, 114, and Roger Wunderlich, "*The Great Gatsby* as Long Island History, ibid., 120; F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925); *Chin Chin* was the 1914 musical comedy in which Stone played the leading role.

2. Charles W. Stein, "Lillian Russell's Reminiscences," in *American Vaudeville as Seen by Its Contemporaries* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 10; David Ewen, *American Musical Theater* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1959), 112-14.

3. Barbara Cohen-Stratyner, *Biographical Dictionary o£ Dance* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1982), 430, 431; "All Freeport Was a Stage £or Carrillo, Rogers, von Tilzer, Moore and Company," *The Leader, 70th Anniversary Edition*, 18 October 1962, Freeport Historical Society Collection; Rita Ciolli, "At the Grove, the Ending Wasn't Happy," *Newsday*, 5 March 1974, 3A.

4. Fred Stone, *Rolling Stone* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1945), 139.

5. Isabelle 5. Sayers, *Annie Oakley and Buffalo Bill's Wild West* (New York: Dover Publications, 1981), 19-76; Annie Oakley was honored in 1993 by induction in the National Women's Hall of Fame at Seneca Falls, NY (*Taking Aim* [organ of Annie Oakley Foundation, Greenville, Ohio]1:5, 1994) and in 1994, by inclusion in the U.S. Postal Service's "Legends of the West" series of stamps, Will Rogers, *Autobiography o£ Will Rogers*, Donald Day, ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921-1935, 1949), 141, 142.

6. Cecil H. Ruggles, "The Famous Have Lived among Us," in *A Backward Glance*, Elodie Gibbins, Seth Purdy Jr., and Cecil H. Ruggles, eds. (Amityville: Amityville Historical Society, 1980), 81.

7. "Nomination Statement to National Women's Hall of Fame," undated copy; Shirl Kasper, *Annie Oakley* (Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 213.

8. Kasper, 215-218.

9. "All Freeport Was a Stage," 11; *Book o£ Dedication: The LIGHTS Club* (Freeport: Freeport Historical Society, 1916), n. p.

10. "Lion in Society Circus," *New York Times*, 6 July 1922; Richard M. Ketchum, *Will Rogers—The Man and His Times* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), 138, 140.

11. Cecil H. Johnson, "Victor Moore and Fred Stone among Leaders of Colony," article, unidentified publication, Freeport Historical Society Collection.

12. See John Toll, *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974).

13. Stone, 219.

14. Ruggles, 80; Paul Bailey, "Rogers, Stone and Bailey," *Long Island Forum* 50 (50th Anniversary Edition, Spring 1988): 52; Elodie Gibbins, "Losi's Store," in *A Backward Glance*, 60).

15. Tracey Ketcham Jr., conversations with author, 1990-1992; photograph, Lauder Museum, Amityville Historical Society.

16. Gerald Bordman, Oxford Companion to the American Theater (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1984), 130; Laurence Bergreen, *As Thousands Cheer* (New York: Viking Press, 1990), 101-10. During World War I, Castle became an army flying instructor and died in a plane crash in January 1918.

17. Bryan B. Sterling, interview with Dorothy Stone, 25 May 1970, in *Will Rogers Scrapbook* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1976), 131.

18. Charles Belmont Davis, "Behind the Scenes," *Collier*'s magazine, 2 January 1915, 14, 15, 25.

19. Ketchum, 193. For the rise and decline of the Klan on Long Island in the 1920s, see Jane Gombieski, "Klokards, Kleagels, Kludds, and Kluxers: The Ku Klux Klan in Suffolk County, 1915-1928," *LIHJ* 6 (Fall 1993), 41-62, and Bernie Bookbinder, *Long Island, People, Places, Past and Present* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1983), 192, 193, 198; for the Klan as a political force in the early and mid-1920s, see David Burner, *The Politics of Provincialism: The Democratic Party in Transition, 1918-1932* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967), 74-102.

20. Ron Chernow, *The House of Morgan*, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1990), 254, 255; William H. Harbaugh, *Lawyer's Lawyer: The Life of John W. Davis* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1973), 198-200; for Davis, the 1924 Democratic Convention, and Coolidge's overwhelming victory in the election, see Burner, 103-41.

21. *New York Times*, 4 and 5 Sept. 1924; Harbaugh, 388.

22. Ketchum, 228, 243-244; *New York Times*, 2 July 1932; Ketchum, 49-65; *The Native North American Almanac*, Duane Champagne, ed. (Gale Research, 1994), 308,309; for Rogers's Indian background (both his parents were one-quarter Cherokee, see Homer Croy, *Our Will Rogers* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1953), 7-10, and Ketchum, 50.

23. Etta Anderson Tuttle, *A Brief History of Bay Shore* (Bay Shore: Suffolk Cooperative Library System in conjunction with Bay Shore Public Library, 1962), 85.

24. Stein, 335; Ewen, 106, 107; John Dunning, *Tune in Yesterday* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 327, 328; a photograph of the dinner is in the collection of the Freeport Historical Society.

25. Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers: His Wife's Story* (Garden City: Garden City Publications, 1943), 14.

26. Fred Stone, 234.

27. Anna Maier, conversations with author, 1987-1994.

CORONA'S LITTLE ITALY: PAST and PRESENT

By Frank J. Cavaioli

World War II proved to be a decisive event in modern American history. By ending the Great Depression, the war ushered in American worldwide political and economic leadership. It produced revolutionary social change in race relations, family structure, women's rights, and communications. It hastened urban decline, expansion of the suburbs, and altered lifestyles of millions of Americans. Mass transit took a back seat to the automobile. More than ever, Americans relocated to new places of residence. War, coupled with urbanization and industrialization, accelerated an increasing complexity of modern problems, compelling individuals to rely more and more on government for welfare, unemployment insurance, job training, rent control, housing, and civil rights protection. Taxes increased, bureaucracies grew. Individuals became more interdependent and less self-reliant. Big business and agriculture continued to receive their share of government subsidies. Developments in science contributed to dramatic advances in nuclear energy, computers, automation, and space exploration.

World War II generated significant changes in education. The United States is the one modern nation where each succeeding generation achieved more education than the earlier one, spawning a child-centered society. The unique quality of American education has encroached on a traditional immigrant-ethnic value system, threatening patterns of family life. The result has been an individualism unknown to the Old World culture. Moreover, the GI Bill of Rights, enacted in 1944, hastened social change. Its many benefits were profound: low-cost mortgages, life insurance, tax benefits, educational subsidies, and medical care.

For European Americans and non-white minorities, World War II was a catalyst for social, economic, and political advancement. The structural insularity of foreign-stock Italians weakened as they entered the military service of their adopted country. Inroads were made in their community's cultural lifestyle as young people left home for extended tours of duty. Upon returning, with higher expectations and greater sophistication, they eagerly sought to seize the opportunities now available to them in the larger society.

This study analyzes the effects of World War II on Corona and its Italian American population. Ironically, though Old World cultural influences would decline, the post-World War II Italian American generation would cling to its ethnic behavioral practices. This development, coupled with an increase of

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social and economic power, served as a counterweight to the incursions made on their community life.

During World War II more than 500,000 Italian Americans served in the United States armed forces, out of a total of 16,112,000 service men and women. They served with distinction in spite of the fact that Italy fought on the other side. Only 228 Italian Americans were placed in internment camps for the duration of the war for pro-Fascist activities; about 2,000 were detained briefly for minor curfew and travel violations.[1]

The Little Italy community of Corona is located in the north central section of Queens County, surrounded by Lefrak City, the Long Island Expressway, the old World's Fair site, and Shea Stadium. Since World War II, the core of the Italian American neighborhood has changed slightly. In Corona today there can be found large pockets of Italian American neighborhoods with their support services of delicatessens, markets, churches, senior citizen clubs, social clubs, funeral parlors, boccie courts, restaurants, pastry shops, and a Veterans of Foreign Wars chapter. Godparenthood *(comparaggio)* continues as an important cultural practice.

The population of Corona was uniform up to the end of the nineteenth century when white Anglo-Saxons were the dominant group. As massive waves of immigrants moved into the United States after 1880, Italians, Germans, Swedes, Jews, and small numbers of African Americans began to settle in Corona. Italians appeared after 1890 and established residences along Corona Avenue and nearby streets. In October 1903, St. Leo's Roman Catholic Church was organized as a mission church to serve the Italian population of five hundred which grew to two thousand by 1913. They had migrated from southern Italy, were poor, and lacked formal education. Males worked in the booming construction industry, on the railroads, in farming, and at reclaiming the meadows. Most females remained at home, although some girls worked in nearby shirtwaist factories along Corona Avenue.[2]

Since these Italian immigrants came from an agricultural background, they harvested vegetables and fruits on their small plots of land. Winemaking continued as an important custom, the consumption of which was vital to their old world culture. Most kept chickens and goats; some trained pigeons. Goats, because of their size and appetite, caused much mayhem, as indicated by a news item in the 24 August 1916 *Newtown Register*:

> The goats which are allowed to roam the streets in the Corona Heights section finally succeeded in getting the "goat" of the local policemen when one straggling "nannie" ambled over to the police booth and proceeded to devour the beautiful green leaves of the cannas in the garden surrounding the booth. This was more than the cops could put up with and as a result three Italians were brought to court and fined $1 each for allowing their goats to wander around the street.[3]

The completion of the elevated railroad line along Roosevelt Avenue in 1917 altered the small-village atmosphere of Corona. Now the cost for a short

commute to Manhattan was five cents. More people were attracted to the area. It also produced a significant Italian chain migration to Corona. The overall composition would change after 1960, when the African American population reached 20 percent. Today, people from the Caribbean and Latin America predominate. Nevertheless, 1990 census data reveal that the central core community of Corona remains Italian American.

World War II produced a greater tolerance for Italian Americans that made it easier for them to succeed. Although many remained in the Little Italy community of Corona, it also served in the way described by Professor Humbert S. Nelli as providing the foundation for the next stage in the assimilation process.[4]

Nevertheless, Corona's Little Italy continues to exist. Mario Matthew Cuomo, a young lawyer in 1974, provided a clear picture of the community:

> Corona was one of the disappearing vestiges of the ethnic pluralism that made New York City the greatest city in the world. It was tucked away in an infrequently traveled area of the borough about a mile and a half north of the Long Island Expressway. Unless one was looking up relatives or searching for a really authentic Italian-American pastry shop, the chances of passing through the village-like Corona were minimal. It was an old neighbor hood; any home less than twenty years old stood out as a recent development. Some of the houses were constructed of cinder blocks; most of them were frame, small and neat. Many of them had been built literally by hand by the occupants or their immigrant forbears. Practically all of them had a yard with a fig tree or a grape arbor or both. Almost everyone in Corona was Italo-American and except for the newest generation spoke Italian, with all its regional variations. There were three boccie courts where paunchy Italian grandfathers played on weekends year round and in almost all kinds of weather. The two local Catholic churches were jammed with women of Corona each Sunday, many of them wearing the familiar black mourning costumes out of respect for loved ones who might have died ten years before...In some cases the people occupying a house had been preceded by two generations in the same structure. Family ties had been intensified by numerous neighborhood marriages...But when they were compelled to serve their nation in times of crisis the people of Corona responded dramatically. At the local VFW Hall—in effect the Corona community house—there was a long list of heavily voweled names of boys and men who had given their lives for their country in three wars.[5]

Though this description may appear somewhat romantic and impressionistic, it is an affirmation of what the community was like and remains to this day.

An event involving modern urban social planning gone awry that touched the very heart of the Italian American community of Corona occurred from 1966 to 1972. Out of the United States Supreme Court decision of *Brown v.*

Board of Education (1954) came government's attempt to end segregation and integrate public facilities through the construction of scatter-site low-income housing in predominantly white communities. In the case of Corona itself, the newly elected New York City Mayor John V. Lindsay, adhering to then-current policy and seeking to have New York City qualify for federal housing funds, attempted to seize four and one-half acres there to build housing for 509 low-income tenants. When the non-Italian residents of nearby middle-class, recently constructed Lefrak City protested, New York City withdrew the low-income housing project and replaced it with a proposal to build a high school and an athletic field. The new proposal increased the land site to twelve and one-half acres, which provided for the condemnation of sixty-nine of the more than one hundred Italian American homes in Corona. Enraged, this working-class neighborhood hired Cuomo, a lawyer who was also an adjunct professor at St. John's University Law School, to protect their community against bureaucratic encroachment.[6]

The battle raged until June 1972, when a compromise provided that the high school would be built in Corona but the athletic field would be relocated in nearby Flushing Meadow Park, thus saving nearly all the homes. Only four homes would be affected, and these would be moved. It was a near-total victory for Corona's Italian American population, which, when entering the conflict, had lacked the requisite political skills to win, but quickly acquired a political sophistication that eventually prevailed. They had prevented, in effect, a violation of their constitutional rights to be perpetrated on them by planning boards, administrators, and elected officials. Their sense of ethnicity, community, and justice motivated them to act. It was an ironic lesson well-learned in the process of assimilation, but simultaneously preserving their ethnic base.

The *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940* reported a foreign-stock population of Italian Americans of 4,594,580. The census defines *foreign stock* as the combined total of two groups—foreign-born, and native-born of foreign or mixed parentage. The number of Italian foreign-born amounted to 1,623,580, while native-born of foreign or mixed parentage came to 2,971,000, bringing the total to 4,594,580 of first- and second-generation Italians living in the United States in 1940. For every one hundred first-generation Italians, there were 183 of the second generation. From 1930 to 1940, there was an increase of 48,000 people of Italian foreign stock. Regionally, approximately three-fifths of the Italian foreign stock was concentrated in the mid-Atlantic, urban-industrial states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.[7]

Within New York State, the 1940 census reported a total of 1,596,895 Italian foreign stock persons. Of this figure, 584,075 persons were born in Italy and 1,012,820 in the United States of foreign or mixed parentage. Within New York City there were 409,489 foreign-born Italians and 685,880 born of foreign or mixed parentage, for a total of 1,095,369 Italians classified as foreign stock, or 14.7 percent of New York City's population.

Queens Borough, of which Corona is a part, claimed 55,011 persons born

in Italy and 97,160 second-generation Italian Americans, for a total of 152,171 foreign stock. The Queens Borough percentage of Italian foreign stock in New York City amounted to 11.7 percent. These large numerical and percentage counts of Italian foreign stock in New York State, New York City, and Queens Borough characterize this ethnic group as urbanized and highly concentrated. It allowed it to reside in neighborhoods which sustained a viable cultural support system at this stage of the Americanization process.

Table 1 presents the 1940 Census count of Italian foreign stock for the United States, New York State, New York City, and Queens Borough.

TABLE 1
ITALIAN FOREIGN STOCK: 1940

	Foreign Born	Native of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	Total	Percent of Country of Origin
U.S.	1,623,580	2,971,000	. 4,594,580	13.3
NYS	584,075	1,012,820	1,596,895	11.8
NYC	409,489	685,880	1,095,369	14.7
Queens	55,011	97,160	152,171	11.7

Source: Population, vol. 2, part 5, tables 5 and 14, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*. "Nativity and Parentage of White Population," table 2.

The researcher seeks relevant data to provide a linear continuum of valid statistical analysis. Unfortunately, census tracts for 1940 did not include foreign-stock counts that would lead to valid comparisons from census to census. For example, in looking back to 1930 the Census Bureau did not include foreign stock population by tracts. Similarly, in 1950 the Census Bureau recorded statistics for tracts that included only country of birth of the foreign-born white population, thereby excluding children of the foreign born, or second-generation children. In attempting to pursue and locate Italians within specific tracts from one census to the next, the researcher is confronted with seemingly insurmountable challenges.

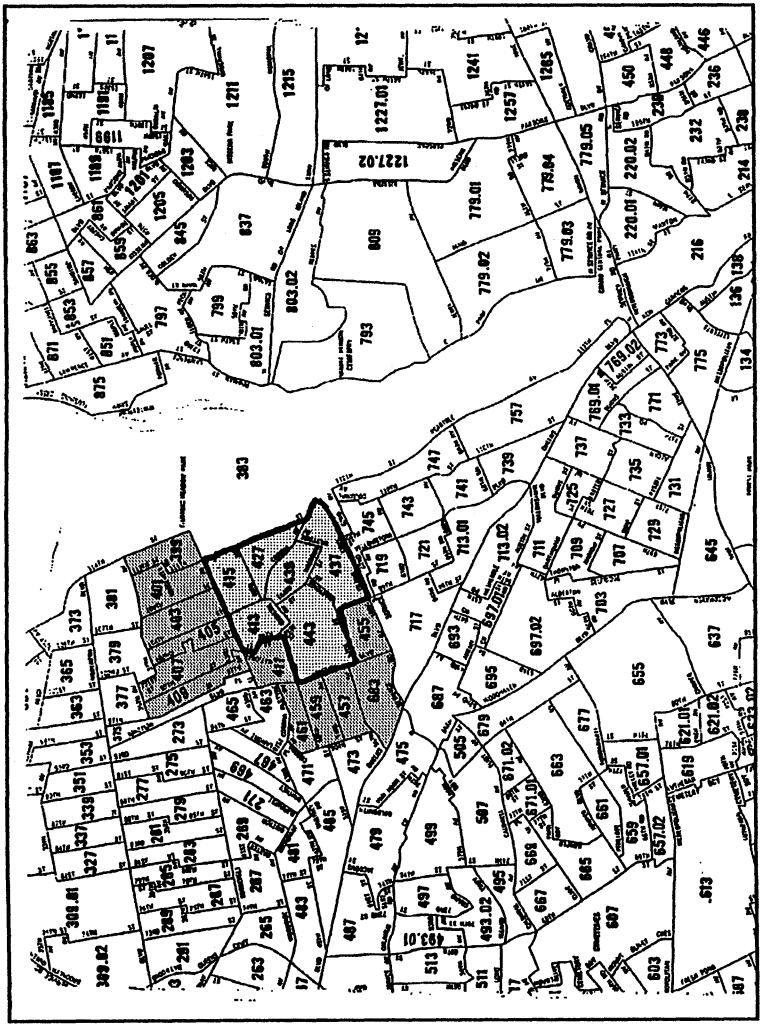
With this in mind, and projecting forward fifty years, an examination of six contiguous 1990 census tracts that represent the core of the Italian American community in Corona will demonstrate neighborhood patterns of stability for this ethnic group. Ancestry counts were recorded in 1990 by the census for tracts 413, 415, 427, 437, 439, and 443, which cover the area shown on the census map below. The tracts are bounded as follows:

By the Long Island Rail Road (LIRR) at the north; eastward from the LIRR to National Avenue; southward along National Avenue to 99th

Street; continuing southward along 99th Street to 50th Avenue; westward along 50th Avenue to Junction Boulevard; southward along Junction Boulevard to 57th Avenue; eastward along 57th Avenue to 99th Street; southward along 99th Street to the Long Island Expressway (LIE); eastward along the LIE to the southern end of Corona Avenue; northward along Corona Avenue to 111th Street; finally, northward along 111th Street to the LIRR to complete the loop enclosing the six tracts comprising the Italian American community under study.

On either side of the main thoroughfare, Corona Avenue, where at one time trolley cars ran, can be seen Italian restaurants, pastry shops, delicatessens, pizza parlors, and red, white, and green flags. The Parkside Restaurant, the Lemon Ice King, Baldi's Bakery, and the boccie court on 108th Street are among many long-standing institutions in this neighborhood of one- and two-family brick and frame homes displaying Madonnas and other religious statues in small gardens. Residents spend their leisure time at the little park on Corona Avenue and 108th Street. In this neighborhood the annual festa is held. Less than a mile away is St. Leo's Catholic Church, traditionally served by Italian clergy.

Window of Italian Delicatessen, Corona Ave. near junction of 52d Ave. & 108th St. Photo by Frank J. Cavaoili, 1995.



Map of core Corona community and surrounding census tracts

Table 2 shows the 1990 Italian American population in the six Corona census tracts under study.

TABLE 2.
CORONA ITALIAN AMERICANS BY CENSUS TRACTS: 1990

Census Tract	Italian Americans	Total Population	Italian Percent of Total Ancestry
413	653	2,894	22.56
415	433	2,479	17.46
427	469	3,102	15.11
437	476	8,586	5.54
439	644	3,060	21.04
443	375	5,994	6.25
Total	3,050	26,115	(average): 14.66

Source: Summary File Tape 3A, Ancestry, Queens County, New York, *1990 Census of Population and Housing.*

Analysis of 1990 census data of Corona's central area by ethnicity reveals a continuing high Italian American profile. The 1990 count of this contiguous six-tract area contains 3,050 persons of Italian ancestry out of the total population of 26,115. They represented the largest white ancestry group in the six tracts. By ancestry, Italian Americans represented 14.66 average percent of the total, or an average of 508 persons for each tract. Tract 413 had the largest number of persons of Italian ancestry, 653, or 22.56 percent of the total population of 2,894.

From another perspective, if the Subsaharan African, West Indian, Race or Hispanic, and Unclassified or Not Reported ancestry groups were excluded from the total, the counts for Italian Americans would be even more dramatic Their count, then, would show them to be the largest ancestry group with 39.52 percent of the total. Thus, as African Americans, Hispanics, and West Indians have moved into Corona, enough Italian Americans have clung to their core neighborhood to maintain their ethnic lifestyle. Intergroup relations have continued to be harmonious because all ethnic groups had made Corona home before the civil rights revolution began in the 1960s.[8]

The Census Bureau defines census tracts as small, relatively permanent statistical subdivisions of a county. Census tracts vary between 2,500 and

8,500 persons, and, when delineated, are designed to be homogeneous with respect to population characteristics, economic status, and living conditions. Boundaries of tracts are established with the intention of their being maintained over a long period, so that valid statistical comparisons can be made, allowing for changes when necessary.[9]

The recorded data on ancestry for 1990 is based on self-identification. It was collected from persons who classified themselves according to the ancestry group(s) with which they most closely identified. "Ancestry refers to a person's ethnic origin or descent, 'roots,' or heritage or place of birth of the person or person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States." The "First Ancestry Reported" category of the 1990 census included the respondent's first ancestry as stated in the census. For example, if a person reported ethnic identity as "Italian American," the "Italian" portion was recorded, but not "American." Thus, the count for Italians would include all those persons who reported Italian and those who reported Italian American.[10] From ancestry data based on the six census tracts comprising the heart of the Corona's Italian American community, it is clear they represent a relatively stable ethnic group in a changing urban environment.

Analysis of the twelve contiguous tracts surrounding the six under study expands on this point. Table 3 demonstrates that of these twelve encircling tracts, Italian Americans comprised the largest traditional white group in ten. Italian Americans, then, clearly comprised the largest ancestry group in ten of the twelve tracts. In the remaining two, Italian ancestry in tract 407 ranked third, with 112 persons (behind 135 United States or Americans and 134 Greeks), and fifth in tract 455, with 30 persons (behind 173 United States or Americans, 116 Irish, 81 French, 60 Arabs).

Aware of this Italian constellation, the *New York Times* covered the Corona community during the 1994 World Soccer Cup competition. The reporter described the community as "an Italian island amid a far larger Hispanic neighborhood."[11] The Italian American population rejoiced when Italy defeated Bulgaria in the semifinals to qualify for the finals, but were saddened when Italy lost to Brazil for the world title. Soccer, which has not become a major sport in the United States, remains a cultural phenomenon for many Italian Americans in their neighborhoods, as well as in Italy.

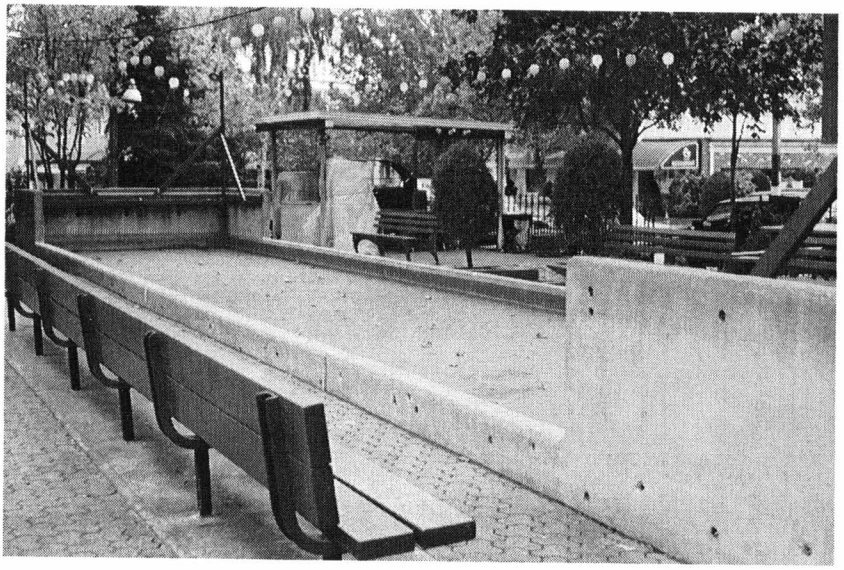
A 1981 study of the Minnesota Iron Range showed that after several generations of dedicated hard work, Italian Americans had risen to the dominant position among the business and professional groups. Though outmigration had taken place, and despite a general decline in the region's population, there still remained in this Iron Range region about one-fourth of Minnesota's Italian American population. In his recent study of the subject, Professor Rudolph J. Vecoli confirmed what other scholars had found: "Here as elsewhere the Italians have demonstrated a tenacious attachment to place."[12]

The Little Italy community of Corona symbolizes for this group a continuing ethnic-urban loyalty. Despite sociological changes in the larger society, such as immigration restriction from 1921 to 1965 and social and

TABLE 3
SURROUNDING-CONTIGUOUS TRACTS OF CORONA CORE COMMUNITY BY FIRST ANCESTRY REPORTED: 1990 CENSUS

Census Tract	Italian Ancestry	Largest White Ancestry Group	Groups Excluded
399	128	Italian	1,754 Race or Hispanic
401	257	Italian	3,524 Race or Hispanic
403	176	Italian	2,406 Race or Hispanic
405	72	Italian	1,693 Race or Hispanic
407	112	135 US 134 Greek	4,148 Race or Hispanic
409	104	Italian	2,564 Race or Hispanic 148 West Indian
411	176	Italian	1,998 Race or Hispanic
455	30	173 US 116 Irish 81 French 52 German 60 Arab	6,547 Race or Hispanic 1,900 West Indian
457	135	Italian	667 Race or Hispanic
459	186	Italian	919 Race or Hispanic
461	80	Italian	1,120 Race or Hispanic 86 West Indian
683	130	Italian	1,692 Race or Hispanic

Source Bureau of the Census. *1990 Census of Population and Housing, Ancestry, Queens County, New York*, Summary Tape, File 3A.



Boccie court in the park at Corona Ave. and 108th Street
Photo by Frank J. Cavaoili

economic advances made by Italian Americans since World War II,[13] the heart of Corona has remained relatively cohesive and stable, especially as third- and fourth-generation Italian Americans replace the foreign-stock population. Architecturally, housing patterns have determined a living style among one- and two-family structures that provide enough space for a garden, arbor, and other amenities that do not encroach on the residents' breathing space, but allow for enough human contact.[14] Ethnic cultural support services remain evident in language, food, religion, games, social clubs, and other behavioral characteristics such as mourning and work habits. The sacrifices made during wartime attest to the community's patriotism.

Concomitantly, the social basis of Italian immigrants, who were overwhelmingly from the peasant-farmer *(contadino)* class south of Rome, differed greatly from that of American society. Richard Gambino has emphasized in his classic study, *Blood of My Blood*, the importance of *la famiglia*, which contrasted with the American nuclear family. The Italian American family consisted of all blood relatives and those persons allowed into its circle through godparenthood *(comparaggio)*. For Italian Americans this was the primary institution that maintained the old way of life *(la via vecchia)*.[15]

Gambino has further shown that Italian Americans were unfairly depicted as reactionaries hostile to social change in the 1960s. This stereotype has

persisted in superficial media presentations devoid of understanding of Italian social values of family, community, and justice. Moreover, long before the age of integration, Italian Americans have lived side by side with African Americans, as in the case of Corona.[16]

An understanding of the concept and practice of *campanilismo* offers deeper insight into Italian culture and community life. The term conveys the reluctance of Old-World Italians to extend social and economic contacts beyond the sound of the parish church bell. Physical barriers, along with the class system, also impeded contacts beyond the village. As Italian immigrants entered the United States, they replicated this practice in their new communities in order to sustain their traditional culture and to deflect alienation in a hostile environment.[17]

Jonathan Rieder's recent study of Canarsie, Brooklyn, covering the 1970s and 1980s, reveals the underlying reasons of Italian and Jewish opposition to racial integration: fear of crime, violence, and poverty, and resentment of "limousine liberals" who were judged as outsider-bureaucratic elites imposing their will on the community. A class-based fear seized the majority of whites in Canarsie, while few expressed outright racism. Beset by a threatening situation, they reacted forcefully to maintain their stable community life. Many Italians and Jews also resented what they considered to be the many governmental benefits and special considerations given to specific minorities. The Canarsie example provides a comparison to the harmonious relations among ethnic groups in Corona.[18]

Research on assimilation and acculturation of Italian Americans has demonstrated a slow rate of change as compared with other groups. This fact is further highlighted when analyzing "Italian Americans found in urban, working class neighborhoods which have resisted change due to cultural habits, discrimination and voluntary segregation."[19]

The sociologist Jerome Krase has produced research-based conclusions that add more accurate knowledge on the stereotypical view of America's Little Italies. He shows that a close correlation exists between symbol and reality, about Italian culture and the "degree to which 'defensiveness' is part of the Italian culture of community," and the need for an Italian "ethnic domain." In the process of compiling hundreds of direct observations and studying thousands of photographs of communities in Italy and the United States, he identifies eight elements of what he calls "The Italian Culture of Community." These elements provide a rational picture of Corona:

1. The Italian community is small scale and based around the facilitation of family and personal relations.

2. The community has a high tolerance, if not a preference, for high human and physical density.

3. The community exhibits the supremacy of private over public values in regard to space and activities.

4. The culture emphasizes individuality rather than conformity.

5. Italian residential communities tolerate mixed commercial and industrial uses within their boundaries.

6. Age and sex segregation for spaces and activities is a general feature of Italian communities.

7. Italian communities show attachment to traditional architectural aesthetics as exhibited, where possible, in design and construction, as well as, colors and materials.

8. The Italian community places extreme value on the defense of individual and group territory.[20]

It is true, however, that there has been movement out of Corona by some who have adopted more assimilative traits in the half-century following World War II. But the phenomenon of ethnicity has demonstrated that, as newer ethnic groups have located in the larger area and external pressures have been exerted on the perimeter, a substantial number of Italian Americans have preferred to remain in their core neighborhood to practice and maintain cultural traditions of their parents and grandparents, traditions that have been modified by time and the host society. Finally, even though massive Italian immigration had ended over seven decades ago, Corona now epitomizes the classic Italian American community, surviving profound social change at the conclusion of the twentieth century.

It is obvious that urban centers are not homogeneous entities. Scholars have thoroughly documented the Little Italies of North America, and indicated that they are "spatially distinct communities and culturally separate networks."[21] While the older Little Italies in New York City's sections of Mulberry Street and East Harlem, Chicago's Near West Side, and Boston's West End and North End, to name a few, may not exist today or may be skeletons of the past, Corona, as a microcosm of a Little Italy, continues to be a vital ethnic community within a much larger geographical area inhabited by many different people.

NOTES

1. Rose Scherini, "The Fascist/Anti-Fascist Struggle in San Francisco," *New Explorations in Italian American Studies*, eds. Richard N. Juliani and Sandra P. Juliani (Staten Island, NY: American Italian Historical Association, 1994), 63-71.

2. Vincent F. Seyfried, *The Story of Corona* (Garden City: Queens Community Series, 1986), 53.

3. Ibid., 63-66.

4. Humbert S. Nelli, *Italians in Chicago, 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1970), xi-xiii.

5. Mario Matthew Cuomo, *Forest Hills Diary* (New York: Vintage, 1974), 6-7; this book, with a preface by Jimmy Breslin, provides a comprehensive narrative of the low-income housing crisis that affected Corona and nearby Forest Hills.

6. Ibid., 3-23.

7. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940.* "Foreign White Stock of German and Italian Origin." Series P-15, No. 5, Tables 1 and 2.

8. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population, Metropolitan Areas*, CP-1-1B, B-11, B-12, B-13. The 1990 Census "data for race represent self-classification by people according to the race with which they most closely identify...[and] include both racial and national origin or sociocultural groups...White includes persons who indicated their race as such or reported such entries as Canadian, German, Italian, Lebanese, Near Easterner, Arab, or Polish. Black includes persons who indicated their race as 'Black or Negro,' African American, Afro-American, Black Puerto Rican, Jamaican, Nigerian, West Indian, or Haitian." American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut constitute a third category, followed by Asian or Pacific Islander. In the box marked race, household census takers were instructed to "circle...the race that the person considers himself/herself to be...if other race, print race"("Population Characteristics," *Census '90: 1990 Census of Population and Housing—Guide*, CPH-R-1B, Part B, "Glossary," 46, and "Questions Asked," PH-R-1A, Part A, "Text," 30).

9. Bureau of the Census, *Census '90, 1990 Census of Population*, CP-1-1C, A-5.

10. Ibid., CP 2-11, B-2, B-3.

11. *New York Times*, 14 July 1994.

12. Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Italians On Minnesota's Iron Range," in *Italian Immigrants in Rural and Small Town America*, ed. Rudolph J. Vecoli, (Staten Island, NY: American Italian Historical Association, 1987,) 188; for another original study of Italian settlement and ethnicity in a different ecological setting, see Salvatore J. LaGumina, *From Steerage to Suburb, Long Island Italians* (Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies, 1988).

13. Richard D. Alba, *Italian Americans: Into the Twilight of Ethnicity* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1985), 106-130.

14. For the changes, characteristics, and staying power of Italian American communities, see Jerome Krase, "America's Little Italies: Past, Present and Future," in *Italian Ethnics: Their Languages, Literature and Lives*, Dominic Candeloro, Fred L. Gardaphe, and Paolo A. Giordano, eds. (Staten Island, NY: American Italian Historical Association, 1990), 169-84.

15. Richard Gambino, *Blood of My Blood* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1975), 3-10.

16. Ibid., 327-30. For a recent analysis of negative stereotyping of Italian Americans, see Richard Gambino, "Italian Americans, Today's Immigrants, Multiculturalism and the Mark of Cain," *Italian Americana* 12 (Summer 1994): 226-34; for the standard work on anti-Italian discrimination in the United States, see Salvatore J. LaGumina, *WOP* (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1973).

17. Joseph Lopreato, *Italian Americans* (New York: Random House, 1970), 103-4.

18. Jonathan Rieder, *Canarsie, The Jews and Italians Against Liberalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1985), 96; Robert C. Freeman, "The Development and Maintenance of New York City's Italian-American Neighborhoods," *The Melting Pot and Beyond: Italian Americans in the Year 2000*, Jerome Krase and William Egelman, eds. (Staten Island, NY: American Italian Historical Association, 1987), 223-37.

19. Krase, "America's Little Italies," 176.

20. Ibid., 178-79.

21. Robert F. Harney and J. Vincenza Scarpaci, eds, *Little Italies in North America* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1981), 1.

THE MINING of PORT JEFFERSON HARBOR for SAND and GRAVEL, 1910-1948

By Jeffrey Kassner

Sand and gravel are essential raw materials of the construction industry, because without them there would be no concrete and without concrete we would not have the highways, airport runways, and high-rise buildings we take for granted. The growth of New York City was fueled, in part, by a constant supply of sand and gravel, much of it mined from Long Island. Beginning in the 1870s, the hills surrounding Hempstead Harbor, an embayment of western Long Island Sound approximately ten miles east of the present New York City border, were mined for their sand and gravel.[1] Around 1910, to meet the ever-increasing demand, the mining of underwater lands (known locally as dredging because dredges were used to extract the deposits) began in Port Jefferson Harbor, thirty-five miles east of Hempstead Harbor (figure 1).

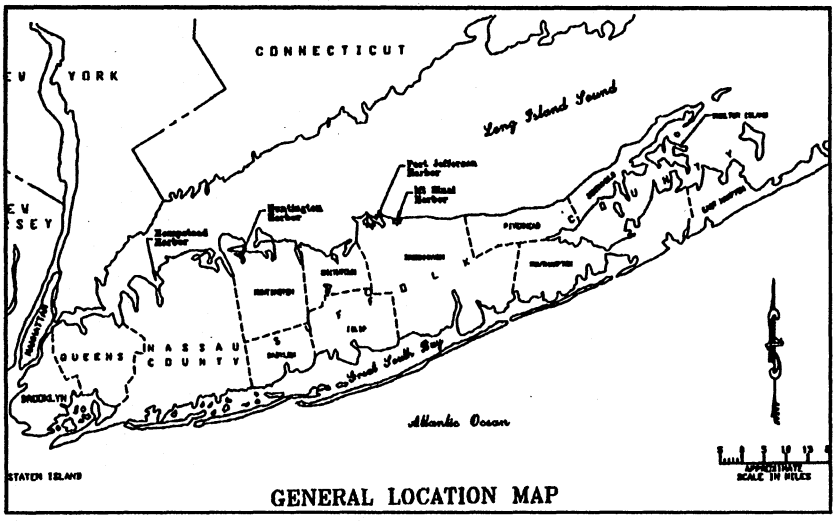


Figure 1. North Shore of Long Island, showing principal embayments.

The mining of Port Jefferson Harbor's underwater lands, which continued until shortly after the end of World War II, would drastically alter the harbor's hydrography and geography by eliminating intertidal flats and marsh islands, and increasing water depths (figures 2 and 3).

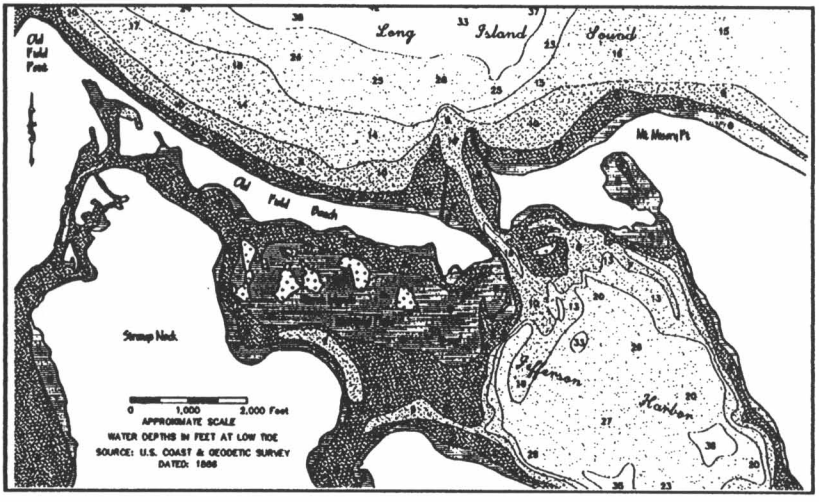


Figure 2. Port Jefferson Harbor before sand and gravel mining began.

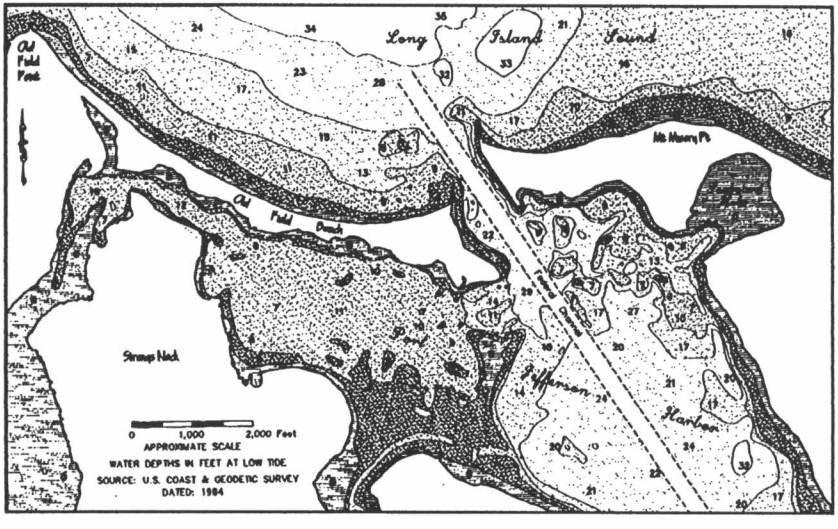


Figure 3. Port Jefferson Harbor after sand and gravel mining ended.

In addition to the physical changes, mining operations had two important consequences for the uses of Port Jefferson Harbor. First, they eliminated significant shellfish habitats, and thereby brought to an end the shellfish industry that these habitats had supported. Second, deepening the harbor greatly improved its navigability, which later made it extremely attractive to recreational boating activities. This article presents an historical overview of sand and gravel mining operations, and describes their consequences with respect to the uses of Port Jefferson Harbor.

Changes in the Landscape

Operations in Port Jefferson Harbor began several years before World War I and ended soon after the end of World War II, by which time most of the northern area of the harbor had been mined, along with a tributary basin commonly known as the Narrows.[2]

To assess the magnitude of the changes in the bathymetry and habitats, the 1886 U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart of the Port Jefferson Harbor area, prepared before dredging took place, was compared to the 1984 NOAA National Ocean Survey Chart prepared after dredging ceased.[3] The most dramatic changes were the elimination of eight marsh islands that ranged in size from 0.2 acres to just under five acres, and had a total area of approximately twenty acres; the removal of about 140 acres of intertidal sand and mud flats; the filling of a seventeen-acre tidal cove; and the creation of a forty-acre cove from a 150-foot-high bluff. Mining also altered the natural shoreline in many areas, particularly in the northeast corner of Port Jefferson Harbor.

With respect to the hydrography of the harbor, mining increased water depths by some twenty feet in the mined areas of the harbor, and by an average of eight feet in the mined area of the Narrows. Mining also left its mark on the harbor bottom. Although mining companies were required to leave the bottom as uniform as possible, this stipulation was often violated: a 1992 side-scan sonar survey of the harbor showed that mined areas had an unusual bottom topography best described as "mound and depressions," a remnant of mining operations.[4]

The volume of sand and gravel mined has never been tabulated. However, the Brookhaven Taxpayers' Protective Association, in 1939, calculated that between 1929 and 1938, based on Brookhaven town trustee records, slightly more than 2.75 million cubic yards of gravel were taken. As gravel constituted approximately half of the harbor's sediments, the total amount of material removed during this period alone was probably just under six million cubic yards. If this rate was representative of the entire period of mining, the total amount of material removed was on the order of twenty-four million cubic yards.[5]

Operational Aspects of Sand and Gravel Mining

Nearly all underwater lands in the Port Jefferson Harbor complex are owned by the town of Brookhaven by virtue of colonial land grants. Mining sand and gravel on town lands was overseen by the trustees of the freeholders and commonality of the town (referred to hereafter as Brookhaven town trustees), who managed the underwater lands in trust for the residents (freeholders and commonality). Before a company could mine it had to obtain approval, known as a concession, from the Brookhaven town trustees. The concession specified the area to be mined, its depth, the amount of royalty payable to the town, and various operational conditions and constraints.

The trustees generally viewed sand and gravel mining favorably, seeing the granting of concessions as part of their duty "to improve lands and properties held by them in trust...and use to the best advantage all their property and resources." From a more practical perspective, the trustees viewed mining as a means to "improve the channel entrance to Port Jefferson Harbor by widening and deepening the said channel...and by increasing the anchorage area therein and by increasing the practicably navigable area thereof."[6]

Mining was also a way to "increase the revenues of the Town of Brookhaven." The town received a royalty of five cents per cubic yard of gravel through the 1930s, after which it increased to seven cents (there was no royalty on sand, which was considered waste). The town also charged a fee of two dollars per barge load of gravel to cover the cost of computing the volume of material.[7]

The mining of Port Jefferson Harbor can be divided into two distinct periods, based on the area mined. From the beginning of operations until the early 1930s, mining was centered in the northeast corner of the harbor and in the vicinity of its entrance channel. From the early 1930s until mining ceased in the late 1940s, it took place in the northwest corner and in the Narrows.

Five companies, at one time or another, mined in the harbor. Eastern Gravel Corporation, which subsequently became Great Eastern Gravel Corporation, was the first, initiating operations just before World War I in the area of the entrance channel. Great Eastern later shifted its operation to the northwest corner of the harbor, and, after the end of World War II, moved to Mt. Sinai Harbor, an embayment a few miles east of Port Jefferson. Seaboard Sand and Gravel Corporation began operation in the early 1920s, and mined in the northeast corner of Port Jefferson Harbor until the 1940s. O'Brian Brothers Sand and Gravel also mined in the northeast corner of the harbor from the mid-1920s until the early 1940s. Selah Strong, a prominent local owner, retained U. S. Dredging to mine the Narrows and the northwest corner of the harbor in the 1930s and 1940s. Goodwin and Gallagher began operation about 1937, in the northwest corner, but after a few years shifted to Huntington Harbor, an embayment about seventeen miles west of Port Jefferson Harbor.[8]

With the exception of Goodwin and Gallagher, which used a bucket dredge

to mine its sand and gravel deposits, mining was undertaken by means of a suction dredge, using a large centrifugal pump on a boat to suck up a slurry of water and sediment through a pipe lowered to the bottom. A bucket dredge, in contrast, used a continuous chain of buckets to dig out the sand and gravel and bring it to the surface. Seaboard also mined the bluffs along the water's edge in the harbor's northeast corner (Mt. Misery), using a high-pressure jet of water to erode the sediment into water where its suction dredge could pick it up. By the time Seaboard stopped mining it had created a forty-acre cove six feet deep. The harbor's sediment, which consisted of approximately 50 percent gravel with the remainder sand, had to be refined (separated) into its component grain sizes. To accomplish this, Seaboard filled a small tidal basin known locally as Salisbury Cove, as well as fringing wetlands to construct its refinery (known as a washery). Seaboard's refinery could process up to 1,200 cubic yards of sand and gravel an hour and was capable of producing 1.35 million cubic yards per year. O'Brian Brothers constructed a land-based refinery on the northeastern shoreline of Port Jefferson Harbor, but was blocked from using it as a result of a lawsuit. The other companies simply screened the dredged sediment on board their dredges.[9]

After refining, the companies loaded the material on scows which held approximately 570 cubic yards of material. Scows provided cheap transportation to the New York City market—sixty cents versus $2.50 per cubic yard by rail—and cheap transportation was one of the principal reasons why companies established sand and gravel mining operations on Long Island's northern shoreline. The volume of material transported by scows was considerable: in 1941: for example, Great Eastern was moving forty scows per month out of Port Jefferson Harbor.[10]

The only information available on the economic aspects of sand and gravel mining is for the year 1929, in a report prepared on behalf of the Stony Brook Harbor Association as part of its opposition to a proposal to mine Stony Brook Harbor. According to the report, 1929's mining operations produced 715,000 cubic yards of sand and 1,035,000 cubic yards of gravel, sold for $1 and $1.75 per cubic yard, respectively. The cost of production was thirty-five cents per cubic yard, while the cost of transportation was fifty-five cents per cubic yard. The net profit of the sand and gravel mining operations as a whole was an estimated $545,000.[11]

World War II had a significant impact on mining operations because it greatly reduced the need for sand and gravel as a result of a drop in construction activities. In January 1942, Great Eastern notified the Brookhaven town trustees that it was suspending operations. Six months later, it advised the trustees that it would be unable to operate in Port Jefferson Harbor due to a contract to dredge in another location to provide the U.S. Navy with a particular type of gravel.[12]

In 1945, the trustees issued a two-year renewal on Great Eastern's concession, but the company does not appear to have done any work because there is no record of the trustees' receiving royalty payments. Although Selah

Strong (U.S. Dredging) was still mining approximately ten thousand cubic yards of gravel per month in spring 1948, in September the president of the board of trustees reported that all mining activities had ceased.[13] A review of town records provides no indication that mining resumed thereafter.

Controversies

Periodically, sand and gravel mining became mired in controversy. For example, although most concessions specified that sand would not be disposed of inside the harbor, there were periodic complaints that sand was illegally returned to the bottom. In 1938, U.S. Dredging was observed removing sand from a barge, placing it in Port Jefferson Harbor, and then removing it into another barge, while in 1939 it was reported that Great Eastern dumped sixty thousand cubic yards of sand on Great Flat in Port Jefferson Harbor, creating a large sand island.[14]

The concessions also required that the bottom be left as uniform as possible, but this was not always adhered to. The attorney for the trustees reported in 1940 that he had been aware for some time that the dredging done by Great Eastern was not uniform, which the vice president of Great Eastern agreed was true to a certain extent. It was also alleged that the suction dredge used by Great Eastern created "great holes and valleys" in the bottom. In 1948, the dredges were reported to have left hummocks in the water on which boats could run aground.[15]

In late 1940 Selah Strong approached the trustees about dredging closer to the shoreline than the 150 feet he was granted in his concession. Apparently, several of the upland property owners adjacent to Strong's concession had approached him about dredging up to their bank and then placing the grit sand along the shore to improve it. The trustees took no action. However, it appeared that both Great Eastern Gravel and U.S. Dredging made a practice of working closer to the shoreline than permitted in their concessions.[16]

In 1941 the trustees sued to rescind Strong's 1937 concession because of several violations, including not leaving the bottom of the area dredged with a uniform grade and not permanently removing all sand and other materials, but depositing them in adjacent waters. The New York State Supreme Court did not revoke the contract because the violations were found to be subject to the forfeiture clauses in the contract, and other remedies were possible without revocation.[17]

The sand and gravel operation of O'Brian Brothers was a major catalyst for the incorporation of the village of Belle Terre, which encompasses most of Port Jefferson Harbor's eastern shorelines. Early in the 1930s, O'Brian Brothers, which operated in the harbor's northeast corner, began constructing a refining plant at the base of Mt. Misery, inside the harbor. This generated considerable local opposition, resulting in area residents' seeking to incorporate the surrounding area as a village, thus gaining control over land-

use decisions and the ability to stop construction of the refinery. The incorporation effort was successful in 1931, and shortly thereafter the new village of Belle Terre successfully sued to stop O'Brian Brothers from completing its refinery.[18]

Boundaries of mining concessions were sources of considerable conflict. In 1931, for example, Great Eastern was granted a concession to mine in the northwesterly part of Port Jefferson Harbor. Shortly thereafter, Selah Strong sued the town trustees, claiming ownership of several marsh islands within the concession area, and in 1933 received a judgement upholding his claim. In response, the trustees in 1934 renewed Great Eastern's concessions with changes that excluded the property owned by Strong.[19]

In early summer 1936, the trustees engaged in a lengthy discussion of mining triggered by a notice from the U.S. War Department concerning an application by U.S. Dredging (Selah Strong's contractor) to mine in the western part of the harbor. A representative of Great Eastern stated that as there was room in Port Jefferson Harbor for only one dredging company, the trustees should protest granting the permit. The trustees were reminded that they already had granted a concession to U.S. Dredging: accordingly, Great Eastern requested additional lands to replace those surrendered to Strong as a result of his lawsuit.[20]

In August 1936, the trustees considered Strong's request for a concession to mine additional areas in western Port Jefferson Harbor. The application was subsequently revised, but prompted a general discussion on the granting of sand and gravel concessions. When Great Eastern opposed Strong's request, claiming it was for property already granted to it, the president of the town trustees suggested no action be taken until Great Eastern and Strong agreed on the boundaries.[21]

At their 27 October meeting, the trustees resolved Selah Strong's suit over title to the marsh islands in the Narrows which the litigation had given to him. The trustees authorized him to mine to a depth of thirty-five feet at mean low water in the northwest corner of Port Jefferson Harbor and the Narrows, in return for which Strong gave the trustees title to the islands in the Narrows and paid a $5,000 royalty for mining he already had done.[22]

The settlement took away a portion of the land covered by Great Eastern's earlier concession. To replace land that had to be turned over to Strong, the trustees revised Great Eastern's concession to include additional lands in Port Jefferson Harbor and new land in Setauket Harbor. However, Setauket Harbor was never mined. In January 1937, the trustees granted a concession to Selah Strong to mine more of the Narrows, to a depth not exceeding thirty-five feet at mean low tide and with a minimum depth of eight feet.[23]

In addition to Strong's claims, the town's title to the underwater lands being mined became a major issue when a suit, initiated by New York State in the early 1930s, sought to obtain state title to them. If the state won the case, the trustees would be held responsible for the use of the land and no longer could grant concessions or collect royalties. To protect the town's interests

during litigation, the trustees put royalties from gravel into an escrow account. In 1939 the court ruled in favor of the trustees, determining that the title did, in fact, reside with the town. Although the state appealed, the decision was upheld.[24]

Gravel Mining and the Shellfish Industry

The mining of sand and gravel had significant implications for the shellfish industry of Port Jefferson Harbor. The major impact of mining was the elimination of important shellfish habitats, particularly the intertidal and shallow sand flats which supported populations of soft clams. In addition, the possibility existed that the shellfish productivity of the harbor bottom was impacted by mining-induced changes in circulation and environmental quality. Harvesting shellfish in Port Jefferson Harbor was a significant industry during the early 1930s. Harvesting must have been intense because, in 1933, the trustees prohibited commercial shellfish harvesting (harvesting for personal consumption was exempted) for two years. This was prompted by fear that the shellfish population had become so reduced by heavy fishing that, unless taking was restricted, it would soon be exhausted and possibly extinct.[25]

The impact of sand and gravel mining on shellfish harvesting became a major issue at the 1936 public hearing to consider several applications for sand and gravel mining concessions in the western portion of Port Jefferson Harbor. Approximately twenty-five baymen who shellfished in the harbor attended the hearing. Representing shellfish interests, Wallace Bull of Port Jefferson testified that he employed twenty-to-thirty men to dig clams (probably soft clams), many of whom were from the welfare office's rolls. He estimated that the clam beds in Port Jefferson Harbor were worth $60,000 per year, while the oyster grounds in Setauket Harbor were worth $10,000 per year to him. He suggested that an area be saved and reserved for the baymen. John A. Brown reported that his business of buying and selling clams from the Port Jefferson Harbor flats generated $6,782 annually, and that he employed as many as thirty-three men a week. He also stated that there was a natural growth of clams on the flats, and it did not seem right "to give away the people's birthright for five cents a cubic yard." Carl J. Heyser, an attorney who represented local baymen, reported that baymen made $5 per day, some as much as $50 per week. He filed a petition asking that dredging be stopped, because it was destroying shellfish on the flats and therefore endangered the livelihood of the baymen. Daniel Perry, speaking on behalf of Great Eastern, testified that because the part his company mined was almost depleted, it needed a larger area in which to work. He added that his company's average monthly payroll was $1,000.[26]

The president of the Brookhaven town trustees, Henry D. Silverman, also spoke at the hearing concerning the dilemma that mining concessions posed to the board. He noted that if the concessions were granted the baymen would be hurt, but if they were not granted the men who worked for mining

companies would be adversely affected. In addition, the royalty was a significant source of revenue to the town, approximately $24,000 per year, thus reducing the general tax levy. A week after the hearing, the board approved the concession application of Great Eastern, with the following statement: "It is the desire of the Trustees of the Town to improve Setauket and Port Jefferson Harbor and to remove all islands, thatch beds and fill therein and to obtain a Harbor at least 12 feet deep at mean low water and create a navigable bay." In January 1937, the trustees approved Selah Strong's application.[27]

In spring 1938 John Brown again spoke before the trustees on behalf of the commercial baymen who still worked in Port Jefferson Harbor. He noted that baymen favored a closed season on clamming during the summer months for conservation purposes, but should be allowed to harvest in those areas where mining was going to destroy the shellfish. The trustees expressed support for the request, but do not appear to have acted upon it.[28]

In fall 1938 a delegation of baymen, this time led by Wallace Bull, of Port Jefferson, appeared before the Brookhaven trustees to request that sand piled up on Setauket Beach by Great Eastern be graded into the water, thus creating several acres of clam flats that would provide a source of employment for many baymen. At the next meeting, the attorney for the trustees advised that it would be unwise to permit sand to be placed below high water, because it would violate the concession provision requiring that sand not be returned to the water. He suggested that, if the trustees wanted to create a sand flat along the beach for shellfish propagation, other arrangements could be made. Sand and gravel mining eventually eliminated the intertidal sand flats that were the primary habitat for soft clams in Port Jefferson Harbor. The extensive areas of deep water created were apparently not as conducive for shellfish, as the waters of the harbor do not now support a significant commercial shellfish industry.[29]

Recreational Boating and Environmental Impacts

When recreational boating began to increase in popularity in the 1960s, the sand and gravel mining operations had already made Port Jefferson Harbor well suited to meet the needs of recreational boaters. By deepening the entrance and eliminating areas of shallow water, mining greatly improved the harbor's navigability. The elimination of intertidal flats in the northwest corner opened the area to mooring and anchoring, while mining the cove into Mt. Misery created a popular area for anchoring and swimming. The deepening of the Narrows allowed increased recreational uses and improved access. As a result of these town-sponsored improvements, recreational boating has become an important component of Port Jefferson's economy.[30]

Mining operations dramatically changed the natural resources of Port Jefferson Harbor. Marsh islands and extensive intertidal flats were eliminated, and the ecological communities associated with these habitats were replaced

by other species. How this replacement has altered the food webs, food chains, and nutrient cycles of the harbor has not been documented, although the harbor currently supports significant natural resources and wildlife populations and has been designated a Significant Coastal Area by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service.[31]

With respect to environmental quality, Port Jefferson Harbor is considered to have the best water quality of all of Long Island Sound harbors. Development of the lands surrounding the harbor has probably had a more adverse impact than sand and gravel mining: stormwater runoff accounts for 97 percent of the total bacteria coliform input and 25 percent of the total nitrogen loading. In addition, by deepening the harbor, mining increased the water exchange between the harbor and Long Island Sound, thus reducing the potential for water-quality degradation within the harbor.[32]

Conclusion

Sand and gravel mining was seen largely as beneficial by the Brookhaven town trustees, as it was a way to improve the navigation of the harbor without expending public funds and the royalties it produced were used to reduce town taxes. Mining operations also provided a source of employment for residents. Not until 1936 did the potential adverse impact become an issue, at least with respect to the shellfish industry. By granting the concessions, the trustees indicated that they believed that mining yielded greater benefits than harvesting shellfish. If it were not for the disruption during World War II, mining might have continued for many more years.

Although mining sand and gravel in the Port Jefferson Harbor Complex went on for less than fifty years, it caused dramatic changes in the harbor and shaped its future uses. The most drastic change was the elimination of the intertidal flats that were productive soft clam habitats. Not until much later did recreational boating take advantage of the opportunities provided by mining, which has resulted in the harbor's becoming one of the Sound's major recreational boating areas, much to the benefit of the economy of Port Jefferson.

NOTES

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RECOVERING VICTORIA WOODHULL: A REVIEW ESSAY

By Amanda Frisken

Victoria Woodhull is back. Long Islander Lois Beachy Underhill's *The Woman Who Ran for President: The Many Lives of Victoria Woodhull* is the latest and best in a long series of Woodhull biographies. Underhill, a former advertising executive, has written a popular, readable book for the 1990s—feminist in tone, rationally argued, with a contemporary cynicism for politicians and media. Underhill takes the nineteenth-century radical reformer and free love advocate seriously, and, for the first time, tells her story as a political actor. Right from its introduction, written by Gloria Steinem, this biography reclaims Woodhull not only as a pioneer woman politician but, more importantly and provocatively, as a heroine for 1990s feminism.[1]

This is an important recovery of a woman until recently buried in her own notoriety. Woodhull is typically remembered as the free lover who exposed the revered Brooklyn pastor Henry Ward Beecher for adultery in 1872. During the past century, biographers attempting to capture Woodhull's life have been confounded by the mythic proportions of her story, and disabled by her illusiveness as a historical subject. Writings bearing her name are of questionable authorship, her letters are almost invariably penned by others, and her name typically conjures up legends and scandals rather than cold hard fact. All this is complicated by the fact that Woodhull devoted considerable energy and expense to the construction of her own image. Victoria Woodhull is more fictional than real, the product both of a decade of social upheaval and radical political shifts known as Reconstruction, as well as more than a century of mythmaking.

Woodhull's life, in the final analysis, is not her biography: it is the story told by the ways biographers, including Underhill, have struggled with the construction of her highly contested meanings. Woodhull is one of those cultural markers whose recurrence in historical thought denote shifting social currents, and illuminate the limited power we have to recreate historical lives. Yet she has never been adequately analyzed historically, particularly in the context of the crucial years from 1869 through 1877, when she was a powerful but divisive icon in American culture. Woodhull's rise to and fall from power marks a time of crisis for the political fortunes of at least three significant reform movements—woman's rights, black civil rights, and the labor movement—and is therefore central to understanding the decline of reform in the Gilded Age.

The few undisputed facts of her life form the foundation upon which

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biographers construct their stories. She was born Victoria Claflin in Homer, Ohio, in 1838, the seventh of ten children born to Buck and Roxanna Claflin. Her father, at the time of her birth, was a miller; her Methodist mother was spiritually reborn during the Second Great Awakening. At the age of fourteen, Victoria married a doctor, Canning Woodhull, with whom she had two children before divorcing him in 1865. After marrying Colonel James H. Blood, a Civil War veteran, in 1866, Woodhull (she retained the name of her first husband) began a career as a parlor spiritualist and travelling medium, at times working in conjunction with her younger sister, Tennessee Claflin, billed (by her parents) as the Wonderful Child seer and cancer healer. In 1869, the two sisters, Woodhull and Claflin, together with their parents, Colonel Blood, and assorted siblings, moved to New York City and in short order opened a brokerage business, amidst great popular attention, in what was then the exclusively male domain of Wall Street.

In their illustrious career of "firsts," the Wall Street firm was only the beginning. In early 1870, using the money and publicity acquired from her stock market success, Woodhull declared herself a candidate for the 1872 presidential race. Her journal, *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, appeared two months later, and, under the editorial stewardship of the radical philosopher Stephen Pearl Andrews, quickly became a formidable competitor in the reform press. In January 1871, she presented a memorial to Congress on behalf of woman's suffrage, becoming the first woman to address a senate committee. She spent considerable sums publicizing the cause of woman suffrage, spoke frankly and publicly on woman's rights, and lectured and published on the volatile social question known as free love. By 1871 she was so widely known that she had earned the nickname 'The Woodhull' in hostile political circles and presses, and her followers and even unintentional associates were dismissed as 'Woodhullites.'

Woodhull styled herself as a 'public woman,'[2] and devoted her career to the production and protection of her popular image. Her *Weekly*, a remarkably open forum for reform in general, was simultaneously a vehicle for self-promotion, the one uncontested public arena in which her self-posturing could exist unchallenged. The *Weekly* was the place where she claimed her right to represent all women. It was the place to state her defense for supporting her alcoholic ex-husband Dr. Woodhull under the same roof as her second husband. It became the site in which her Beecher revelations found an eager audience. She used the *Weekly* to counter the charges made in a best-selling but often disputed pamphlet by a former friend and ally, Dr. Joseph Treat, exposing her alleged history as a prostitute and quasi-Madam.[3] When the *Weekly*, on which her public life depended, crashed in 1876 due to lack of funding, she lost control over her public image, and never regained it. Even her triumphant marriage into old English money (to the dismay of her radical colleagues of the 1870s), and her tireless sponsorship of a series of glowing (auto-)biographical pamphlets, appearing regularly until her death in the 1920s, failed to undo the damage done by the hostile press in the 1870s.

It took the sexual revolution of the Roaring Twenties to generate the first book-length assessment of Woodhull's life. Emanie Sachs unearthed the old stories and scandals, and published them in her seminal work *"The Terrible Siren,"* a muckraking biography appearing the year after Woodhull's death, in 1928. Writing in the spirit of Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*, Sachs took Woodhull's adopted respectability to task, and called her on her hypocrisy in denying free love. Sachs, a novelist, playwright, and amateur biographer, was attracted to the "wild woman" in Woodhull as a subject: her biography simultaneously sexualized and dismissed Woodhull as a charlatan who was never a serious political player in nineteenth-century reform. Written at a time when feminism was out of fashion, *"The Terrible Siren"* used the newly popularized Freudian psychology to provide pat, sexual explanations for Woodhull's bounding ambition.[4]

The elite of the post-suffragettes also influenced Sachs's dismissal of Woodhull. "I do not believe Mrs. Woodhull was ever an important factor either in this country or in England," Carrie Chapman Catt advised Sachs in 1927. "Her life was chiefly valuable as demonstrating that a reformer can entirely queer every effort she makes by getting too far ahead of the average trend of public opinion, or entirely off the beat." Harriet Stanton Blatch, daughter of pioneer suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton, likewise cautioned Sachs that "Mrs. Woodhull's life would probably not repay study" as she was "never *active* in suffrage," and that her memorial to the Senate Judiciary Committee on behalf of suffrage "began and ended her suffrage activity." The suffrage historian Ida Husted Harper concurred: "Only a little handfull [*sic*] of suffragists in New York City knew Mrs. Woodhull. I never saw her. She flashed in and flashed out, was handsome and brilliant and ignored the conventional morality."[5]

Sachs's correspondence reveals a strong determination to sensationalize her subject. "Victoria Woodhull was the firebrand of her time, and her story is as strange as her personality," became *"The Terrible Siren"*'s opening line. Woodhull's story was, for Sachs, "a story of violent action and romantic contrasts, dominated by the courage and vitality of a woman who was brilliant and ignorant and beautiful; who emerged from a background which explains much that seems inexplicable, since few ever have emerged into public notice from such a sordid beginning." This "sordid beginning" included a charlatan father, whose physical violence drove his children to pathological lengths. The mother in Sachs' s rendition was "a squalid, ignorant nuisance," given a guttural German accent ("'De other children yust push them avay'" or "'Remember you have a holy mudder in Israel" are representative samples) as just the most obvious marker of difference. For Sachs, such early tribulations explained Woodhull's ambition, as "her early itch for greatness had grown with the slurs it fed on until no personal happiness would do."[6]

"The Terrible Siren" is a curious book; a compilation of verbatim trial transcripts, extensive unedited newspaper copy, and lengthy excerpts from lectures, all interspersed with scathing commentary from a 'liberated' twenties

sensibility. The Red Scare and attendant dismissal of reform in the 1920s allowed Sachs to trivialize even the *Weekly*, for its time a substantial player in the reform press: "Like Victoria herself it was silly and venomous and sublime." *"The Terrible Siren"* was authoritative in its apparent authenticity, adherence to 'fact' (and implied concern with legal entanglements), and scope. The book even thwarted Zula Maud Woodhull's dying wish to have her mother's biography written (a task that Zula could not accomplish in her own lifetime) in 1951. Her executors agreed that "The general picture presented by... *"The Terrible Siren"* is now accepted by historians, and certain facts which the testatrix may have hoped to disprove must be considered as established." With all its flaws, Sachs's thorough but uneven, idiosyncratic biography became the master narrative on Woodhull for the next forty years.[7]

During the McCarthy era, Woodhull emerged as a monomaniacal queen of notoriety. According to Gerald Johnson,

> Victoria was not in the least a philosophical Feminist. She had neither the intellectual nor the social background to formulate a program on abstract principles. She was a Feminist not because the position of women was unjust and disabling to half the human race but because it was unjust and disabling to a specific individual, to wit, Victoria Woodhull.

It was as lunatics, eccentric icons from the annals of Americana that Woodhull and Claflin gained currency in the 1950s. *"The Terrible Siren"*'s model of familial pathology survived intact: the sisters "grew up to be beauties in the midst of all the uproar in their squalid, storm-ridden home. They ran about wild, wearing tattered clothes, whispering gibberish to the spirits." This Woodhull came complete with a demented mother: "Roxy was a slatternly housewife," wrote Johnson, "and her method of discipline consisted of alternately screaming at the children and slobbering over them." Woodhull herself became "the aggressive...the wily...the deplorable hussy, Mrs. Woodhull," about whom one could only say that "the rights of women interested her only for a moment as a way to exploit further her consuming egotism." Antagonism for the American left, and tacit adherence to a new domesticity, made Woodhull into a cartoonish foil for the 1950s' American woman.[8]

As Sachs predicted, Woodhull became an artifact of Americana, and one of her most compelling representations was as a female rags-to-riches heroine rising through the ranks to power by means of her body. The Vanderbilt legend was a case in point—rumor held that the sisters traded sexual favors for Cornelius Vanderbilt's financial backing on Wall Street. Irving Wallace, in *The Nympho and Other Maniacs,* best encapsulated this paradigm. In a chapter entitled "The Prostitute Who Ran For President," Wallace calmly asserted that, "It is unlikely that there ever existed, before the advent of Victoria Claflin Woodhull, a presidential candidate with a background so

unstable, chaotic, and sexually scandalous.[9]

Two Woodhull biographies appearing in 1967—Johanna Johnston's *Mrs. Satan* and M. M. Marberry's *Vicky*—similarly highlighted Woodhull's sexual transgressions, again evincing a female Horatio Alger paradigm. Johnston's backhanded acknowledgement of Woodhull 's principles" went unnoticed: contemporary reviewers seized on her sexuality. The historian Christopher Lasch's review of the two biographies called Woodhull and her sister "courtesans," and attributed their power to their sexual prowess:

> Among the hatchet faces of American feminism, Victoria Woodhull and her sister Tennessee Claflin were exceptional not only in their beauty but in the effective use to which they put it. Their lives show how, in special cases, the new ideology of feminism grafted itself onto an older type of feminine careerism. An unusually efficient and clever courtesan might, on occasion, put on the disguise of a 'new woman.'

Another reviewer, Lillian Gilkes, found that the "sordidness of Victoria's ...childhood...recalls that of Marilyn Monroe," and posited the "psychological drives to escape from that environment" as an explanation for her passionate advocacy of free love. This model was most recently recast in James Brough's fictionalized *The Vixens*, in which a hypersexualized Woodhull uses power to achieve her own psychologically motivated and unladylike ends.[10]

It took the re-emergence of woman's rights to challenge *"The Terrible Siren."* Beginning with Madeleine Stern's *We the Women: Career Firsts of Nineteenth Century America*, which highlighted the sisters' brokerage business, Woodhull began to resurface as a major player in the struggle for women's equality. With the emergence of second-wave feminism in the late 1960s, women historians began to challenge *"The Terrible Siren"*"'s legacy and tease out the elusive strands of Woodhull's contribution to the history of women and suffrage. In publishing her speeches and key writings, Arlene Kisner's *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly: the Lives and Writings of the Notorious Victoria Woodhull and her Sister Tennessee Claflin* and Madeleine Stern's *The Victoria Woodhull Reader* took her authorship as a given, denying or at least sidestepping the rumors of her illiteracy.[11]

The rise of feminist history also brought to light Woodhull's connection to nineteenth-century radicalism. Mary Jo Buhle, in her now-classic *Women and American Socialism,* called Woodhull "the most renowned publicist of woman suffrage," who happened to be "the precipitating agent in a fatal rift between rival American and German-dominated sections [of the First International] in 1872." Likewise, Ellen Carol Du Bois's path-breaking scholarship on protofeminism in this era suggests that the "notoriety of free lover Victoria Woodhull... exacerbated, but did not create...concern about the moral character of feminists." Amidst a wave of backlash in the popular press during Reconstruction, Woodhull became one symbolic justification for abandoning reform. Recovering the history of Woodhull as an agent in her own right

consequently remains problematic for feminist historians.[12]

Underhill's *The Woman Who Ran for President* is the first comprehensive attempt to assess Woodhull's personality in action. Initially, Underhill, too, is caught up with the question of motivation. Subscribing to the familial pathology model, she depicts Woodhull's early years in a "tense and fearful household...a disordered household with no rational rules, [in which] Victoria was learning how to manipulate her parents, imitating [her mother's] own coping devices." Underhill notes that "trauma instilled in [Woodhull] a sense of distrust that shaped" her later years and also explains her ambition: "She learned how to hold an audience, how to win sympathy and approval. With remarkable resourcefulness, she turned that talent into one of her strongest coping skills." Yet Underhill wisely downplays these early years, condensing Woodhull's early life into three brief chapters, and recasting that shrewish Roxy of *"The Terrible Siren"* as an eccentric evangelical believer (not unusual in frontier society) who instilled in her seventh child, named for the newly crowned queen of England, an unshakable faith in her own destiny.[13]

Underhill swiftly transcends personal explanations of Woodhull's rise to fame. Of Wall Street, Underhill writes: "It was the first of many occasions on which Woodhull offered herself as a 'representative woman,' a woman moving into situations where no woman had gone before." Underhill is alive to the larger context in which Woodhull and Claflin operated, and the symbolic campaign they fought. "The sisters quickly created remarkable public roles on Wall Street," Underhill notes. "This, in fact, was their primary objective." Woodhull's promotion of free love in response to public vituperation was a "calculated stance to show her private life was a matter of principle rather than convenience....It was a desperate act that placed Woodhull in the center of the hottest social issue of the day, and put her public career on a new course." Similarly, Underhill lends Woodhull's exposure of Beecher both personal and social meaning. "In writing this account of Beecher for the *Weekly*," Underhill argues, "Woodhull was explaining herself to the world. The concept that physical sexuality was to be encouraged as healthy and normal for both men and women would become a theme of her future lectures." Underhill argues that Woodhull's personal politics explain the scandals of 1872.[14]

Underhill's most important contribution is her recovery of Woodhull as political lobbyist. Woodhull's famous memorial to Congress—demanding federal protection of women's right to vote under the 14th and 15th Amendments—has been, until now, an inexplicable event. In this new writing, Underhill shows that Woodhull engaged in several months of intense political lobbying in Washington on behalf of female suffrage that culminated in a collaboration with Radical Republican Senator Benjamin Butler on the text and delivery of the memorial. "The Woodhull-Butler collaboration produced a remarkable new direction for the suffrage movement," Underhill writes. "Woodhull couldn't have succeeded without Butler's adroit political tactics, and he wouldn't have persevered without her persuasive influence."[15] Without denying the probability that the text was written by Butler or another collaborator, Underhill gives Woodhull the credit for precipitating its

appearance—not just as the mouthpiece but as the impetus. The Woodhull of 1869 through 1870 emerges as a political insider, her famous 'salons' (until now dismissed as quasi-orgies) the breeding ground for a multifarious utopian agenda that gives new credence to her commitment to radical causes of the 1870s.

In fine second-wave feminist tradition, Underhill likewise undermines the assertion of Woodhull's illiteracy, going so far as to analyze the script on her autobiographical notes, written, she asserts, in Woodhull's own hand. Underhill's discovery of these notes through the Holland-Martin family (descendants of Woodhull's third husband, John Martin) is critical to this new biography, and its take on Woodhull as a proto-feminist political actor. Instead of relying, as historians have, until now, been forced to do, on her published works (of dubious authorship), and highly distorted external representations, Underhill has unearthed a wealth of self-reflections and reconstructions which give shape and coherence, if perhaps too much credence, to Woodhull's own interpretation of her reign in the popular press. Through careful blending of Woodhull's musings and thorough scrutiny of secondary material, Underhill legitimizes Woodhull's bid for the presidency, not as a random act of a confused egotist but rather as the deliberate strategy of a political idealist.

Underhill downplays the prostitute imagery which so fascinated and distracted earlier twentieth-century biographers. Woodhull the Victorian free lover emerges as a twentieth-century liberated woman who sought out relationships with men, and ended them when she chose. "She had a strong hedonistic element in her makeup," writes Underhill, "and the philosophy of free love gave her a rationalization for acting it out." Given the close connection in the popular nineteenth-century imagination between public activity for women and prostitution, Underhill rightly questions several accusations of this kind, notably the Treat exposé. In so doing, however, she also buries some pressing questions about Woodhull, who made some ambiguous statements concerning allegations of prostitution, calling herself at one point an "abandoned woman," and apparently defending her practice of taking money for sex on another. Rather, Underhill explains Woodhull as a sexually free agent who was misunderstood—much as Woodhull herself might have argued in 1872.[16]

In this respect, Underhill legitimizes Woodhull on Woodhull's own terms: she has at last written the biography that Zula Maud Woodhull did not write. This is the story of Woodhull the cultural politician—*The Woman Who Ran For President*—rather than Woodhull the egotist, the sexually depraved hypocrite held responsible for the dismantling of mid-nineteenth-century reform. This is a welcome revision, but there are problems with this interpretation. As in previous histories, the critical problem is with the sources themselves. In her determination to re-assert Woodhull as an agent in her own right, Underhill depends upon Woodhull's own version of events to correct her vilification by the Victorian press: in so doing she not only places too much faith in Woodhull's interpretations, she also overlooks the agency of the press

itself.

Woodhull was inextricably bound in the eyes of the press to the reform movements she embraced, and her downfall brought them lower as well. Underhill does not address the question of why Woodhull was the chosen popularizer of such causes. To the extent that the commercial press was threatened by leftist reform (and profited from controversy), the role of the press in Woodhull's eclipse in the 1870s is critical to understanding the period. Underhill does not address this problem directly, yet her reconstruction of Woodhull as a political agent is convincing and thorough, and paves the way for a broader analysis of the period she represented. If Woodhull's personality still overshadows the significant political and social currents of the day—Reconstruction is the most notable of Underhill's omissions—the key elements are nonetheless in place in this biography to make way for further study. *The Woman Who Ran For President* is long overdue.

NOTES

I am grateful for the cooperation of Western Kentucky University and its manuscript supervisor, Patricia Hodges, as well as for the comments of Lisa Handler, Jacob Heller, Annulla Linders, Diane Samuels, Bill Taylor, Nancy Tomes, and Roger Wunderlich.

1. Lois Beachy Underhill, *The Woman Who Ran For President: The Many Lives of Victoria Woodhull* (Bridgehampton: Bridge Works Press, 1995), 1. Woodhull defined free love differently as her career progressed.

2. Woodhull was comparing herself to the so-called 'public man'—the man of the world, politics and the press—who dominated public opinion. She deliberately chose this loaded label to emphasize the double standard which designated all women appearing in public as prostitutes (see Amanda Frisken, "Public Woman: Victoria Woodhull's Indecorous Pursuit of Power," a paper presented at the Conference on New York State History, June 1995).

3. Joseph Treat, *Woodhull, Beecher, Tilton, the Creation of Society* (New York: the author, 1873). Among other things, Treat claimed that he had acted at Woodhull's behest to escort men to her sister Utica's room for the purpose of prostitution.

4. Emanie Sachs to Harriet Stanton Blatch, n.d. [early July 1927], Emanie (Nahm) (Sachs) (Arling) Phillips Collection, Department of Library Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky (this collection hereafter is cited as WKU); Emanie Sachs, *"The Terrible Siren" Victoria Woodhull (1838-1927)* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1928).

5. Carrie Chapman Catt to Emanie Sachs, 21 July 1927, WKU; Harriet Stanton Blatch to Emanie Sachs, 5 July 1927, WKU; Ida Husted Harper to Emanie Sachs, 10 July 1927, WKU.

6. Sachs's letter to a Mr. Hassock is representative of the kind of leading questions she asked of her sources. In the form of a questionnaire, she sent her questions to Hassock, who wrote his responses longhand in the spaces she provided. For example, Sachs: "How did [Tennessee] fit into the party [a picnic at 'Starved Rock' in Ottawa, Ohio]? Did she show any signs of being out of her depths socially? (Prior to that the Claflins had never

been a part of social groups elsewhere.)" Hassock: "The starved rock Picnic was not a high social affair. More of the middle class. She fitted [*sic*] in all right. Was composed and pleasant" (Sachs to "My dear Mr. Hassock," [n.d, August 1927], WKU); Sachs, *Terrible Siren,* xi, 3, 12, 44.

7. The book was an expensive production. For example, the social anarchist Benjamin R. Tucker's bombshell thirty-page-letter description of his affair with Woodhull (printed by Sachs without editorial interruption or qualification) was obtained only with an exorbitant fee and a promise to persuade her publisher to print his autobiography. (Benjamin R. Tucker to Emanie Sachs, 21 October 1928, WKU); Sachs, 140; memorandum, 1 June 1951, Victoria Claflin (Martin) Woodhull Papers, Southern Illinois Univ., Carbondale. In part, Sachs's influence resulted from the tight grip she kept on the copyright for many documents not in the public domain (see Emanie Sachs to Mr. Weissberger, 27 January 1967, WKU, in which she attempted [unsuccessfully] to sell movie rights to the story).

8. Gerald W. Johnson, *The Lunatic Fringe,* (1957; reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973), 105; Ishbel Ross, *Charmers and Cranks: Twelve Famous American Women Who Defied the Conventions* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 112; Johnson, 87; Stewart Holbrook, *Dreamers of the American Dream* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1957), 200-5.

9. Irving Wallace, *The Nympho and Other Maniacs* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), 388.

10. Johanna Johnston, *Mrs. Satan: The Incredible Saga of Victoria Woodhull* (New York: G. C. Putnam's Sons, 1967); M. M. Marberry, *Vickt: A Biography of Victoria C. Woodhull* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1967); Christopher Lasch, "Emancipated Women," *New York Review of Books,* 13 July 1967, 29; Lillian Gilkes, *Saturday Review* 50 (15 April 1967), 30; James Brough, *The Vixens: A Biography of Victoria and Tennessee Claflin* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980).

11. Madeleine Stern, *We the Women: Career Firsts of Nineteenth-Century America* (1963; reprint, New York: Lenox Hill Pub. Corp., 1974); Arlene Kisner, *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly: The Lives and Writings of the Notorious Victoria Woodhull and her Sister Tennessee Claflin* (Camden,.NJ: Times Change Press, 1972); Madeleine Stern, *The Victoria Woodhull Reader* (Boston: M & S Press, 1974); one of the most damning assertions in Benjamin Tucker's letter (in *"The Terrible Siren,"* 239-66), was that Woodhull could neither read nor write.

12. Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1981), xiv; Karl Marx, who considered Woodhull's politics to be dominating the renegade English-speaking American section, used her notoriety as a rationale for its expulsion from the First International (Buhle, *Women and the American Left: A guide to Sources* [Boston: G. K. Hall, 1983], 22); Ellen Carol Du Bois, *The Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony Reader* (New York: Schocken Books, 1981), 194 n5.

13. Underhill, 18-19, 17, 22.

14. Ibid., 63-64, 69, 144, 160.

15. Ibid., 100.

16. Ibid., 184, 36. Whether Woodhull engaged in prostitution—a question with boundless fascination for her contemporaries—has yet to be adequately analyzed. In 1873, when asked if such rumors were true, she was characteristically ambiguous:

> I have done what I conceived to be my duty, and so long as I live I shall continue to do whatever is necessary...even if it be the crucifixion of my body in the manner for which I am now arraigned. If you do not want one [*sic*] to be forced to that extreme, come to my [financial] rescue...and let me not fight the battle all

alone, and be subjected to submit sexually for money to a man I do not love ("Minutes of Spiritualist Convention," *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, 25 Oct. 1873, 8).

LONG ISLAND'S POET, AMERICA'S BARD: READING *WALT WHITMAN'S AMERICA*

By Thomas D. Beal

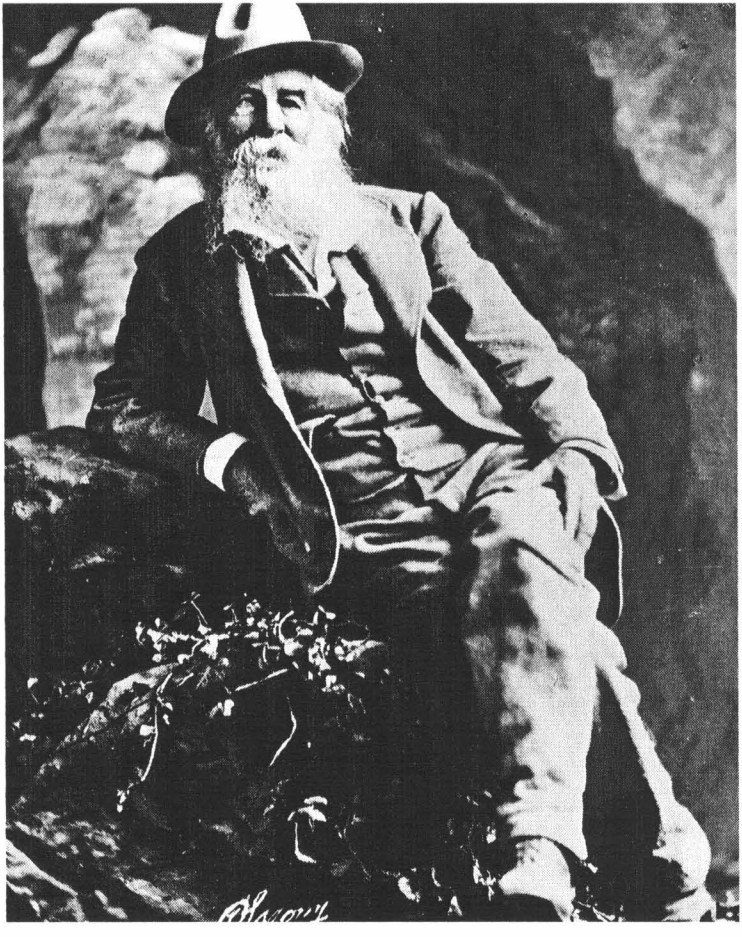
This is what you shall do: Love the earth and the sun and the animals, despise riches, give alms to every one that asks, stand up for the stupid and crazy, devote you income and labor to others, hate tyrants, argue not concerning God, have patience and indulgence toward the people, take off your hat to nothing known or unknown or to any man or number of men, go freely with powerful uneducated persons with the young and with the mothers of families, read these leaves in the open air every season of every year of your life, re-examine all you have been told at school or church or in any book, dismiss whatever insults your own soul, and your very flesh shall be a great poem and have the richest fluency not only in its words but in the silent lines of its lips and face and between the lashes of your eyes and in every motion and joint of your body.[1]

Walt Whitman, Introduction to *Leaves of Grass* (1855)

The quotation captures the dominant theme of Walt Whitman's most celebrated work. More than a poetic challenge to recognize the natural world, these lines are commandments describing how readers could merge with and become part of Whitman's mystical vision of America. The first lines profile the thoughts of a poet whose soul was connected to nature, but one living amongst a people that viewed the natural world without necessarily seeing it. Caught up in the nineteenth-century's obsession with economic progress, Americans often ignored nature's beauty while revelling in the bounty of its resources. Reading these biblical poems in the "open air every season of every year," he asserted, would correct this imbalance and was the best means of reconnecting man's soul to nature. This artificial barrier was problematic, but even more troubling, from Whitman's perspective, was that Americans had lost their sense of unity.[2]

In a similar vein, this passage outlined Whitman's perception of how democracy, with its emphasis on individualism, undermined the kinship-like bonds once existing between all citizens. Read literally, lines like "have patience and indulgence toward the people" and "go freely with powerful uneducated persons" describe Whitman's idyllic vision of common men and women living in a democratic society. But in the context of the 1850s, they emerge as a reminder to the middle class that *the people* were the basis of a

emerge as a reminder to the middle class that *the people* were the basis of a democratic society. Middle-class consciousness was achieved, at least in part, by transforming those who worked with their hands, instead of their heads, into *the other*. To Whitman, any *us and them* class bifurcation undermined democracy's promise. In an effort to eliminate class distinctions and symbolic acts of deference, Whitman charged men to "take off your hat to nothing." Only then could they, as the poet did, celebrate equality as the centerpiece of America's national identity. Whitman created a new type of poetry, one reflecting democracy in both form and language.[3]



Studio Portrait of Walt Whitman. Photograph, Napoleon Sarony, 1878, New York, courtesy of the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association.

The twelve untitled free verse poems that followed the introduction redefined democracy and were Whitman's attempt to unify America poetically. *Leaves of Grass* melded the rough language of frontiersmen, mechanics, and farmers with a simplified form of transcendental philosophy. Here was America's bard, composing and singing ballads that celebrated the common man and woman. He defined himself as part of the common folk, and was fond of rubbing elbows with them in the streets, sidewalks, taverns, and ferries of Brooklyn and Manhattan. Here he developed an ear for language and the urban din, sounds he captured in poetry.[4] The first two poems, now entitled "Song of Myself" and "A Song for Occupations," were descriptive mingling of rural sights and urban sounds, venerating America. While the language and images coalesced into a portrait of everyday life, they served as a clear explication of his vision of American oneness and unity. Publishing the work on 4 July 1855, Whitman envisioned the document as a second constitution, redefining democracy's future.

Whitman controlled each stage of publication of the edition, crafting its appearance to change reading from a passive, solitary act into an active ritual, one that allowed a democracy of readers to engage with Whitman's body and soul. Perhaps more than any of his contemporaries, he created a work that demanded readers to embrace the author's vision, with text, cover, type, and page size designed as "verses" of the poem. Trapped between dark green covers—a color associated in the nineteenth century with health, strength, and vigor—was a ninety-five page work (ten of which make up a double-columned introduction). The title was stamped in gold-tendriled letters on the front and along the binding, and printed at the Brooklyn shop of James and Andrew Rome in traditional "English" type on inexpensive 8 ¼ by 11¼ inch paper. Collectively, these create a visually enticing work, but its most symbolic aspects were inside the two green covers: the title page and frontispiece. Whitman designed a simple title page, displaying only the work's name and place of publication. Setting the tone for the poetry, a steel engraving of a daguerreotype portrait of Whitman was centered on the frontispiece.[5] Standing, wearing coarsely woven pants and a plain white shirt, open at the collar, with hat cocked and hands dug into his pockets, the engraving represents Whitman's idealized version of the rough-hewn common man. Also, it illustrates Whitman's attempt to erase all distinctions between reader and author. Whitman merged his body with the mechanically reproduced image, an effort to assert that even in an age dominated by technological progress the soul and the sexual being remained at the center of the universe.[6] *Leaves of Grass* was more than a collection of poems, it was a means for participating in Whitman's vision. This example of *reading* the layers of meaning in the 1855 edition demonstrates its richness as a source for understanding nineteenth century America, a richness scholars are only now beginning to probe.

A recent bibliography cited some 139 monographs that focus on the life and writings of Whitman, a number that leads one to wonder if we need

another.[7] No one has discovered a new body of letters, diaries, or unpublished writings— tucked away in an attic or untapped archive—that shed new light on the poet's life, and it appears a number of important questions will remain unanswered. Without new information, the biographer's approach to and analysis of evidence become significant. This shift from the piecing together the details that explicate a writer's life to an emphasis on analysis makes David S. Reynolds's interpretation, *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography*, noteworthy.[8] It attempts to cast the poet not as a solitary icon distant from his surroundings, but as a participant in the culture of nineteenth-century America. What at first glance appears a rather ordinary biography evolves into a delightful work that adeptly draws the reader into the poet's sphere. Anyone reading this massive work will understand the light Whitman's life and a careful reading of *Leaves of Grass* can shed on American culture. Perhaps many New Yorkers and Long Islanders will, as I now do, pocket a copy of *Leaves of Grass*, and while shuffling through city streets or along the shore, read in the open air. Whitman wanted it that way.

Reynolds's work goes beyond recent interpretations, like Paul Zweig's *Walt Whitman: The Making of the Poet*, in accounting for the historical influences that shaped the thirty-six year old writer of *Leaves of Grass*.[9] Whitman believed an author and his work were intertwined in a complex historical web, stressing the impossibility of understanding one without the other. When asked to explain the meaning of a verse, he responded "[n]o one can know *Leaves of Grass* who judges it piecemeal"(xi). Reynolds's goal is to probe the author's life and works within a framework that explains how they reflect and embody distinct historical "environment[s], surroundings, circumstances"(xii). While "reconstructing the life and times of America's most representative poet," he simultaneously undermines current trends toward "piecemeal approaches to literary history"(xi). Culturally realigning Whitman requires Reynolds to be both historian and literary critic. The result is part biography, part cultural history, and part literary criticism, weaving a complex analysis through a myriad of shifting contexts while consistently providing insight into Whitman's poetic universe.

This cultural biography opens with a description of Whitman's childhood on Long Island, and how it influenced his world-view and writings. Because biographers tend to view these formative years through the lens of Freudian analysis, they have, Reynolds asserts, misinterpreted a good deal of Whitman's youth. Instead, Reynolds attempts to reconstruct how and why Whitman over the course of his life created, at least in part, an imagined past. In doing so, a complex portrait emerges allowing Reynolds to understand why Whitman later incorporated his family's genealogy and life on Long Island into his poetry. Born 31 May 1819 in West Hills, close to Huntington, Whitman was one of a family of nine children. His parents, Walter Whitman of English ancestry and Louisa Van Velsor-Whitman of Dutch ancestry were semiliterate farm folk. Four years after Walt was born, his parents left the hardships of rural life and moved to Brooklyn, where his father hoped to be more successful at carpentry

than he was at farming. In his youth Whitman spent part of the summer with his grandmother Hannah Bush Whitman, who remained in Huntington. It was during these trips that he began to define his relationship with nature. Long Island's rural landscape, from Whitman's perspective, was a microcosm of the vast American continent, a mixture of shorelines, swamps, vast plains, and dense forests. Whitman often ambled from one end of the Island to the other. Here, nature's landscape was broken by the occasional farming community. The Island was sparsely populated, and its rural people, Whitman later recalled, were warm and friendly. Here he first connected nature and democracy, a connection that would flow throughout the first editions of *Leaves of Grass*. The most important influence, aside from his parents, Reynolds contends, was this landscape. Thus, when *Leaves of Grass* appeared it was "far from being an unexplainable miracle, [but] was the product of a mind fully engaged with the contemporary cultural and social scene," a scene translated through Whitman's connection to nature(98).

Once in Brooklyn, Whitman was but a ferry ride from the evolving center of the nation's culture. For a writer, the 1830s and 1840s were vibrant. This was the era of the penny press, initiated by Gordon Bennett's *New York Herald* (1835) and Benjamin Day's *New York Sun* (1833). One historian estimated that by 1840 more than 1,200 papers were printed throughout the country. Nowhere was this development more visible than in Manhattan and Brooklyn, where newsboys and newsstands peddled cheap daily and weekly newspapers, many of them illustrated, to an information-hungry public. Newspapers were everywhere. Many biographies, like Justin Kaplan's *Walt Whitman: A Life*, discuss Whitman's newspaper years but fail to interpret how they influenced his later writing, specifically, his poetry.[10] Reynolds argues that this culture of print had a profound effect on Whitman. In fact his first jobs were as a newspaper man and later as editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, the *Brooklyn Evening Star*, the *Long Islander*, and the *New York Aurora*. On this training ground, he learned the publishing industry and developed a reporter's eye that helped him capture and recreate the spectacle of urban New York and pastoral Long Island..

As a promising age of democracy dawned in America, its ideas recast everything from politics to culture, the publication both of newspapers and "shilling novels" part of this process. When Ralph Waldo Emerson called for development of a national literature that would reflect the unique American experience, the response was unexpected. Writers fed the market's demand, beginning in the 1840s with "yellow-backed" fiction, and in the 1850s with the first dime novels. The literature's popularity stemmed from its ability to excite the senses, but the middle class believed such works, if writers subtly inserted morality beneath the text, were a valuable tool for reform. In this vein, Whitman wrote the temperance tale, Franklin Evans; or The Inebriate: A Tale of the Times, a work he claimed with its bawdy scenes of sex and violence was "written *for the mass*" (96). Before 1855, Whitman was both a newspaper columnist and a writer of popular tales, and found this niche, in what

Reynolds' terms the "literary marketplace," a comfortable one (83-97), producing twenty-four such yarns of adventure, death, the afterlife, and patriotic heroes.[11] Although recent biographers have ignored them, Reynolds uses these works to demonstrate how Whitman participated in the democratization of print culture. Enmeshed in the process of democratizing newspapers and literature, he was willing to try new writing styles and techniques. Experimenting with form became a constant theme in Whitman's writing, a theme he would put to use when he began *Leaves of Grass*.[12]

The burgeoning culture of print brought national and local political debates into every home. Even though Joseph Jay Rubin, Betsy Erkkila, and most recently Philip Callow have demonstrated Whitman's close interest in important political issues, Reynolds shows how Whitman's political positions were informed by his culture.[13] Once seen in this light, Whitman's tendency to take a harshly anti-authoritarian political stance is explainable. Feeding off of his democratic leanings, he was convinced he had to hold American society together, thereby achieving what politicians could not. Between 1846 and 1848, his articles on political topics accounted for nearly a quarter of his production. But, by the mid-1850s, he had lost faith in American politicians. Sectionalism jeopardized liberty, democracy, and even what was defined as America. Here, Reynolds ably portrays Whitman as contemplating the meaning of America, an intimate process that concludes with Whitman's charge that political corruption, sectionalism, and radical abolitionism were destroying the nation. Whitman's notebooks and diaries, Reynolds tells us, contain many references describing the poet's dissatisfaction with this political turmoil. Believing America to be adrift, he argued it needed a unifying force, and theorized poetry was the best means. For Whitman, poetry was not just a text, but a way of organizing one's life. If, he postulated, a writer's poetry were culturally unifying, then he could act as a positive societal force. This, in part, explains Whitman's egocentric poetry. It was produced in an era that demanded action, and as Reynolds claims, was "right in step with the times"(143).

As Reynolds's careful study reveals, Whitman's work resembled and incorporated elements from the popular culture. Other biographies, most notably James E. Miller's *Walt Whitman*, overlook these influences on Whitman's poetry. Yet, these easily dismissed cultural forms were important agents in shaping the way Americans looked at themselves and others. Describing one aspect of this culture, Whitman recalled "absorbing theaters at every pore" and seeing every class of theater "high, low, middling"(156). Theaters were the center of New York's democratic culture of participation. With no invisible barrier between them, the actors and the audience worked together to transform the theater into a lively spectacle; as active participants in a performance, audiences had their favorite actors to whom they shouted from their seats. Whitman was also captivated by the equally raucous and bawdy crowds at minstrel shows, the productions of traditional songs and skits by whites dressed as blacks that were America's first musical genre. Whitman's poetry is a fiery mix of the images and language found in popular

books, opera houses, minstrel shows, religious singing groups, dynamic political orators, and Shakespearean actors. Most importantly, he incorporated this sense of negotiation between audience and artist in a new form of poetry, merging cultural images with the vernacular into a shared language. By reading his poems aloud, readers became actors, simultaneously participating in and absorbing his vision of oneness. This mingling of contextual description with poetry analysis allows Reynolds to connect, more than previous authors, the influence of popular culture on Whitman's poetry. Whitman expertly pulled images from the urban spectacle that engulfed him, yet many, like the objectification of female sexuality, he found troubling.[14]

Internalizing these forms of popular culture, Whitman used them to reach an ever larger audience, and as a forum for explicating his views on gender. From the biographer's perspective the most complex, and certainly the most controversial aspect of Whitman's life was his constant references to sexuality, which most often describe either male/female sexual union or intimate relationships between men. Throughout his life, Whitman poetically played with images of ideal male and female sexual unions of equals merging into a passionate one. In "I Sing the Body Electric," one of his most charged poems, Whitman writes of this immersion:

> This is the female form,
> A divine nimbus exhales from it from head to foot,
> It attracts with fierce undeniable attraction,
> I am drawn by its breath as if I were no more than a
> helpless vapor....all falls aside but myself and it,
> Books, art, religion, time..the visible and solid earth ..
> the atmosphere and the fringed clouds..what was
> expected of heaven or feared of hell are now consumed.

Later, in the same poem, Whitman details the consummation of this male/female sexual union he outlined earlier:

> Bridegroom-night of love working surely and softly into the
> prostrate dawn,
> Undulating into the willing and yielding day,
> Lost in the cleave of the clasping and sweetfleshed day.[15]

These lines, detailing Whitman's idyllic vision of sexual union, reinforce his notions of the dominance of the sexual being, while solidifying the poet's vision of male/female relations into a model readers could attempt to emulate. Whitman was not necessarily arguing for marriage, but rather for a world where people longed to undulate, to cleave, to clasp in a union of equals. Beneath the surface of such text lay Whitman's assertion that, for some reason, such union was rarely achieved. In order to understand this aspect of Whitman's poetry, Reynolds explores what he calls "a seamy underside to

Whitman's America"(195). Probing much of the contemporary literature, Reynolds demonstrates that Whitman's open treatment of sexuality was an effort to undermine the stereotypical women found in many popular works. Equally troubling were pornography and prostitution, each a visible presence in the city's streets. Most disquieting was the fact that they drove a wedge between partners, and ultimately damaged the way society defined relationships. Even though Victorian morality shaped the mentality of middle-class New Yorkers, Whitman charged that male culture either objectified women as sex objects or confined them to pedestals. Therefore, as Reynolds argues, his candid dialogue and efforts to redefine gender roles were not unusual, but part of a discussion that engrossed many contemporary reformers, some of whom sponsored or participated in communities dedicated to a revision of male/female relations. Communities like the Shakers practiced celibacy, while others, like Modern Times, made the institution of marriage optional, thereby, at least in part, empowering women. As Reynolds tells us, Whitman's analysis of womanhood was a vivid exploration of the sexual being, but one informed by the knowledge that society needed to debate their role. Only in this constantly shifting context of nineteenth-century sexuality, can we hope to understand Whitman's poetry and his intentions.[16]

Because Whitman revised *Leaves of Grass* throughout his life, it reflects his changing concepts of himself and the world around him. The body and the sexual being were important parts of his work, but the 1860 edition includes what most scholars believe was his first attempt to explore his own sexuality. What is clear is that Whitman is no longer satisfied with discussing sexuality in general terms, but commits himself to creating what Reynolds terms, "meaningful links between private experience and public life"(384). This open, albeit complex and often contradictory discussion of his sexuality, is the most interpreted aspect of the poet's life. Since the 1920s, scholars have debated Whitman's sexuality, with interpretations ranging from Emory Holloway's attempt to demonstrate that he was primarily heterosexual to Stephen Black's assertion that he was autoerotic. Unlike Reynolds's study, which attempts to place Whitman's sexuality in historical context, most recent interpretations search for clues and images that confirm or deny theories about his homosexuality. Reynolds provides a far more complex picture, recognizing that Whitman lived in a different cultural context in which relationships between men were probably defined differently than by previous scholars. However, this work does not neglect the overt sex images that flow throughout the 1860 edition, but rather demonstrates them as common descriptions of intimacy between people of the same sex in antebellum America. In reality, our definitions of hetero- and homo-sexuality were only codified in the 1890s. It is clear that Whitman had affairs with women and a series of "intense relationships" with young men. Complicating the clearly defined boundaries most writers want to see, most of these partners, Reynolds found, went on to get married and have children. Furthermore, Reynolds explains that close relationships between men were not frowned upon, and that hugging and kissing between men was common in the nineteenth century. Arguing that

sexual contact between men was discussed openly, Reynolds reshapes our understanding of Whitman's sexuality (394). The poet was, like his verse, both "feminine" and "masculine." Perhaps Whitman did not struggle, as many have argued, to come to terms with his sexuality; but rather it appears that his sexual-self emerged from the "working-class culture of comrades and romantic friends"(397). Whitman's work was influenced by the very fact that he was a sexual being. Rewriting *Leaves of Grass* in 1860, his 1855 call for unity based on a shared national culture was converted into a call for unity based on what Reynolds terms, "passionate friendship"(401). It was this comradeship that he saw increasingly absent amongst Americans. He used his poems as a means to inject his ideas of unity and oneness of all men into society, thus counterbalancing individualism and materialism.[17]

To interpret Whitman's religious beliefs is to probe the mysticism that breaths life into each line of his poetry. The first half of the nineteenth century was, from the historian's perspective, dominated by mass religious awakenings, yet aside from the linguistic allusions and Bible-like form, the religious influences on Whitman's life continue to receive scant attention. Building on David Kuebrich's contextual treatment of religion, *Minor Prophecy: Walt Whitman's New American Religion*, Reynolds portrays Whitman awash in a profoundly religious culture, but one in which phrenology, mesmerism, magnetism, and spiritualism were equally influential. As American society created, even welcomed, the birth of a modern age, a sense the world was in flux and that society was profoundly disjointed drove many Americans to participate in religious movements that gave order to and helped to explain their world. This manifested itself most often in the expansion of Christianity, but many sought solace in a variety of religious experiences through which they created an imaginary community of believers. Others turned to mesmerists and spiritualists or pseudo-scientific explanations, such a culture informed Whitman's poetry. Exploring these religious fads, Reynolds argues that the mystical images floating throughout Whitman's verse were inspired by his culture. Thus, contextualized, "Song of Myself" with its self-defining line "Walt Whitman, an American, one of the roughs, a kosmos" is explainable.[18] Flowing from Whitman's experience in 1853 or 1854 was the overwhelming sense that he had merged as one with the universe. Supposedly, this cosmic connection gave him the sense that he, like the countless missionaries that awakened the public to Christianity, was on a religious mission to make the poet, not the priest, the community's centerpiece. The poetry, like many popular novels, did not focus on outlining doctrine, but on explaining the body's senses and passions. Like a spiritualist's vision, Whitman's poetry describes spirits floating from the body of one person to another. According to Reynolds, Whitman was convinced that he was a spiritualist and believed he acted as a "cultural ventriloquist who gave expression to the mass interest in trances and spiritualism"(271).

Historians are only now beginning to study the cultural influence of the visual arts in this period. However, it is clear that Whitman's generation

experienced the democratization of art. Images of the common man, beginning in the 1830s, appear in painting and sculpture, as art merged with the participatory world of all classes. As a member of the Brooklyn Art Union, this trend fascinated Whitman. Between 1849 and 1855, nearly one-third of his articles touched on, and five were entirely devoted to, a discussion of the growth of the visual arts in American culture; his 1851 address to the Union outlined his vision of the future of these arts. He was fascinated by genre painters, like Long Island's William S. Mount, and saw in them the promise of a new type of art, without European influences. Whitman, like most Americans, was drawn to contemporary painters and their vivid depictions of everyday life and common men and women. But his understanding of the visual arts was altered by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre's 1839 invention, the daguerreotype. A forerunner of the modern photograph, this first method of cheaply reproducing the human image quickly reshaped the way art was produced and consumed. This new medium's impact reached far beyond the art world. Whitman believed *Leaves of Grass* was a visual work, and described it as capturing "everything...literally photographed" (281). Manhattan was filled with daguerreotype studios, and Whitman frequented the galleries of Mathew B. Brady and Gabriel Harrison. Displaying their works, daguerreotypists organized museum-like galleries. The growth of photography and the democratization of the visual arts in general shaped the way Whitman wrote. Each line, he believed, like a photograph, produced in the readers mind a distinct image.[19]

He became caught up in the commercialization he hated. The first edition of *Leaves of Grass* was published in three stages. first in hardcover green with gold-stamped letters, then at a reduced price without the gold lettering, and finally, in the fall, he placed an inexpensive version, with a light green or pink paper cover, in select bookstores in Brooklyn and Manhattan. Gauging the reception of this edition is difficult. In fact, Whitman's estimate of the total number of sales changes several times over the course of his life. Writing to Emerson soon after the initial publication, Whitman claimed, "I printed a thousand copies, and they readily sold"(340). By 1883, a frustrated Whitman claimed that he had to give many of them away. Yet, the historian Frank L. Mott cited it as one of the most popular works published.[20] Reynolds, more than previous authors, probes this depressed time in Whitman's life as a portrait of a writer desperate to attract a readership, exploring various methods to sell his works. His most blatant attempt was reprinting Emerson's letter that praised the early edition of *Leaves of Grass* as "the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed"(341). Reynolds's research uncovered at least three self-reviews. But, rather than discuss possible motivation, Reynolds argues that this was a prime example of how Whitman gradually became part of the commercial culture he so often challenged. Twenty-three reviews of the work immediately followed its publication, all but six of which were positive. Contrary to Whitman's wish, reviewers selected themes or ideas which they believed captured the poet's intention. Yet, Whitman's self-reviews stressed a holistic discussion of the

collection. Despite a series of positive and mixed reviews, 1860 found Whitman searching for an audience to read his life's work.

By 1860, as commercialization swept through New York, Whitman withdrew, along with other writers, into a Bohemian underground. Clearly, materialism repulsed him but the commercialization of publishing held the promise of making his work profitable. Contacted in 1860 by the Boston publishers Thayer and Eldridge, Whitman's opportunity to become America's unifying poet was again at hand. The promise of selling a large number of copies of *Leaves of Grass* led him to publish an expanded edition. Selling copies through their agents across the country, Thayer and Eldridge promised to promote the work and guaranteed tidy royalties. Such motivation aside, as Whitman prepared the type, the Buchanan administration was proving its ineptness, convincing Whitman to gather his creative energies for one more attempt at mending the cultural rupture evident on the political level. Commercializing the collection held the promise of finally providing it with the mass readership Whitman had so long sought. Revising much of the original work, this edition balanced the promise of America with an ominous foreboding, a private confession of his despair.

It appears that when it came, Whitman almost welcomed the Civil War. He commented that it accomplished what he hoped his poetry would; like a storm, it washed away the debates over secession and states rights. Acting as a catalyst, the war pulled together all Americans, first as heroes on a common battlefield, later as citizens of a new nation. The Civil War profoundly transformed Whitman and the direction of his poetry. Moving to Washington, D.C., by war's end, the one-time poet of unity and democracy emerged as a defender of the politicians he once claimed were corrupt.

After the Civil War, Whitman was again optimistic about the country's ability to achieve his ideal promise of unity. However with corruption rampant in the form of New York's Tweed Ring, the Crédit Mobilier, and President Ulysses S. Grant's administration, his hopes were soon dashed, and he recognized that the times were more desperate than ever. Strangely, in this period Whitman again became part of the culture against which his poems railed through the 1860s, along with the materialism it sponsored. Reynolds argues that from the late 1860s till his death, historians can find no better example of commercialization than Whitman. If it is correct as some, even Whitman, argued that the first two editions of *Leaves of Grass* were not successful financially, his later work defined him not as a democratic poet of the masses but as a publishing giant. His poems—he published at least 115 in this period—were increasingly included in anthologies in the United States and England. It seems that the individualism and bohemianism that characterized his early persona and writings were soon co-opted by the growth of a commercially oriented print culture. This transition owed much to Whitman's friend, William Douglas O'Connor, who, after the poet was fired from his position in the Indian Affairs Office, published *The Good Gray Poet* (1866) in Whitman's defense. Historians often cite this work and the uproar

it caused as the turning point in Whitman's career as a popular poet. Comparing Whitman to Shakespeare and Rabelais, this pamphlet, combined with the well-received collection of Civil War poems, *Drum-Taps*, to solidify Whitman's status as America's defining poet of the nineteenth century.

Reynolds floats back and forth between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although one context does not necessarily influence the next. This biography should be read as as a means to understand Whitman and the world in which he lived, as well as to recognize him as a **reflection** of our culture. Reynolds reminds us, one hundred and forty years after the first publication of *Leaves of Grass,* how divided our culture remains. The details he provides are necessary material for understanding the society in which Whitman lived and the purpose he saw for his work. The period during which he wrote should be looked at as a whole, enabling us to understand the poet, the poems, and the culture which shaped them.

Perhaps it is fitting to end this biographical essay with one of the "Inscriptions" that, in part, replaced the 1855 introduction (sometimes referred to as preface), cited at the beginning. Much of Whitman's life remains beyond the vision of scholars, but clearly he believed that he and *Leaves of Grass* were one and the same, and that any attempt to understand the poems is an attempt to understand the poet. The poems are the biography of the writer, Walt Whitman.

When I Read the Book

When I read the book, the biography famous,
And is this then (said I) what the author calls a man's life?
And so will some one when I am dead and gone write my life?
(As if any man really knew aught of my life;
Why even I myself I often think know little or nothing of my real life,
Only a few hints, a few diffused faint clews and indirections
I seek for my own use to trace out here.)[21]

NOTES

1. Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (1855; reprint; New York: Penguin Books, 1959), 10-11; for analysis of the first edition and the meaning of Whitman for American poetry, see Malcolm Cowley, introduction to ibid., vii-xxxvii.

2. Whitman, 10-11; for the republican mentality and views on nature see Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815-1846* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1991), 71-102.

3. Whitman, 10-11; for the rise of the middle classes in America see Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in The American City, 1760-*

York: Cambridge Univ .Press., 1989), esp. 66-191. Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1982).

4. This sense of oneness or union was noted by most reviewers, one of whom called *Leaves of Grass* a "curious and lawless collection of poems" but commended the poet's ability to weave street language with intellectual transcendentalism into "a most perfect harmony" (*Putnam's Magazine*, Sept. 1855, 321-23) for Whitman's use of urban din, see Whitman, 51-52.

5. "The Philosophy of Colours," *The Knickerbocker* 3 (March 1834), 218-21.

6. Whitman's built on the public's fascination with daguerreotype images, and, by striking an idealized pose, coarsely dressed and hat cocked, demonstrated his connection to common folk; see Ed Folsom, "Appearing in Print: Illustrations of the Self in *Leaves of Grass*," in Ezra Greenspan, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Walt Whitman* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), 135-65; Edward Ruggles claimed that daguerreotypes were purchased by all classes and "var[ied] from one dollar to five dollars" (Ruggles, *A Picture of New-York in 1846 ... Designed as a Guide to Citizens and Strangers* [New York: Homans & Ellis, 1846], 112.

7. Calculated from "Principal Works About [Walt] Whitman" in Joel Myerson, *Walt Whitman: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1993), 983-89, which lists only monographs and does not include the enormous number of article-length interpretations. Some biographies by friends of Whitman, interesting for their contemporary perspective are: John Burroughs, *Notes on Walt Whitman as a Poet and Person* (New York: American News Co., 1887); Richard M. Bucke, *Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1883) and *Cosmic Consciousness* (New York: Dutton, 1923); William Clarke, *Walt Whitman* (London: Sonsenschein, 1892); and Thomas Donaldson, *Walt Whitman, the Man* (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1896).

8. David S. Reynolds, *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995); all other citations for direct quotations are included in the text of this article. Reynolds's work is a response to biographies and interpretations that attempt to extract Whitman from nineteenth-century culture, such as David Cavitch, *My Soul and I: The Inner Life of Walt Whitman* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1985), which adeptly interprets the shifting voices in Whitman's poetry but fails to consider how it was a product of a distinct cultural milieu.

9. A useful biography, although it discounts Whitman's early years, is Paul Zweig, *Walt Whitman: The Making of the Poet* (New York: Basic Books, 1984). Also useful, but nearly void of historical or biographical background because of dependence on formalist theory, are Charles Feidelson, *Symbolism and American Literature* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1951), and James E. Miller Jr., *The American Quest for a Supreme Fiction: Whitman's Legacy in the Personal Epic* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1979).

10. For the rise of newspapers in the culture of print, see Carl Bode, *The Anatomy of American Popular Culture, 1840-1861* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1959), 251-53; Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980).

11. Many read Emerson's call as a support of nativism, thus giving a push to the Young America movement and its organ, the *Democratic Review* (see Whitman's temperance novel, *Franklin Evans: or The Inebriate: A Tale of the Times* [New York, 1842)]; for the number of tales Whitman wrote, see Reynolds, 84.

12. This trend is probably ending, as writers in the past ten years have begun to explore the world of the popular novel (see Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860* [New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1985]; Robert Shulman, Social Criticism and Nineteenth-Century American Fictions [Columbia, MO: Univ. of

Missouri Press, 1987]; Adrienne Siegel, *The Image of the American City in Popular Literature, 1820-1870* [Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1981]; Peter G. Buckley, "The Case Against Ned Buntline: The 'Words, Signs and Gestures' of Popular Authorship," in *Prospects: An Annual of American Culture Studies* 13 [1988]:249-72; Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America* [London: Verso, 1987[; Timothy J. Gilfoyle, "A Gay Literature," in *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790-1920* [New York: W. W. Norton, 1992], 143-60).

13. .For Whitman's political positions see Joseph Jay Rubin, *The Historic Whitman* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1973); Betsy Erkkila, *Whitman the Political Poet* (New York: Oxford Univ .Press, 1987); and Phillip Callow, *From Noon to Starry Night: A Life of Walt Whitman* (Chicago: J. R. Dee, 1992).

14. James E. Miller Jr., *Walt Whitman* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990), 24-41; in his chapter "Growth of the Leaves," Miller discusses some of the influences on the changing nature of *Leaves* between 1855 and 1892, but devotes a scant two pages to the popular culture's influence on Whitman. For analysis of the cultural context, see F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1941). My interpretation of Whitman's poetry and understanding of Reynolds's work is informed by Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1988), 13-81, and Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford Univ .Press, 1993).

15 .Most biographers discuss this aspect of Whitman and how some of his ideas on sexual union emerge in poetry; two that capably deal with such images are M. Jimmie Killingsworth, *Whitman's Poetry of the Body: Sexuality, Politics, and the Text* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1989), and Harold Aspiz, *Walt Whitman and the Body Beautiful* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1980). Gay Wilson Allen, *The Solitary Singer: A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman* (New York: Macmillan, 1955) remains the most useful on this point.

16. Walt Whitman, "I Sing the Body Electric," *Leaves of Grass*, 119. I thank Kelly Malarky for helping me to interpret this selection. Reynolds's interpretation of how gender roles were redefined along with empowering women to select sexual partners is informative. However, he mistakenly labels Modern Times (now Brentwood, Long Island),as a "free love" community (see Roger Wunderlich, *Low Living and High Thinking at Modern Times, New York* [Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press., 1992], 53-90). For a vivid example of Whitman's disapproval of society's controlling women, see "chant" eleven, "Song of Myself," describing a twenty-eight year old woman trapped by society's vision of proper behavior yet unable to control the need to express herself and her sexuality (*Leaves of Grass*, 34).

17. The debate over Whitman's sexuality continues to be the most wide-ranging; Emory Holloway, *An Interpretation in Narrative* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926) remains a thought-provoking discussion of Whitman's sexual preferences as revealed in his poetry and letters. Focusing on the sexual images in Whitman's text, Steven A. Black argues the poet was autoerotic (*Walt Whitman's Journeys into Chaos* [New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1975]). For Whitman's homosexuality in relation to other authors, see Robert K. Martin, *The Homosexual Tradition in American Poetry* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1979). Homosexuality first codified in language in Europe, and theories about it were first clearly advanced in 1869. Only then did people begin to look for it. At at the time Whitman wrote, the distinction applied only to "manly" and "feminine" men (Reynolds, 396-97).

18..David Kuebrich, *Minor Prophesy: Walt Whitman's New American Religion* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1989); see also George B. Hutchinson, *The Ecstatic Whitman: Literary Shamanism and the Crisis of Union* (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press,

1986). My understanding of Whitman's mysticism is based on William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Modern Library, 1936), and Cowley, x-xiv; Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, 48.

19. See Geoffrey M. Sill and Roberta K. Tarbell, eds., *Walt Whitman and the Visual Arts* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1992).

20. Frank L. Mott, *Golden Multitudes: The Story of Best Sellers in The United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1947).

21 Walt Whitman, "Inscriptions" (1867) *Leaves of Grass*, Sculley Bradley and Harold W. Blodgett, eds. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 8.

Reviews

David S. Reynolds. *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography.* New York: Alfred K. Knopf, 1995. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xii, 671. $55.00.
(See review essay by Thomas D. Beal, USB)

Lois Beachy Underhill. *The Woman Who Ran for President: The Many Lives of Virginia Woodhull.* Bridgehampton: Bridge Works Publishing Co., 1995. Illustrations, bibliography, notes, index. Pp. xvii, 447. $23.50.
(See review essay by Amanda Frisken, USB)

Natalie A. Naylor, ed. *Exploring African-American History: Long Island and Beyond.* Hempstead: Long Island Studies Institute, 1991, 1995. Illustrations. Pp. v, 66. $6.00 (paper).

This small volume is the second edition of *Exploring African-American History: Long Island and Beyond*, revised and somewhat expanded since its first appearance in 1991. The eclectic assortment of offerings in this booklet were originally selected from materials presented at two symposia sponsored by the Long Island Studies Institute, held in 1990 and 1991, dealing with various aspects of Long Island history.

The contents include Grania Bolton Marcus's paper, "Discovering the African-American Experience on Long Island," and Joan Maynard's "Weeksville," along with Alan Singer's "Lewis Latimer, African-American Inventor," and Floris Cash's "Long Island's African-American Women." Also included are Natalie A. Naylor and Dorothy B. Ruettgers's "Manuscripts, Census Data, and Articles on African-American History," and Jeanne Murray's "Incorporating African-American History into the Elementary Curriculum." The volume concludes with six bibliographies on various aspects of African American history, two by Natalie A. Naylor and one each by Lynda R. Day, Floris Barnett Cash, Vivian Wood, and Luetta Smith-Black.

Grania Marcus, who seeks to offer a corrective to the "white male-centered view of American history many of us learned growing up" (1), sketches the African American experience on Long Island from bondage to freedom, focusing on the inception of slavery, slave resistance, slave work, family life, material life, religion and education, freedom and emancipation, and the aftermath of slavery. The author competently presents a broad sampler of some of the critical dimensions of slavery and its aftermath on Long Island.

Understandably, attempting to cover so wide a range of topics, in this brief format, necessarily risks oversimplifications, possible errors in interpretation,

and, perhaps, even the omission of critical data. For example, the author notes that, "laws were passed in 1702, 1706, 1708, and 1712 limiting liberty in important ways" (3-4). She goes on to say that the harsh penalties mandated were hardly inflicted on slaves, "perhaps because slave owners wished to protect their valuable investment" (4). Further, she holds that because of the wide dispersal of slaves, violent resistance and collective action were particularly unlikely in Suffolk County.

In fact, early in 1708 a small band of slaves in Newtown (in Queens County) rebelled, killing seven white people. Four of the rebels, including an Indian and a woman, were executed—the men were hanged and the woman was burned (see Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* [New York: International Publishers, 1969]). It is quite possible that this kind of violent collective action by African Americans (and allies among the Indians), seeking to liberate themselves from a vicious system, prompted the master class to pass the laws of 1708 and 1712. Also, it appears that slaveowners were not necessarily averse to subjecting rebellious slaves to the full penalty of the law.

Missing from Marcus's paper is any mention of political activity among Long Island's African Americans. The Fourth Annual National Negro Convention was held in New York City in 1834. Did African American delegates from Long Island play a role in this and other political formations? (Also in 1834, the escaped slave and political activist, Henry Highland Garnet, who much later married Sarah Smith Tompkins of Brooklyn, joined with other African Americans of national renown to form the Garrison Literary and Benevolent Association of New York. Garnet is remembered for his famous "Address to the Slaves of the United States," presented at the 1843 National Negro Convention, in Buffalo, New York, in which he urged the slaves to rise in rebellion against their masters and strike for liberty.) But there also exists some clear, direct evidence of political activism among African Americans on Long Island. From an 1859 meeting of "Colored Women of Brooklyn" came a communication sent to John Brown on the eve of his execution, expressing deep appreciation for his "most noble and humane effort" to abolish the "great National Sin of Slavery." This was a decidedly bold, collective, political act by African American women of Brooklyn (see Herbert Aptheker, *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States* [1951, reprint; New York: Citadel Press, 1968] 1:441).

These observations notwithstanding, Marcus's paper will certainly serve the useful purpose of introducing secondary school children to the early history of Long Island's African American community. Perhaps most valuable is Marcus's strong advocacy of using a variety of traditional and nontraditional methods, combined with a community based effort, to preserve the African American past on Long Island, and her admonition to avoid the elitist tendencies and race-based preconceptions inherent in Eurocentric historiography.

Joan Maynard's brief account of the origins of the African American

community of Weeksville, excerpted from the book she coauthored with Gwen Cottman, *Weeksville: Then and Now* (Brooklyn: Society for the Preservation of Weeksville and Bedford-Stuyvesant History, 1983), introduces us to the origins of this unique black community which emerged in Brooklyn during the nineteenth century. Similarly, excerpted from his talk at the March 1991 Long Island Studies Institute symposium, Alan Singer's vignette about the life and accomplishments of Lewis Latimer, a notable African American inventor, captures significant aspects of the life of this adopted Long Islander (see also James P. Johnson, "Lewis Howard Latimer: The Career of a Black Inventor." *LIHJ* 6 [Spring 1994]: 223-32).

Floris Cash's "Long Island's African-American Women" offers biographical sketches, culled mainly from secondary sources, celebrating a group of African American women drawn mostly from the social elite of Long Island. The subjects were community leaders and reformers, who, no doubt, deserve some acknowledgment for their contributions. Yet, purely descriptive and focused exclusively on the social aristocracy in the black community, this adulatory treatment tells us nothing about the dynamics of survival for ordinary black women, who bore the brunt of oppression while struggling heroically to raise families in the racist environment of Long Island. It might have been preferable here to have followed Grania Marcus's wise counsel, so eloquently voiced in her lead paper in this volume, against falling "into the trap of writing and teaching an African-American version of the 'great white men' type of history, based only on prominent and exceptional individuals" (12).

Natalie A. Naylor and Dorothy B. Ruettgers's "Manuscripts, Census Data, and Articles on African-American History" is an attempt to give blood and bone to Grania Marcus's search for the African American past on Long Island, by providing a sampler of primary source documents, manuscript resources, and other pedagogical tools suggested for classroom use by Marcus in her book, *A Forgotten People: Discovering the Black Experience in Suffolk County* (Setauket: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, 1989).

These materials, properly used, might indeed help to introduce secondary school children to some of the resources and methodologies used by researchers, while at the same time familiarizing them with the historical background of the black experience on Long Island. Similarly, Jeanne Murray's "Incorporating African-American History into the Elementary Curriculum" is a sampling of suggestions and materials, designed to teach African American history to fourth graders.

As for the useful selected bibliographies, both Lynda R. Day and Natalie A. Naylor's focus exclusively on sources for discovering the African American experience on Long Island, while Floris Cash's provides current sources on black women without regard to geographical boundaries, Vivian Wood's deals with the black experience in America, and Luetta Smith-Black's considers the black experience for children, as does Prof. Naylor's second listing.

Viewed as a work in progress, this small volume should, at least in parts, prove to be a useful resource for elementary and secondary school teachers

who wish to introduce the experience and history of Long Island's African American community into the classroom.

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Nancy Hyden Woodward. *East Hampton: A Town and Its People, 1648-1992.* East Hampton: Fireplace Press, 1995. Notes, bibliography, index. Pp. iv, 308. $20.00 (paper).

East Hampton: A Town and Its People, 1648-1992, written (perhaps collated is a better word) by Nancy Hyden Woodward, a long-time East Hampton resident, organizes your thoughts about the nearly four hundred years of history of the area. Done in a "time-line" style, the four chapters are divided by centuries—not pedantic, nor pedestrian. Pick your favorite century and scan the pages. Soon you will say, "So that's the order in which that happened!"

Working with the resources of the East Hampton Library, Ms. Woodward notes misinterpretations of later writers by quoting the original. An example is 1640, April 7—the agreement with the Puritans purchasing Southampton: "They may establish a colony of *eight miles square* (not eight square miles) anywhere on Paumanache." Needless to say, this book is written for adults: there is no explanation of the difference in acreage between eight miles square and eight square miles.

A fun read, the book is an antidote to those who think "progress" began as soon as they themselves arrived. "1655, April 3—This year, school is to open in Samuel Parson's house."

Legal problems are noted. "1651, March 7—Ralph Dayton to go to Keneticut for to procure the Evidence of our Lands." Statements and deeds about the Indians are quoted; plans for the Montauks' protection against the Narragansetts. 1699—Captain Kidd's adventures are followed. 1700, April 2—Abraham Schelling is voted first supervisor of the town of East Hampton.; 1705, June 4—Samuel Mulford (merchant) takes his seat in the New York Assembly.

The Revolutionary War is covered as it affected Long Island. 1776, 27/28 August—The Battle of Long Island lasts two days. August 30—Gen. Washington abandons Long Island to the British. Island residents flee to the Connecticut shore. Dr. Aaron Isaacs, accompanied by his wife and eight children takest three boatloads of household goods and eight boatloads of livestock—cattle, horses, hogs, a yoke of oxen, their feed, and a "riding chair" and goes to Hamburg Cove on the Connecticut River. All the flavor of being in captured enemy territory can be felt in the quotations from reports of those writing at the time. Not until 1783 (November 25), was East Hampton officially notified to call a town meeting and elect officers under the State of New York for the coming year.

1805, April 8—East Hampton Library Company is founded. By the 1870s, boarders are arriving in East Hampton. Newspapers and diaries record this

influx of visitors and their impact can be felt in many ways. 1891, Sept. 12—Founders of the proposed Maidstone Club meet. 1692, March 2—The Georgica Association is founded (by owners of summer homes on the Wainscott side of Lake Georgica); 1895, November 22 and 30—Formation of the Ladies Village Improvement Society (LVIS).

The twentieth century. The problems and pitfalls of the inhabitants of the area, the mighty and the lowly: the do-gooders and the not so gooders. Dreams are captured and deflated.

1920, September 25—The incorporated village of East Hampton is organized and (1921, May 31) sets its own rules for street behavior. 1924, November 22/23—Major federal raid on rum runners. 1925, September 11 and 23—Carl Fisher invades Montauk from Miami Beach; 1935, 14 November—tax sale of much of Carl Fisher's property).

1921, August 13—The East Hampton Historical Society is founded. 1927, 15 October—"Home Sweet Home" saved." 1929, August 22—the enlarged library with the Morton Pennypacker Collection specially installed.

1930, July 4—The problem of an airfield to land your own commuter plane. 1935, no date—Mrs. Harry L. Hamlin, who had "saved" the old Hedges House, opens it as a restaurant with her personal cook, Marianna, and her English butler, Berry, in charge. 1947, December 15 and 1948, June 24—The Mulford Farm Committee, under Percy Ingalls, purchases the Hobart/Mulford house to "save it." He then has to find a tax-exempt organization for the donations.

1953, 12 January—Sarah Diodati Gardiner's will leaves the village of East Hampton her newly built stone house on Main Street with a $40,000 endowment. 7 February—the village board declines the gift.

The big facts of East Hampton's history as well as the little-known ones—it's all here, blow by blow, superbly edited and annotated by one who has lived in the Hamptons for many years, long enough to know that all this information can be found in the Long Island Collection, which, under Dorothy King's supervision, fulfills Mr. Pennypacker's dream as he collected these items.

SHERRILL FOSTER
East Hampton

Elly Shodell. *Flight of Memory: Long Island's Aeronautical Past.* Port Washington: Port Washington Public Library, 1995 Illustrations, notes. Pp. 86. $14.95 (paper).

This book, the latest volume by Elly Shodell in the Port Washington Public Library's Oral History Series, takes a nostalgic look at aeronautical activities in and around Port Washington during the 1913-to-1945 period. The book also covers the Port Washington activities of Grumman Aircraft Engineering Company and Republic Aviation Corporation during World War II and into the late 1950s.

Some early Glenn Curtiss seaplane designs, such as the M Boat were built and tested at Port Washington in the 1916-1917 period. In 1916, the first Yale unit trained wealthy young men to fly seaplanes. Funded by local benefactors like Harry Guggenheim, Rodman Wanamaker, J. P. Morgan, and others, this was the first unit formed to train our early aviators.

In 1925, the Edo Corporation, of College Point, Queens, founded by Earl D. Osborne, produced a small all-metal flying boat, and later switched to the construction of aluminum floats to convert landplanes to seaplanes. Edo supplied aircraft floats throughout the world in the 1930s and 1940s, and played a prominent role in World War II supplying these floats to the U.S. armed forces as well as to friendly governments.

In 1929, the Savoia-Marchetti Company, of Italy, opened a million-dollar aviation facility, including a school and large manufacturing plant for its aircraft, such as the S-55 Twin Engine Flying Boat and the S-56 Sport Amphibian. This provided hundreds of jobs for pilots, mechanics, and related skills in the critical time of the Great Depression.

In 1933, Pan Am Airways chose Port Washington as a hub of its overseas operations, and in June 1937 started its first passenger flights to Bermuda, using the new, giant Boeing 314 Flying Boats. In 1940, Pan-Am moved its operations to the Marine Air Terminal at LaGuardia Airport, a building still standing even though it was closed soon after the end of World War II.

The involvement of Grumman in Port Washington is well-described in the book. The accelerated pace of wartime manufacturing demands for aircraft, such as the Hellcat and TBF Avenger required facilities and workers in addition to the at the main plants in Bethpage. The Port Washington facility (plant 15) produced wings for the 2,293 Avengers built in 1942 and 1943. Grumman left its Port Washington facility in 1946, moving back to Bethpage.

Republic Aviation, of Farmingdale, also opened a plant in Port Washington in 1951 to manufacture wings for its F—84Fs, RF—84Fs, and the F—105. Republic's Port Washington plant closed in 1958, leaving thousands unemployed and lowering the curtain on the village's aircraft manufacturing facilities for all time. A fascinating and colorful era of aviation had ended.

The approximately eighty photos in this book are not only interesting, but the majority are new to this reviewer. Caption errors are few and far between, and the text and references are generally well-done. I think *Flight of Memory* has a place on the shelf for any Long Island aviation history buff.

Flight of Memory is also a traveling exhibition, first presented at the Port Washington Public Library in fall 1995, which may be seen until the end of this year at the following locations:

1 May—31 July, Suffolk County Historical Society;
1 August—30 September, Glen Cove Public Library;
1 October—31 December, The Gallery (Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities), Main Street and Shore Road, Cold Spring Harbor.

ROGER SEYBEL
Grumman History Center

New York City Museum Guide. Edited by Candace Ward. New York: Dover Publications, 1995. (Illustrations, index. Pp. vi, 122. $3.95 (paper).

This handy, pocket-sized guidebook provides information on leading and lesser-known cultural institutions throughout New York City's five boroughs. One hundred thirty-three entries, numbered and arranged alphabetically, provide locations and their accessibility via public transportation. Numbered maps of all five boroughs indicate each facility's location, with its corresponding number. Besides the well-known museums, many landmarks, historic buildings, cultural and environmental centers, historical societies, and zoos are included, with emphasis on institutions that feature the history and art of the people who settled New York. Manhattan, with eighty-four, receives the lion's share of entries, but Long Island is well-represented with fifteen in Queens and twelve in Brooklyn (Staten Island has thirteen, the Bronx nine).

Historical houses and industrial museums exemplify the city's past and how its development altered commerce and society. A concise description of each entry provides information on its scope, hours, admission fee, and facilities open to the public. For educators and other visitors preparing group tours, the book lists the length and maximum group size of each tour, facilities, and available food service, while specifying which institutions permit library research. While the guide provides general descriptions of offerings, the prospective visitor should call for information on changing exhibits and special events.

The guide encourages visits to places that one might not have thought of near Manhattan, although an additional index breaking down areas of interest (e.g. Historic Houses, Cultural Centers) would be helpful.. As some facilities mentioned may be new, even to avid museum-goers, the guide is a valuable addition when planning an excursion, and its arrangement by boroughs enhances it use as an easy reference. Considering the number of facilities represented and the high quality of the presentation, the *New York City Museum Guide* is an important reference in selecting an interesting and educational way to see New York.

FLORENCE OGG
Vanderbilt Museum

Alan Trachtenberg. *Brooklyn Bridge: Fact and Symbol*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965 Reprint, 2d. ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979. Illustrations, notes, index. Pp. 206. $12.95 (paper).

To experience Brooklyn Bridge climb the steps to the promenade and walk or pedal across. There, amid the intricate criss-cross of steel cables that define the aesthetic and structural essence of the bridge, hundreds of walkers and

cyclists, a Whitmanesque parade of people, make their way between Brooklyn and Manhattan. Beneath them, a caravan of cars and trucks rumbles by on the bridge's main level, and below that the blue river courses silently towards the Narrows, where it loses itself in the ocean. On foot in the open air one can sense the "exaltation" Lewis Mumford felt when he walked across the bridge and was struck by a "fleeting glimpse of the utmost possibilities life may hold for man" (Lewis Mumford, *Sketches from a Life* [New York: Dial, 1982], 130).

All who marvel at the physical marriage of stone and steel that is the bridge will profit by reading Alan Trachtenberg's *Brooklyn Bridge: Fact and Symbol.* This classic, first published in 1965 by Oxford University Press, is available as a paperback reprint issued in 1979 by the University of Chicago Press. It is noteworthy for several reasons, among them the author's deft ability to situate the bridge at the center of America's cultural history. As the Roeblings wove the wire cables that account for the architectural grandeur of the bridge, Trachtenberg weaves poetry and politics, wilderness and work, spirit and spoil, myth and movement, history and hope, into a literary bridge of his own that, like the Roeblings' great monument, spans the chasm between intellect and soul, fact and symbol.

The book's nine chapters, grouped into three sections, chronicle the historical and cultural forces that led to the bridge's conception, construction, and later transformation, by art and poetry, into a symbol. All the while, it champions the heroic accomplishments and spiritual vision of its builders, John Augustus and Washington Roebling. Trachtenberg's masterful portrayal of the professional struggles and personal sacrifices demanded of the Roeblings during the bridge's construction—John Augustus Roebling lost his life to lockjaw after his foot was crushed in an accident, and his son Washington was crippled for life after contracting the "bends" while working on a caisson—lend drama to the book that it might not otherwise possess. Even Hart Crane's ambitious and consuming attempt to transform the bridge into a poetic metaphor in *The Bridge* pales beside the true-life history of the Roeblings and their involvement with the bridge (Hart Crane, *The Bridge* [New York: Horace Liveright, 1930], 7-8).

The first section of the book, "Sources," outlines the physical transformation of the American landscape through the construction of the roads, canals, and bridges that constituted the infrastructure of the Industrial Revolution. Trachtenberg interprets these changes as having contributed to the demise of the Jeffersonian ideal of a "great agrarian republic, spreading westward" (10). He moves on to develop the role that economics and property speculation played in the idea for a bridge from Manhattan to Brooklyn; and culminates with a discussion of Hegel's influence on John Augustus Roebling's spiritual and aesthetic development. Trachtenberg concludes this section with an analysis of the prophetic role that Roebling's emigration to America played in the refinement of his ideas and their opportunities for expression.

The second section, "Shape," begins with an overview of "the metaphysical, theoretical, and practical" considerations leading to Roebling's belief in "the suspension principle as a universal truth especially appropriate for America" (68). It goes on to address the politics of bringing Roebling's dream to fruition. Chapter five, the second half of the section, focuses on Roebling's earlier work, the question of the bridge's architecture, and the role of the Gothic Revival in Roebling's final design.

The last third of the book, "Fact and Symbol," examines the dual role the bridge plays in America's cultural history. Chapter six exposes the seamier side of the bridge's history, the graft and corruption surrounding its development and construction, while chapter seven deals with the drama of the opening ceremonies, and the celebration of the bridge as a symbol of economic and spiritual progress in America. The transformation of the bridge into a major symbol in American art is illustrated in chapters eight and nine. Through a discussion of paintings by John Marin and Joseph Stella, and the poetry of Hart Crane, John Roebling's vision of the bridge as a material manifestation of his metaphysics finds its completion. Even after the bridge was built, it remained for artists to render the deeper reality of its existence as "an example of the Hegelian trait of actuality or *Wirklichkeit*"—the "'unity of essence and existence, of the inner world of life and the outer world of its appearance'" (68). The transformation of the bridge from its genesis as an idea in the mind of John Roebling into a material fact, and then into an artistic symbol in the work of Hart Crane and others, allows the bridge to fulfill its Hegelian destiny and transcend its own reality to reveal a deeper truth.

For Trachtenberg, the bridge spans the river of American consciousness. It is a link between conflicting realities and desires, a material manifestation of the synthesis in Hegel's dialectic. Just as John Roebling engineered the bridge to exploit the tensions inherent in its design, as a symbol it also exploits and reconciles the various contradictions inherent in American culture over the course of our history, as well as those between East and West, past, present, and future. As a symbol, it points far beyond itself, while remaining rooted in reality. Even though one critic noted that there is more than a little irony in the fact that the flat tops of the towers appear unfinished, as a symbol the bridge points beyond itself. For Trachtenberg the value of a symbol lies in its ability to transform itself and to incorporate and create new meanings. *Brooklyn Bridge: Fact and Symbol* clearly illustrates the bridge's ability to do so on many levels, and leaves the reader alive with a sense of possibility regarding the bridge as fact and symbol.

JIM PAPA
Suffolk County Community College

Marlene E. Haresign et al. *Water Mill Celebrating Community: The History of a Long Island Hamlet 1644-1994*. Water Mill: Water Mill Museum, Illustrations, index. Pp. 109. $35.39 cloth, $19.49 paper, at the museum or by

mail from Water Mill Museum, Old Mill Road, P. O. Box 63, Water Mill, NY 11976 (add $4 for handling). For information, call (516) 726-4741.

Water Mill is a refreshing exception to many histories written about villages and hamlets on Long Island. Unlike some local histories, written by a local booster presenting his or her limited, sometimes self- serving account of the past, this book is a community project in the best tradition of folk history. As Marlene Haresign eloquently states, it is a product of the community spirit it celebrates, with fifteen residents contributing to the text. Although there is some unevenness, their accounts are so well-edited that the narrative flows smoothly. The participants communicate a strong sense of place and pride in their village without becoming overly romantic or sentimental.

The first quarter of the book traces the history of the community. The story begins, as it should, with the land itself. A clear description of the complex geological forces which formed Long Island 75,000 years ago introduce the reader to area. This is followed by an account of the Shinnecocks, a coastal Algonquian people who lived around Mecox Bay and along the ponds and freshwater streams created by the receding glacier. The Shinnecocks lived in harmony with nature and left few scars on the land to mark their passing. Although eventually pushed out of their villages on Calf, Swan, Hayground, and Sam's Creeks, Kellis Pond, and Mecox plains, they left a rich heritage and a challenge to their conquerors to preserve the integrity of the ecosystem. David Martine, a Shinnecock, contributed a painting to the book depicting a Shinnecock village from the prehistoric period. The authors are to be congratulated for not repeating the clichés and misrepresentations of Indian life which too often find their way into town and village histories.

The brief overview of Water Mill's history from the arrival of the English in 1644 to the present is necessarily sparse, but presents some important insights into the nature of these settlements. The primary occupation here was farming. One striking passage, which begins, "Life followed the seasons," describes the rhythm of life through the year. Although farm income declined in the nineteenth century, it recovered in the early decades of the twentieth century when farmers expanded into the poultry business or began to specialize in potatoes. These developments, however, took a serious toll on the environment. The heavy use of chemical fertilizers such as temik nearly wiped out the osprey and eventually threatened the drinking water for the whole community.

Farm income was supplemented by the offshore whaling industry during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Indians were employed by local whaling companies to hunt migrating whales as they came near the south shore of Long Island from November to March. The profit from one adult whale was enough to buy a small farm. This industry also played an important role in the transition of the Shinnecock economy. The 1670 whaling contract described in this chapter, which provided for the Indian whalers to get three coats, a pair of shoes and stockings, some powder and shot, and a bushel of

corn for a season of whaling, is not representative of agreements recorded after 1674. The Indians used their unique skills as whale hunters to demand a half share of the oil and baleen from the whales they brought in. Although the whalers were paid on a credit system which left them vulnerable to fraud and manipulation, they significantly increased the flow of European manufactured goods into their villages. This was a mixed blessing, because it made them increasingly dependent on the English economy (see John A. Strong, "The Pigskin Book: Records of Native American Whaleman 1696-1721," *LIHJ* 3 (Fall 1990): 17-28).

The second section deals with the village businesses, beginning, of course, with the water mill which gave the community its name. The mill was constructed by Edward Howell, a Southampton founder, in 1644. Powered by water from a small pond, the mill served the community until the end of the nineteenth century. It may surprise readers to learn that the local mill during the colonial period was nearly as popular a meeting place as the tavern. It was treated as a public utility because it was so essential to the everyday life of the people. Most colonial households relied on these local mills to grind their grain into flour for baking. The mill, therefore, was in the center of fairly steady traffic as farmers carried in their grain and waited for it to be ground.

The mill again became the center of community activity in 1942, when the Ladies Auxiliary of Water Mill and the Water Mill Village Improvement Association took possession of the historic structure. Money was raised by the community to restore the mill and turn it into a small museum featuring tools used by local craftsmen prior to this century. The museum opens on 9 May and closes on 1 October each year, with visiting hours from 11 am until 5 pm, Monday to Saturday, 1 to 5 pm Sunday.

Ironically, the structure that identifies the community to most passersby is the nineteenth-century windmill that stands in the center of Water Mill Commons. Constructed at the turn of the century in nearby North Haven, the mill was taken apart and reassembled on Water Mill Commons in 1813 to replace an earlier mill which had been destroyed by a storm. It is the second oldest surviving mill on Long Island. The mill, which ceased operating in 1887, was restored by the community in 1987. An ice-harvesting business, a Western Union research laboratory, and James Corwith's general store are also described.

The restoration of the mill reflects a community spirit expressed in a network of organizations described in the next section of the book. Except for the Grange, these volunteer groups emerged after the beginning of the twentieth century. They all are dedicated to protecting the community from being engulfed by suburban sprawl, but the newest group, The Water Mill Watch, is the most effective force in the ongoing political struggle to save the community from overdevelopment. The Watch has already blocked an attempt to build a large shopping center with a 38,000-square-foot supermarket.

The next section is devoted to architectural styles. Unfortunately, no seventeenth- or early-eighteenth-century house has survived, but several structures from the revolutionary period and from the nineteenth century

remain in good condition. Many different styles, including Federal, Greek Revival, Gothic Revival and Queen Anne, can be found in Water Mill.

The book provides a readable, solidly researched, and well-written account of Water Mill's past. The attractive layout, with one hundred illustrations including many wonderful archival photographs, enhances the narrative. Above all, this book reminds us of what we may lose if we do not follow the example of the Water Mill Watch and move aggressively to protect the historical integrity of our own communities from excessive development..

JOHN A. STRONG
LIU-Southampton

Book Notes

Russell L. Gasero. *Historical Directory of the Reformed Church in America 1628-1992*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1992. Pp. 39.95 (paper). This two-part alphabetical listing compiled by Russell L. Gasero contains the names and key facts on all ordained ministers (more than 5,000) of the Reformed Church in America, as well as on each of the more than 1,600 congregations organized since 1628. Congregations are listed geographically in the text and chronologically in the first of five appendices, which also itemize theological professors, missionaries in overseas fields, and other information of interest to all concerned with one of the country and Long Island's oldest denominations. Available from Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 255 Jefferson Ave. S.E., Grand Rapids, MI 49503.

Exhibition Review

Robert Moses and the Shaping of New York, at The Museums at Stony Brook Through 12 May 1996

The Museums at Stony Brook have outperformed themselves once again. "Robert Moses and the Shaping of New York," organized by the Museums, sponsored by the PaineWebber Group, and curated by William Ayres and Alison Cornish, is the first comprehensive examination of the accomplishments and influence of Robert Moses (1888-1981). With remarkable objectivity, the exhibition presents pro and con perspectives on the brilliant but controversial master builder. Together with general evaluation and criticism, this exhibition of artifacts, photographs, manuscript materials, and video footage highlights such specific architectural effects as a 1940s' wooden lamppost from Ocean Parkway, and a wrought-iron Jones Beach directional sign silhouetting a young man flirting with a young woman

obscured by an over-sized beach umbrella.

Included are elaborate displays of the 1939-1940 World's Fair, from a large aerial watercolor, to a couple of models, to a bench created for the fair and today a familiar design found throughout the city. The steel-reinforced plaster maquette for "Golden Spray" raised many an eyebrow when it appeared in *Life* magazine. A spectacular photograph depicts the demolition of the gashouse district to make way for Stuyvesant Town in 1943, illustrating Moses' highly criticized method of slum clearance. In addition to six steel models of suspension bridges built under his supervision, there is an intricate, fourteen-foot model for the Brooklyn-Battery bridge proposed by Moses in 1939 (later scrapped in favor of the Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel), with literature concerning the project.

The Museums have a city planning computer program for children, and, for the younger kids, an opportunity to build bridges across the East and Hudson rivers using wooden blocks. Another outstanding feature is an informative, fifty-minute video critiquing Moses and his projects from state and local perspectives.

At the end of the exhibition is a notebook of patron's thoughts. One man from Southampton mused, "As a child growing up on Long Island in the '50s and '60s I recall feeling threatened by Robert Moses and his plans." An engineer wrote, "We need another master builder like Moses!" to which someone added, "Like [we need another] Adolf Hitler!" The most startling feature of this exhibit, though, must be Moses' fedora. Who would have thought they would ever find themselves standing a foot from that hat?

As the exhibit closes 12 May, soon after this issue is published, we urge readers not to miss this collection of the architectural feats of New York City and Long Island's renowned and controversial master builder. Museum hours are 10 am to 5 pm, Wednesday through Saturday, Sunday noon to 5 pm. Admission is $4.00 for adults, $3 for students and seniors, and $2 for school children (under six admitted free). For information, call (516) 751-0066.

NANCY DAWKINS
SUNY at Stony Brook

Communications

Dear Editor:

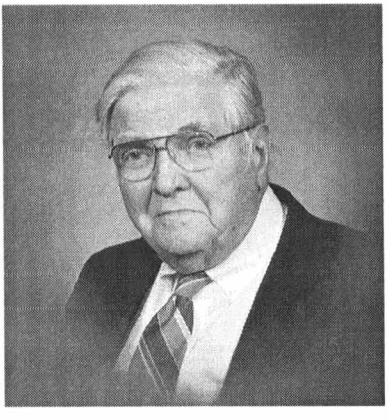
I have the sad news to relate that my late husband, Nicholas A. Meyer, passed away on 6 May 1995 (his ninetieth year) after a lengthy illness.

Nicholas happily immersed himself in the research of Long Island history during his last twenty-five years of retirement. He took great pride in his residency in the village of East Williston, where he built his home in 1938—and never moved! He exemplified the Abraham Lincoln quotation the village adopted as its motto: "I like to see a man proud of the place in which he lives." Serving as village historian nor nearly a quarter-century, he was the author of two volumes of East Williston history dating from 1662, and accomplished the listing of the East Williston Historic District on both the National and the New York State Register of Historic Places.

Nicholas was a longtime trustee of the Nassau County Historical Society, which he served as president in 1965 during its fiftieth anniversary; a life member of the New-York Historical Society; a trustee of Friends for Long Island's Heritage; member of the Historic Landmarks Preservation Commission of the town of North Hempstead; and recipient of a sixty-five-year pin from Mineola Lodge No. 985 F. & A.M.

Nicholas A Meyer will long be remembered for his many contributions to the well-being of his community, and missed by those who loved them. God bless this gentlemen!

KATHY SULLIVAN MEYER (MRS. NICHOLAS A.)
East Williston



Nicholas Augustus Meyer
1904-1995

Dear Friends,

The Children's Defense Fund has stated that the child poverty rate hit the highest level since 1964. Poor children are two times more likely than non-poor children to die from birth defects and three times more likely from all causes combined. Few Long Islanders remain unscathed by the ravages of the Island's economic downturn: layoffs, cutbacks, and stagnant incomes have had a devastating effect. According to a state-sponsored study of hunger, more than half of Suffolk County adult household members surveyed cut back on the sizes or skipped meals entirely so that their children could eat; nearly half ran out of food money for an average of five days a month; and more than 15 percent of the children went to bed hungry.

Government programs help but do not alleviate the problem completely. Ninety percent of families receiving food stamps run out of food in the final three-to-five days of the month. Many of the working poor must choose whether to pay their rent or buy food for their families. So that we may better support our neighbors in need of short- and long-term assistance, we have set up an Ecumenical Food Pantry in the First Baptist Church of Port Jefferson, on East Main Street at the corner of Prospect, open evenings, Monday through Friday, from six until seven p.m.

As with any grassroots organization, ours cannot hope to succeed without the community's support. Donations of the following suggested items will most certainly help us in our struggle to aid our brothers and sisters in need: pasta, rice, spaghetti sauce, meals-in-a-can (stew, hash, tuna, spaghetti and meatballs, and chili); peanut butter and jelly, canned soup, vegetables, fruit, and milk; baby food, formula, and diapers; and toiletry items. Donations may be dropped off at the church during the days and hours mentioned above.

The children—who comprise 40 percent of our clients—will be severely impacted without assistance from the community. In the words of the Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral: "Today their bones are being formed, their blood is being made, and their senses are being developed. To them we cannot say tomorrow, their need is today." Yours in peace,

MARYANN BELL
Pantry Coordinator

Dear Editor,

I read your "*The Great Gatsby* as Long Island History" (*LIHJ* 7 [Fall 1994]: 119-24), with interest and appreciation for your fine research. Your well-crafted text reveals your knowledge of Great Neck, Long Island history, and the Fitzgeralds. Joann P. Krieg's "Remembering Great Neck" (ibid.: 111-18) was interesting to me as she described those who shared Great Neck addresses with the Fitzgeralds. This devotee of Robert Moses State Park enjoyed the two articles on Robert Moses in the successive issues. Thank you for providing me such pleasant reading.

MARGARET M. QUINN, C.S.J
Our Lady of Grace Convent, West Babylon

Dear Editor,

I would like to hear from *LIHJ* readers concerning the political history of Nassau and Suffolk counties during the post-World War II period, the subject of my doctoral dissertation. I am especially interested in personal and archival collections related to partisan L.I. politics, and in interviewing people who were politically active during this period.

MARJORIE FREEMAN HARRISON
63 Elinore Place, Merrick, NY 11588

INDEX of REVIEWS in the *Long Island Historical Journal* VOLUMES 1 through 8

By Ellen N. Barcel

Editor's note: The following cumulative index includes all reviews of books, films, exhibits, and other subjects that have appeared in the LIHJ *from Fall 1988 (volume 1, number 1), through the current issue of Spring 1996 (volume 8, number 2). As all citations refer to issues of the* LIHJ, *that notation has been omitted.*

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